



“Writing a Legislative History”

Prof. Anthony Madonna

POLS 4620E

Lecture #6

University of Georgia

Introductory Slides

Writing a Legislative History

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IV. Grading and Tips

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VI. Assorted Process Terms

- a. House Rule Types
- b. Vote Types
- c. Cloture
- d. Filibusters
- e. Amendment Trees



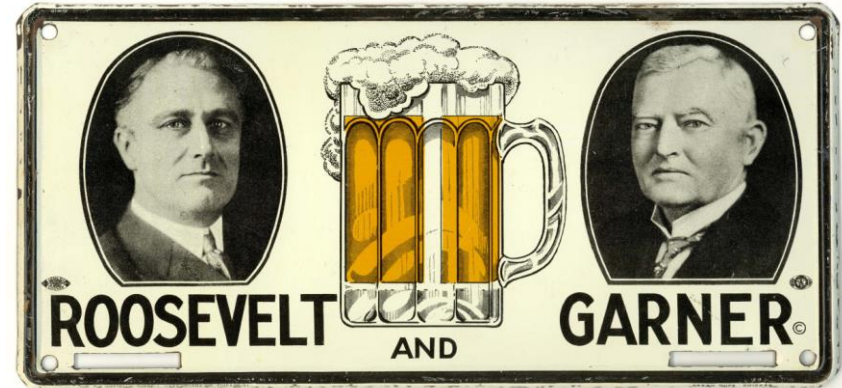
Above: Rep. John E. Moss (D-CA), who almost single-handedly brought about the Freedom of Information Act. He argued: "our system of government is based on the participation of the governed, and as our population grows in numbers it is essential that it also grow in knowledge and understanding."

Legislative History Overview

Legislative History - 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 13 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 55% of the final course grade, broken up accordingly (more detailed discussions of the assignment will be provided in class):



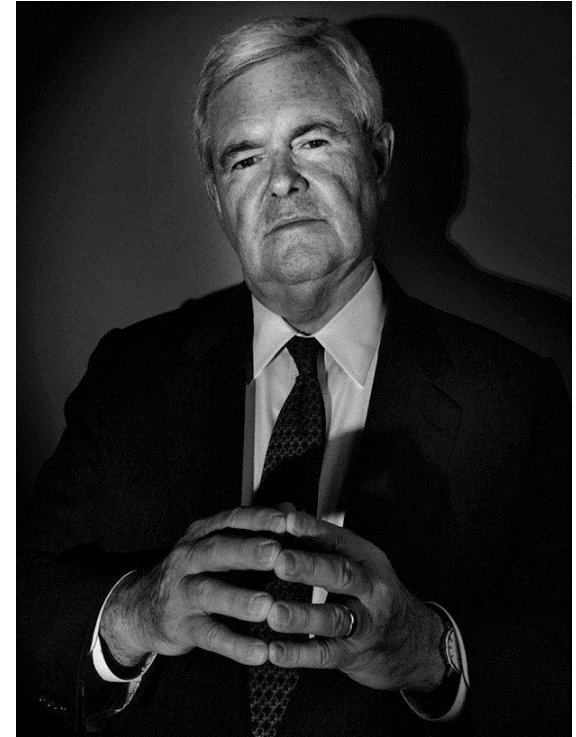
Above: After signing the Beer-Wine Revenue Act in the 73rd Congress, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (D-NY) famously declared "I think this would be a good time for a beer (Smith 2007)."

Legislative History Overview

A brief, three-paragraph Summary 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 it controversial? Partisan? What were the key votes/moments that occurred during consideration? The summary section should not exceed 500 words and is due on **Friday, June 18th** at 11pm. It is worth 5% of the final course grade.

A Background 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 **Wednesday, June 23rd** at 11pm. It is worth 15% of the final course grade.

A Member Spotlight 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 **Tuesday, June 29th** at 11 pm. It is worth 5% of the final course grade.

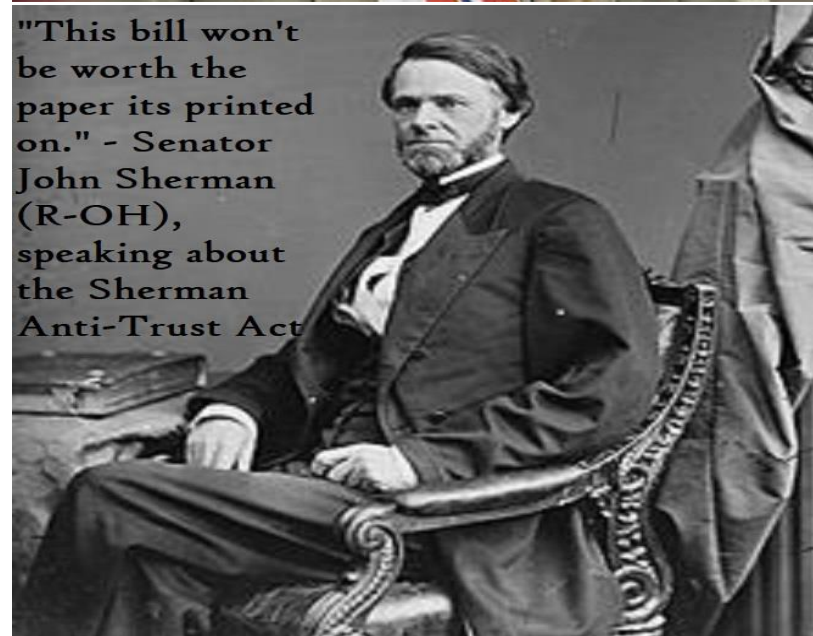
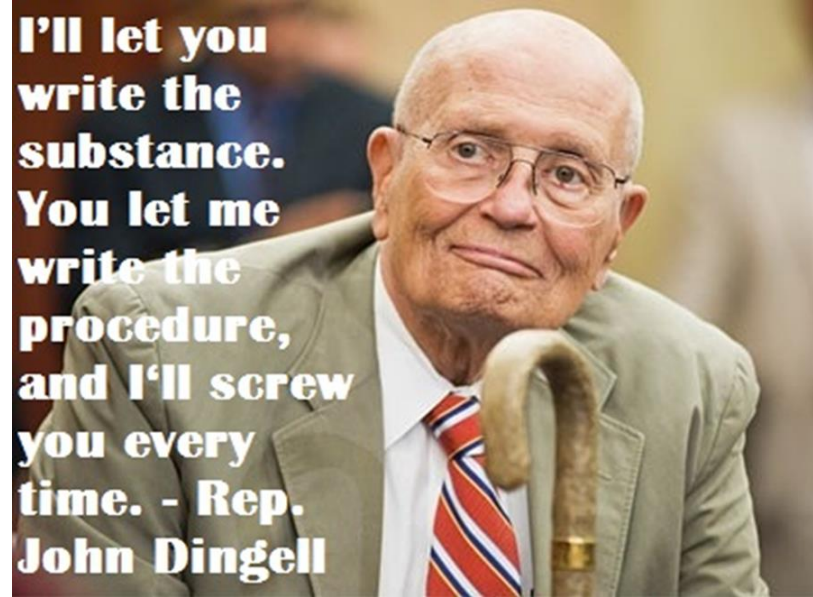


Above: Former House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA). The man knows how to take a "power photo".

Legislative History Overview

A Process 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 **Monday, July 5th** at 11 pm. It is worth 20% of the final course grade.

An Aftermath 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 **Friday, July 9th** at 11 pm. It is worth 10% of the final course grade.



Legislative History Overview

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ABOUT

CONTRIBUTORS

DATA AND LINKS

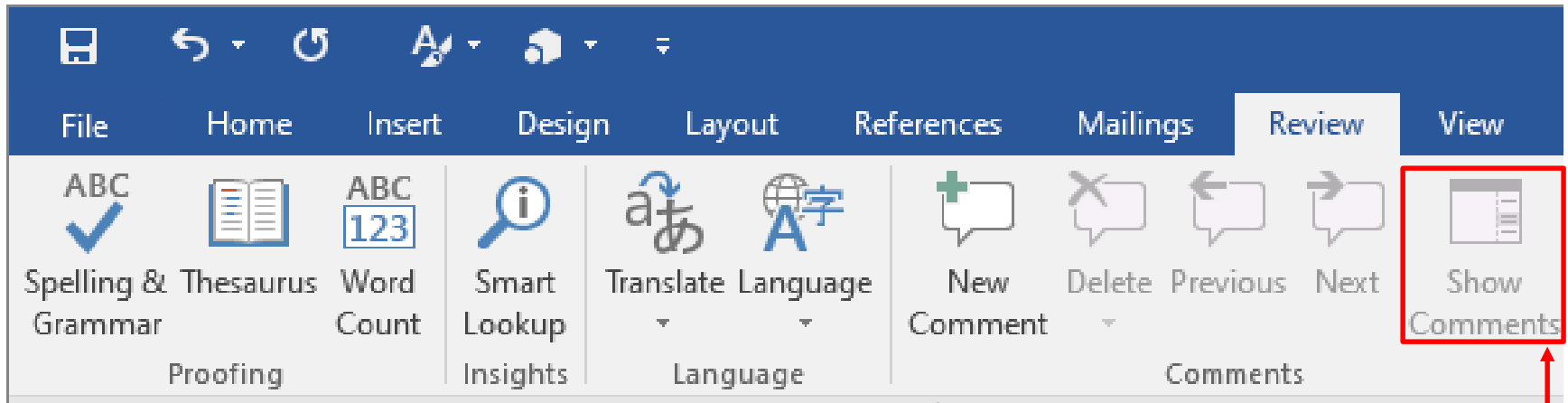
HOME

RECENT UPDATES

Above: Consult www.thecongressproject.com (recent updates) for example legislative histories

What You'll Be Starting With...

Prompt Sheets

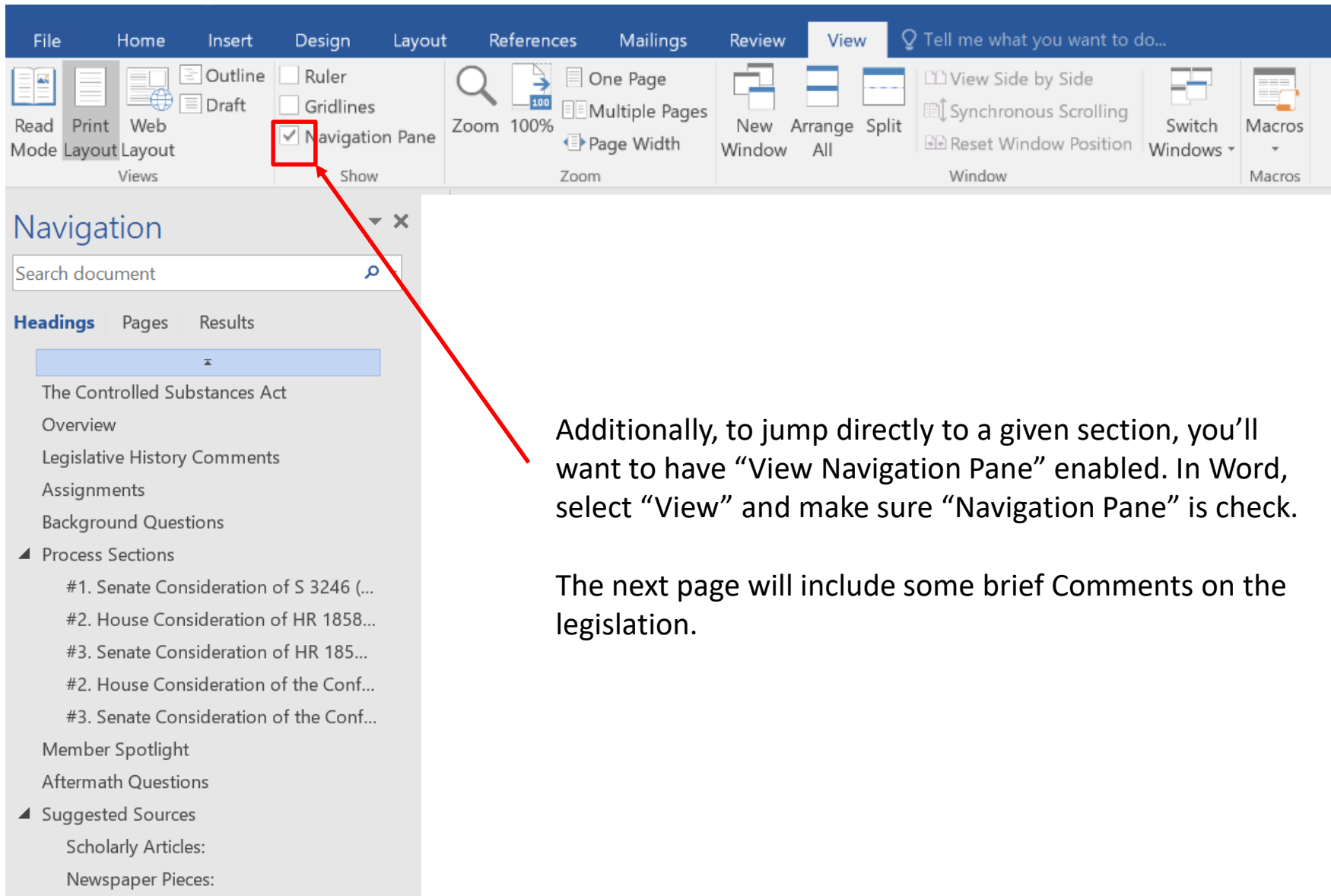


You're going to be receiving an assigned bill from me by **Wednesday, June 16th**.

By Saturday, June 19th, you will also receive your prompt sheet. 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.

Prompt Sheets



The screenshot shows the Microsoft Word ribbon with the 'View' tab selected. The 'Navigation Pane' checkbox is checked and highlighted with a red box. A red arrow points from this checkbox to the text on the right. Below the ribbon, the 'Navigation' pane is visible, showing a search bar and a list of document sections under 'Headings'.

Additionally, to jump directly to a given section, you'll want to have "View Navigation Pane" enabled. In Word, select "View" and make sure "Navigation Pane" is checked.

The next page will include some brief Comments on the legislation.

Prompt Sheet: Overview

The overview section is complete and you don't have to do anything with it. It's there purely for reference purposes for you.

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Assignment Prompt Sheet

The Controlled Substances Act

Overview

Act Title: Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970

Congress: 91st Congress (1969-1970)

Session/Sessions: 2

Statute No: 84 Stat. 1236

Public Law No: 91 PL 513

Eid: 910513

Gid: 211-003

Bill: HR 18583

Sponsor: Rep. Harley Staggers (D-WV)

House Committees: Interstate and Foreign Commerce; Ways and Means

Senate Committees: Judiciary

Companion Bill: S 3246

Related Bills: S 2637; HR 14252; S 1895

House Rules: Hres 1216

Past Bills: 90 HR 15355

Introduced Date- Law Date: December 16, 1969 – October 27, 1970

House Floor Days: 3

Senate Floor Days: 7

Roll Call Votes: 17 (1 in the House, 16 in the Senate)

Prompt Sheet: Comments and Assignments

You also don't need to do anything with the Comments section. It's just there to give you some background on the bill and links to additional information.

However, underneath the Comments is the **Assignments**. You need these to know what background, process, member spotlight and aftermath topics to address!!!!

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Legislative History Comments

Under existing federal laws, marijuana possession was punishable by up to 2-10 years in prison. The passage of the Controlled Substances Act as part of the *Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970* (91 PL 513) reduced that to a misdemeanor punishable by a maximum one-year sentence. As [CQ \(1970\)](#) notes, that measure sought to “provide expanded programs of rehabilitation, treatment and drug abuse education, to unify and revise Federal narcotics laws, to revise the entire penalty structure for violations of those laws and to provide new tools for enforcement.” Disputes over marijuana sentencing played a central law in the debate. Ultimately, the law also listed marijuana as a Scheduled I controlled substance.

The only process oddity here is that the Senate considered a related bill prior to the House movement on HR 18583. It was a more limited bill and I don't think it will be tough to deal with. The most controversial portion of that bill (S 3246), as well as most of this law, is the “no-knock” provision.

HR 18583 was brought to the House floor under a modified-closed rule and it doesn't look like there's a ton of conflict over it. It came to the Senate floor by [uc](#). I cover both of these points below. It eventually passed the Senate unanimously and the House with only seven votes against (see [Voteview on the House vote here](#)).

Don't hesitate to e-mail me with questions! [CQ \(1970\)](#) is also worth consulting.

Assignments

For the sections below, you're going to want to answer the questions and write-up the process sections that correspond to your assigned number. Here they are:

- #1. Guzman
- #2. Leggett
- #3. Payan

Prompt Sheet: Background Questions

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY BACKGROUND QUESTIONS

This will be followed by “Background Questions.” Consult your assigned number for the question you’re expected to answer.

These are questions about the measure specifically assigned to you that a good legislative history would be able to answer in the background. 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 students 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.

THE CONGRESS PROJECT

Background Questions

1. What does this act actually do? Who was pushing for it? Was it part of the President’s agenda? Why did Nixon want to address drug abuse at this point in time?

Discuss the broader political context this bill was considered in. Who controlled the House? The Senate? By how many? Who was President? Was this part of the President’s agenda? What other pieces of legislation were being considered/passed in this Congress? The [Stathis \(2014\)](#) piece might be worth a citation here. This [CRS \(2019\)](#) report should be helpful.

2. The original Senate bill, S 3246, was described as primarily an “enforcement” measure. Why was it needed? Was it incorporated into the final bill? It sounds like much of the debate on S 3246 focused on whether Congress should allow authorities to enter an establishment during a drug raid without knocking (see articles below). What made this “no-knock” provision so controversial?
3. What happened in previous congresses regarding federal drug policy? In particular, under existing U.S. law, how was marijuana treated (see the [Harrison Act](#) here)? Why were some pushing to change this? What kind of reforms were they pushing for? Who was pushing back? There’s a nice history discussion in the [New York Times here](#) (as well as other sources listed below).

Prompt Sheet: Process Notes

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Process Sections

Please write-up the sections that correspond to your number. Feel free to incorporate any notes I might have dumped in the margins.

#1. Senate Consideration of S 3246 (January 23-28, 1970)

On January 23, 1970, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-MT) asked for, and received, unanimous consent that the Senate “proceed to the consideration” of S 3246 (*Congressional Record*, 91st Congress, January 23, 1970, 972).”

#2. House Consideration of HR 18583 (September 23-24, 1970)

The bill was brought to the floor under a modified-closed rule, Hres 1216 that precluded amendments to Title III. This was justified on the grounds that this section dealt with the tax code and that topic is often closed for amending. It was met with some opposition on the floor. Rep. H.R. Gross (R-IA), for example, opposed the rule “for the reason that it does prohibit amendments to title III.” He added: “I can think of no good reason why this rule should have been brought out, precluding as it does the opportunity to amend an important part of the bill (*Congressional Record*, 91st Congress, September 23, 1970, 33297.)” Despite Gross’s stated opposition both the previous question motion and the rule itself were adopted by voice vote.

#3. Senate Consideration of HR 18583 (October 6-7, 1970)

On October 6, 1970, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-MT) asked for, and received, unanimous consent that the Senate “proceed to the consideration” of HR 18583 (*Congressional Record*, 91st Congress, October 6, 1970, 35050).”

#2. House Consideration of the Conference Report on HR 18583 (October 14, 1970)

#3. Senate Consideration of the Conference Report on HR 18583 (October 14, 1970)

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY PROCESS SECTIONS

Next will be “Process Sections.”

Process Notes is going to include the sections you should be writing up. As with the background section, consult you assigned number.

This section might also include weird nerd points I found interesting (it’s likely that you will not).

PLEASE, FEEL FREE TO USE MY NOTES!

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.

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.

Prompt Sheet: Member Spotlight

Member Spotlight

Choose one of the following for your member spotlight:

#1. Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-MT); Rep. Larry Hogan (R-MD); Rep. J. Glenn Beall (R-MD); Sen. Jacob Javits (R-NY)

#2. Rep. Harley Staggers (D-WV); House Speaker John W. McCormack (D-MA); Rep. William Ryan (D-NY); Sen. Roman Hruska (R-NE)

#3. Sen. Harold Hughes (D-IA); Sen. Robert Griffin (R-MI); Sen. Thomas Dodd (D-CT); Rep. H.R. Gross (R-IA); Rep. William Springer (R-IL)

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY PROCESS SECTIONS

Next will be “Member Spotlight.”

A list of potential members (all with varying levels of relevance to the underlying bill) is provided for each student. Again, consult your assigned number.

I really only provide the list here because I wanted to get away from everyone writing the same member spotlight section on Ted Kennedy or Newt Gingrich. If there's a member not on the list you want to take a crack at, have it. Just give me a heads up first.

Prompt Sheet: Aftermath Questions

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY AFTERMATH QUESTIONS

This will be followed by “Aftermath Questions.” Consult your assigned number for the question/questions you’re expected to answer.

This section looks a lot like the Background Questions section.

As with that section, if you have a specific focus or question coming into the bill, I’ll try and incorporate it into the key questions section.

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Aftermath Questions

1. How was this act viewed upon passage? What did the newspapers say? At the time, it was viewed as a bill that softened marijuana laws and might put the country on a path towards legalization. What changed (see [Courtwright 2004](#) below)? How did the final bill differ from the measure President Nixon was pushing? What happened to U.S. drug policy after this act was adopted?
2. How has this law evolved over time? Has it been featured in any major Supreme Court cases? Significantly altered by subsequent legislation? How relevant is this law currently? Are there additional issues related to it that reformers have been pushing to change? The no-knock provision for controlled substances was repealed in 1974 (see e.g. [New York Times here](#)), but states have continued to include them. Discuss the repeal of the no-knock provision at the federal level and their continued controversy in recent years.
3. How has this act been viewed by scholars? Do they highlight any major limitations? Also, address other developments in the law as they relate to marijuana [policy](#). While the Controlled Substances Act weakened marijuana penalties, was there any discussion of eliminating them altogether? Discuss the relevance of this act as it pertains to contemporary drug policy. You might want to tie-in the relevance of the recent opioid crisis here.

Prompt Sheet: Suggested Sources

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY SUGGESTED SOURCES

Finally, 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 broken up into scholarly and newspaper source sections, so CRS or CQ Almanac may not be in here.

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

THE CONGRESS PROJECT

Suggested Sources

Scholarly Articles:

Courtwright, David T. "The Controlled Substances Act: How a “big tent” reform became a punitive drug law." *Drug and Alcohol Dependence* 76.1 (2004): 9-15.

Hodroff, Matthew B. "The Controlled Substances Act: Time to Reevaluate Marijuana." *Whittier L. Rev.* 36 (2014): 117.

Hudak, John. *Marijuana: a short history*. Brookings Institution Press, 2016.

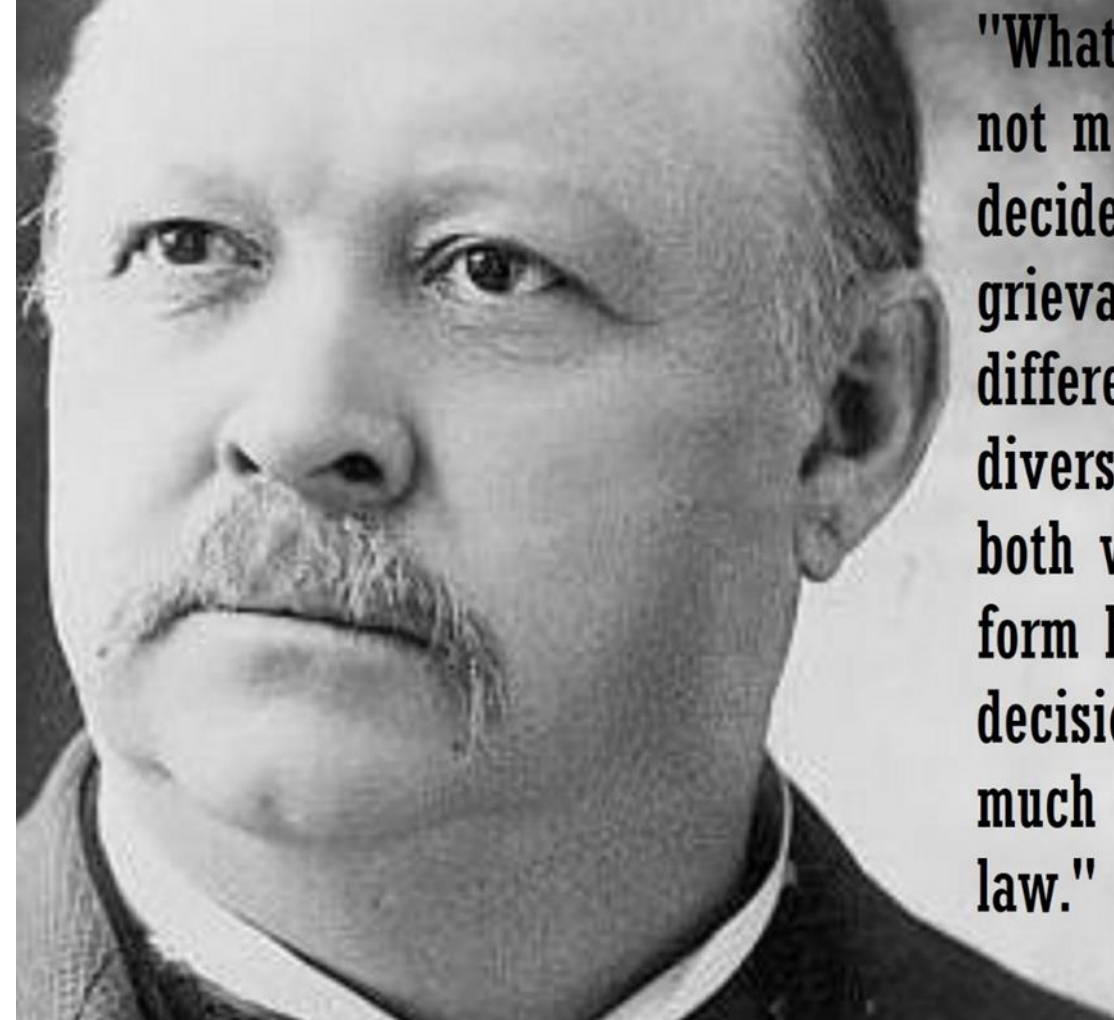
Mikos, Robert A. "Preemption under the controlled substances act." *J. Health Care L. & Pol'y* 16 (2013): 5.

Kreit, Alex. "Controlled substances, uncontrolled law." *Alb. Gov't L. Rev.* 6 (2013): 332.

CRS 2019. "The Controlled Substances Act (CSA): A Legal Overview for the 116th Congress." Congressional Research Service. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R45948.pdf>

Newspaper Pieces:

- <https://www.vox.com/2014/9/25/6842187/drug-schedule-list-marijuana>
- <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/20/health/20painkiller.html>
- <https://time.com/4298038/marijuana-history-in-america/>
- <https://www.vox.com/2014/8/1/5954993/war-on-drugs-marijuana-legalization-US-drug-policy-absurd>
- <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2016/04/06/the-dea-will-decide-whether-to-change-course-on-marijuana-by-july/>
- <https://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2011/07/marijuana-medical-use/352664/>
- <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/interactive/2013/10/27/us/marijuana-legalization-timeline.html>
- <https://www.vox.com/2016/5/8/18089368/war-on-drugs-marijuana-cocaine-heroin-meth>
- <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/investigations/dea-drug-industry-congress/>
- <https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2012/03/the-war-on-drugs-how-president-nixon-tied-addiction-to-crime/254319/>
- <https://www.vox.com/2016/5/8/18089368/war-on-drugs-marijuana-cocaine-heroin-meth>
- <https://www.nytimes.com/1986/11/17/us/anatomy-of-the-drug-issue-how-after-years-it-erupted.html>
- <https://www.businessinsider.com/legal-marijuana-states-2018-1>
- <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1996/10/25/harold-hughes-dies-at-74/5c2e1ca8-ce34-4d3f-93f4-d684ba9f1e5b/>
- <https://www.nytimes.com/1996/10/25/us/harold-hughes-iowa-trucker-turned-politician-dies-at-74.html>



"What is a legislative body for? It is not merely to make laws. It is to decide on all questions of public grievance, to determine between the different views entertained by men of diverse interests and to reconcile them both with justice. It must in some form hear the people. A negative decision by a legislative body is of as much value to the community as a law." -Thomas Brackett Reed (R-ME)

“Writing a Legislative History”

Prof. Anthony Madonna

POLS 4620E

Lecture #6b

University of Georgia

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

SUMMARY SECTION: STRUCTURE

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 it controversial? Partisan? What were the key votes/moments that occurred during consideration?

It should not exceed 500 words

QUESTIONS:

Trying to toe a line here in terms of giving you instructions and material. I promise you, you won't be hurt grade-wise if you do something interesting here.

Don't worry about the overview.

The key in the summary section is to try and get a reader interested, while being accurate. So if you don't answer every question specifically, I think that's ok.



Above: Rep. Meyer London (S-NY), one of two socialist party members elected to the U.S. House and an aggressive opponent of the Espionage Act. He was eventually hit by a bus.

Background Section

BACKGROUND SECTION: OVERVIEW AND STRUCTURE

A Background 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.

You have been assigned a specific question to focus on in your background section in your prompt sheets. PLEASE READ THESE! So you shouldn't be following the exact Background Section format from the "Writing a Legislative History" slides.

You don't need to answer all of the questions provided. Especially if one or two of them jump catch your eye and necessitate a lengthy answer.

A good background section for this assignment will likely run between six to ten paragraphs long. There's no maximum length on it. This class is a bit different in the sense that you're writing this in a group. So you can just focus on answering your assigned key questions.

Definitely provide a Work Cited page.



Pro-Tip: If you're ever on solo-parent duty, check to see if it's "Daycare Picture Day".

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.

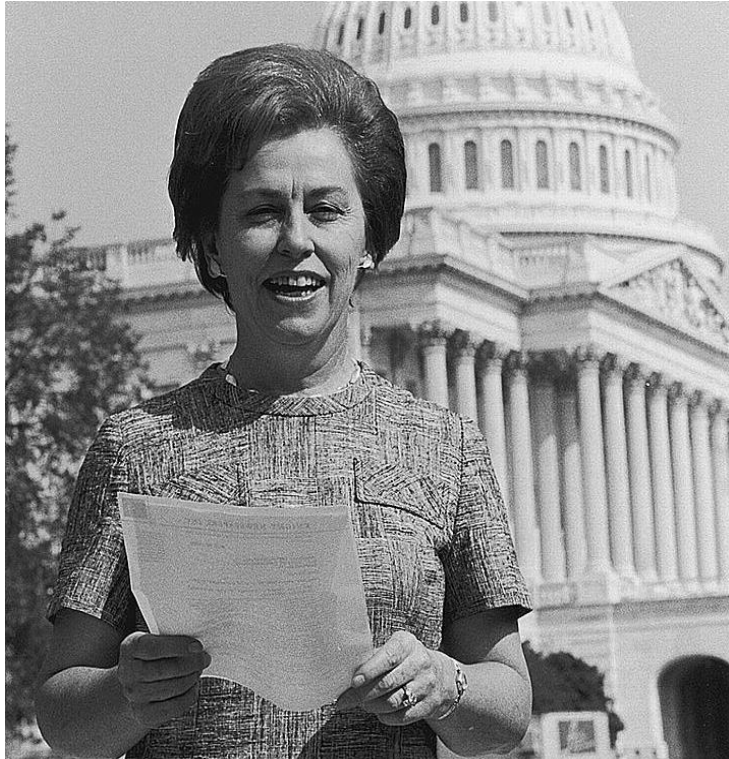
Stathis, Stephen W. 2014. *Landmark Legislation, 1774-2012: Major U.S. Acts and Treaties*, 2nd Edition. Washington: CQ Press.

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: STRUCTURE

Look at the prompt sheet for a list of suggested members. Unless we've exchanged e-mails about this.

Median word count on this section from past classes is 709. Median word count for an A is 836. Does this mean you have to hit these numbers? Of course not, had A's that were much shorter and low grades that were much longer. But students have asked about length on these sections.

Generally want to shoot for a minimum of three sources. **DIVERSIFY YOUR SOURCES. DO NOT USE ONLINE ENCYCLOPEDIAS.**

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, rnum 119 (Poole and Rosenthal 1997).

<https://voteview.com/rollcall/RH0670119>

Process Section

PROCESS SECTION: OVERVIEW AND STRUCTURE

For their legislative history project, students are required to complete a “Process Section” that analyzes committee and floor consideration of the measure during a specific period assigned by the instructor. This 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.

You will be assigned one or two process sections that correspond to either House or Senate consideration of a bill or conference report that is related to your landmark law. Again, pull up your prompt sheet, find the number assigned to you (under Assignments) and locate that number or numbers in the Process sections. Students are encouraged to consult Bioguide, the Congressional Record, Voteview and the “Historic Newspapers” resource for background information.

Median word count on this section from past classes is 1400. Median word count for an A is 2009. Does this mean you have to hit these numbers? Of course not, had A’s that were much shorter and low grades that were much longer. But students have asked about length on these sections.



Process Sections

<u>Links</u>
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.

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

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.

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 *final paragraph* 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: 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)."

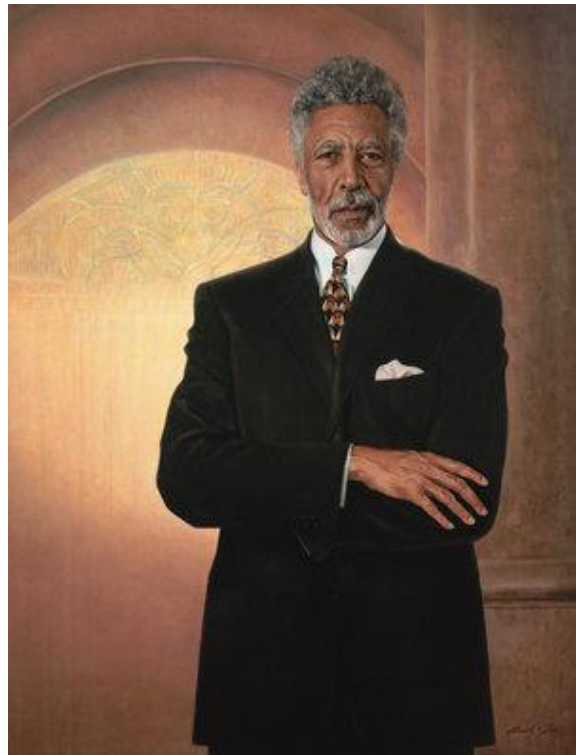
Process Sections

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 in doubt, provide a date. You don't want to include quotes from a debate on May 7, 1986 in a paragraph and then jump back to May 3, 1987 in the next paragraph.

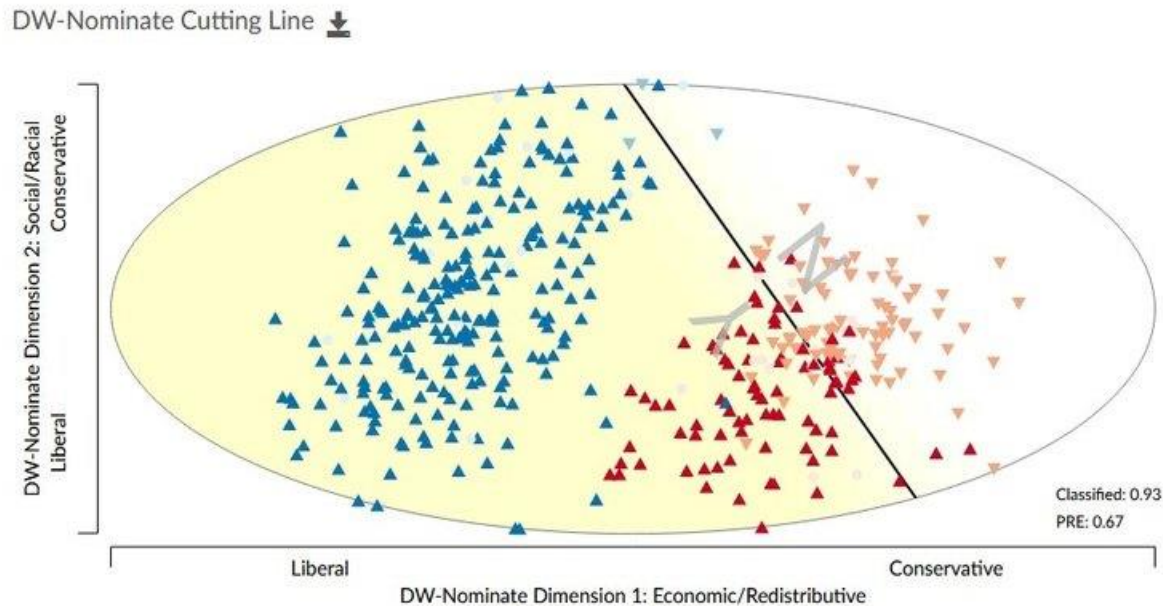
Generally speaking, you have two main goals in the process sections: (1) to explain how the policy this piece of legislation was originally viewed by lawmakers and (2) to identify key issues in the legislation. These two goals may or may not overlap. Often times, policies we associate with a bill were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



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



FINAL PASSAGE VOTES:

EXAMPLE

The House debated the president's veto on September 29th and saw few new arguments, even by opponents of the bill who focused a lot of their attention on agriculture.

Representative Ron Marlenee (R-MT) said, "What a confusing world this congress creates... subsidizing our enemy so they will take grain, and yet a trading partner that takes cash, that has taken more grain than the Soviet Union, is going to be essentially embargoed." Rep. William Dannemeyer (R-LA) said the sanctions would cause problems for American exporters.

On the other hand, Solarz said it was hard to take Reagan's concern for black South Africans seriously, adding, "his expressions of concern make crocodile tears seem like Perrier water". Rep. Gary Ackerman (D-NY) added the rest of the world would be emboldened if America moved: "The leading nations of the world have balked at implementing any strict measure against Pretoria because of the United States' unwillingness to do so."

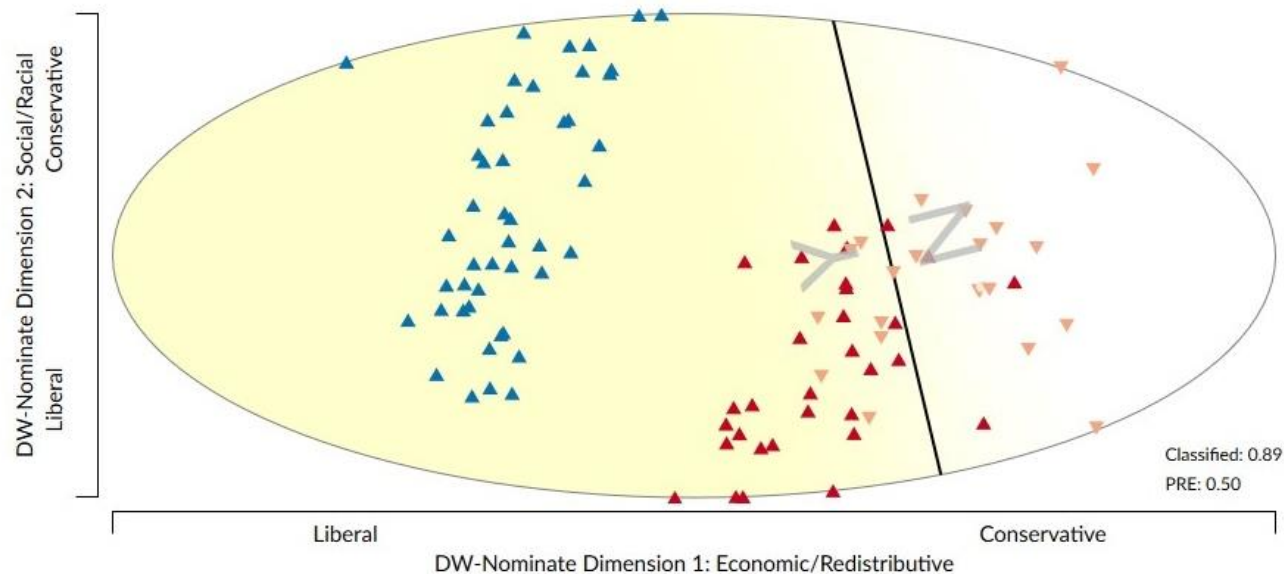
The House overrode President Reagan's veto 313-83 on September 29th, 1986. 82 Republicans joined 234 Democrats in support, with four Democrats joining 82 Republicans in opposition. As the figure below from voteview.com demonstrates, the vote was fairly ideological.

Process Sections

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.

DW-Nominate Cutting Line ↓



Above: The Senate vote to override President Ronald Reagan's veto of the Anti-Apartheid Act from Voteview.com. It was overridden 78-32, with all Democrats voting yes.

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.

Process Sections

PROCESS SECTIONS: CITING THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

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.

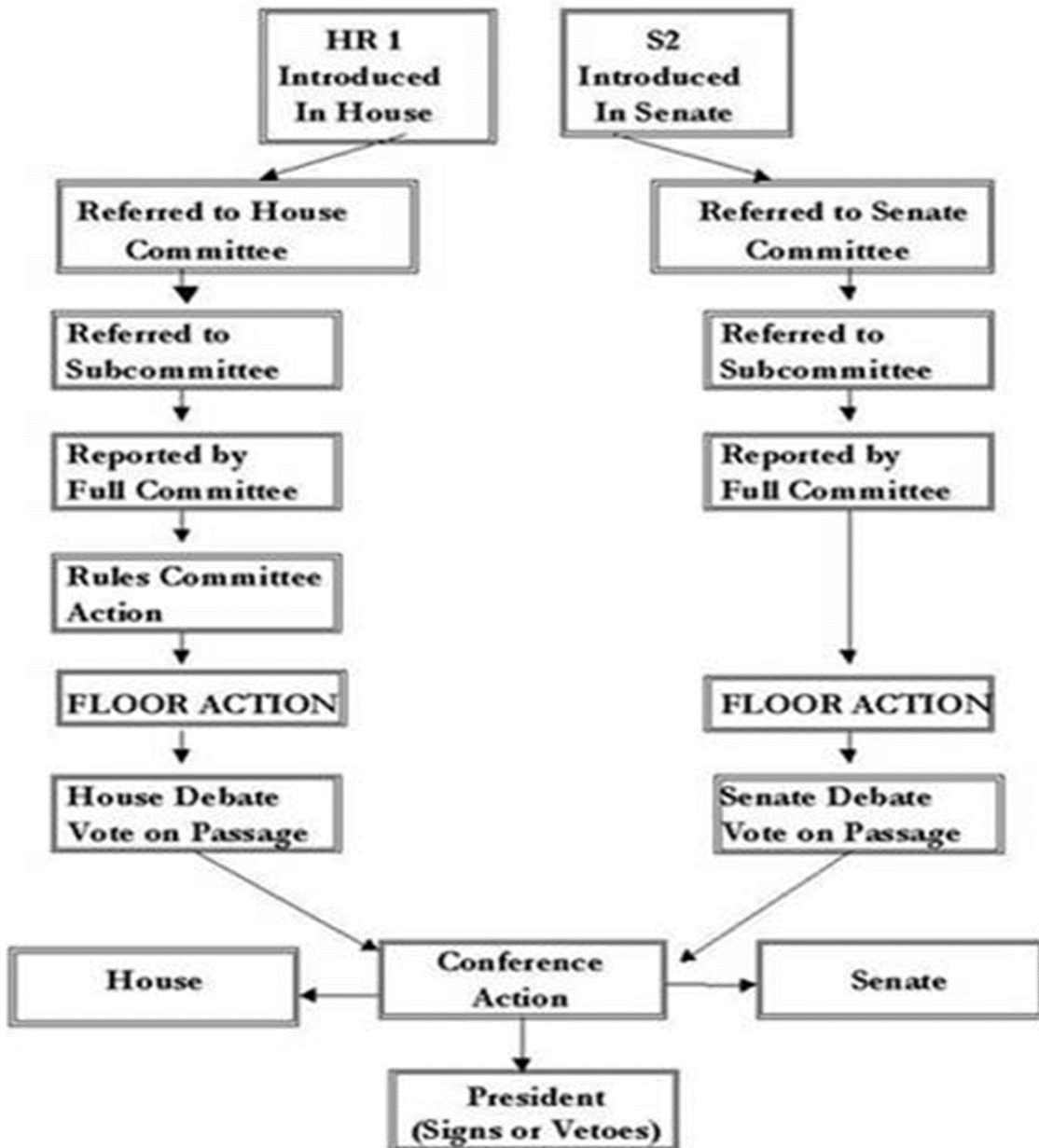
The *Congressional Record* should be cited parenthetically. It should take the following form: "Quote (*Congressional Record*, ## Congress, Month, Day, Year, Page #)." So, for example:

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)."

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."



Process Sections



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/data-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?

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.



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

Aftermath Section

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.

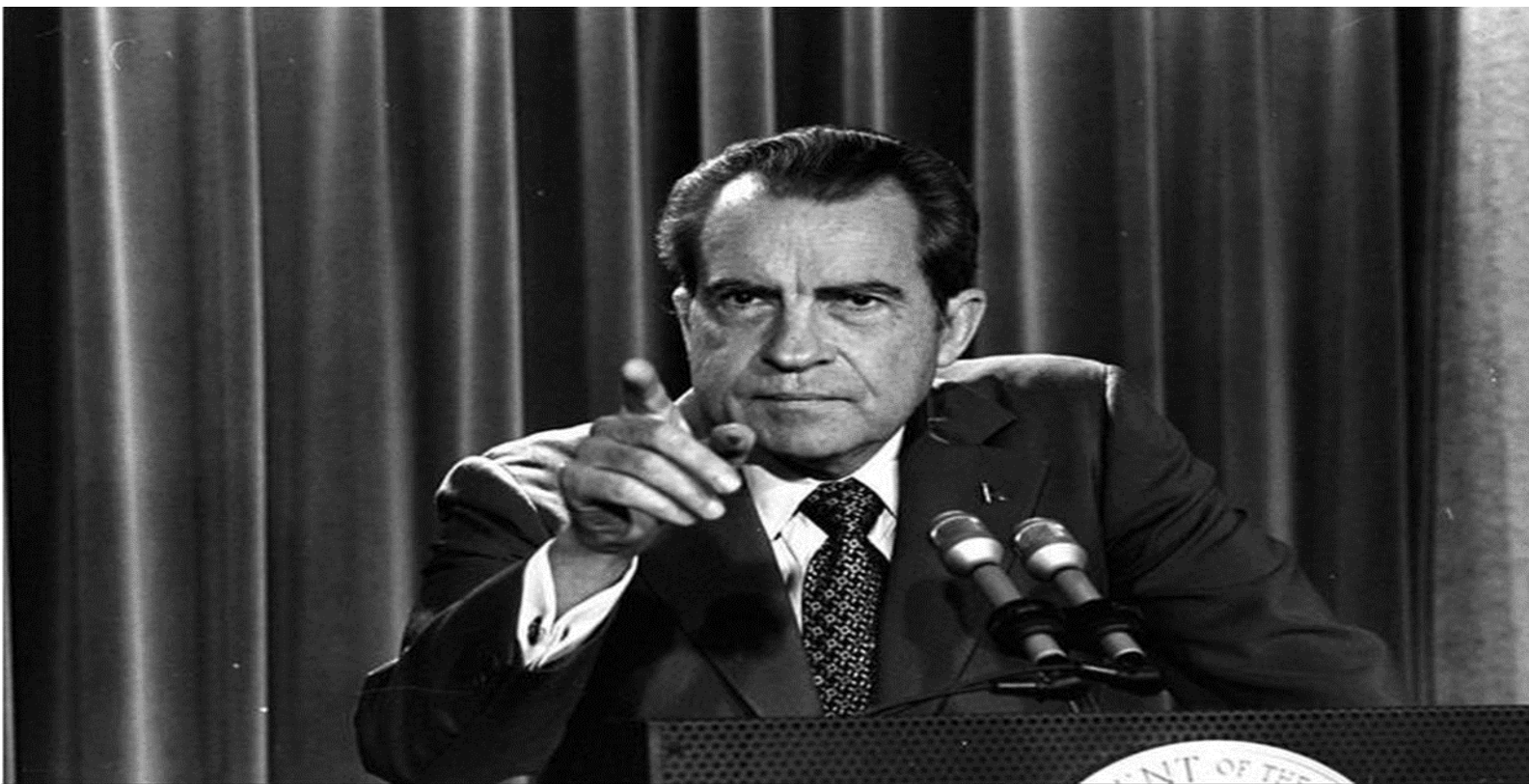
Finally, much of the Aftermath section focused on problems caused by the legislation, as identified by scholars and political observers. The idea here was to identify the positive or negative qualities the law is most known for.

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.”



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.



The First Draft is Shit.

“Writing a Legislative History: Grading and Tips”

Prof. Anthony Madonna

POLS 4620E

Lecture #6c

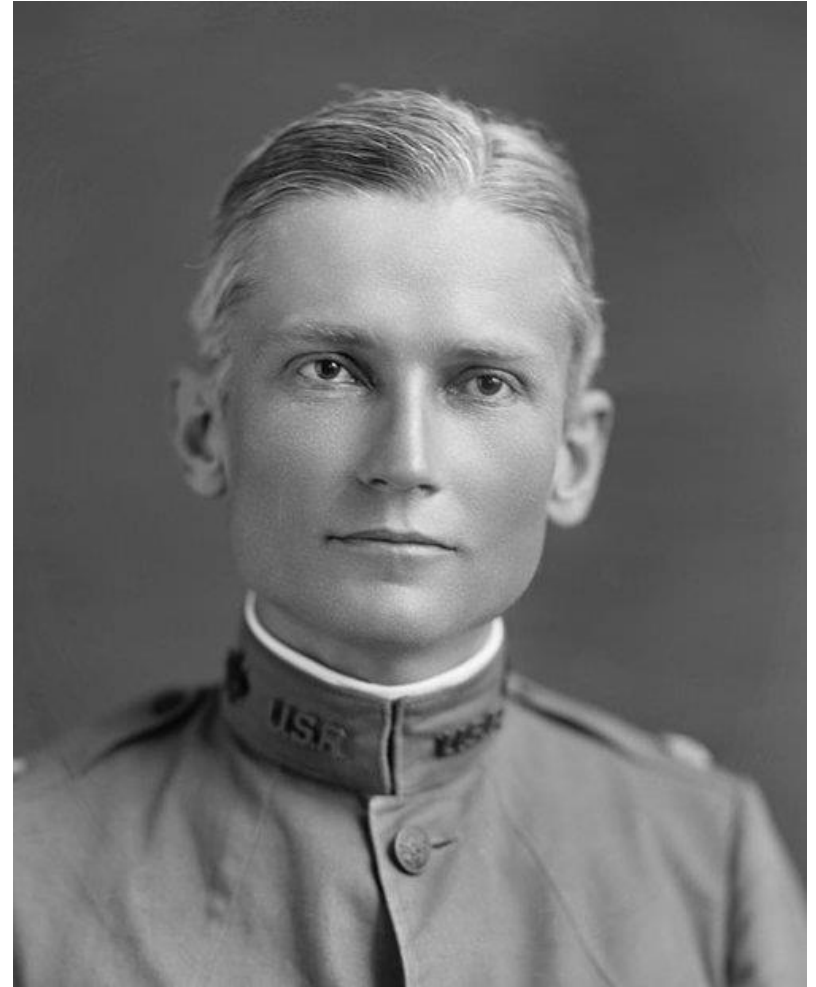
University of Georgia

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 www.thecongressproject.com 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 way they did
3. 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 insight 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.
- 2) 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. Really. The previous point.

- 1) There are no bad questions about process. There are, however, tons of bad answers. Do not give me the latter on this assignment.



General Points



Above: Former Rep. Steve Gunderson (R-WI), the only Republican to oppose DOMA. Gunderson had been “outed” on the floor during a congressional debate years earlier. Speaking against DOMA, he asked: “Why are we so mean? Why are we so motivated by prejudice, intolerance and, unfortunately in some cases, bigotry? Why must we attack one element of our society for some cheap political gain? Why must we pursue the politics of division, of fear, and of hate?”

IV. 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!
- 4) Be flexible in the process sections

V. Google every member you quote

Who is this person speaking out against the bill? A liberal? A conservative? Are they someone respected in their caucus? Leadership? Do they have a personal connection or electoral motivation to break from their party here? Who are they speaking to?

Knowing this helps us understand the measure better. It's also interesting to readers as, for reasons unclear to me, they apparently find people more interesting than abstract legislative procedure.

General Points

V. When in doubt, write it down!

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

VI. Other points

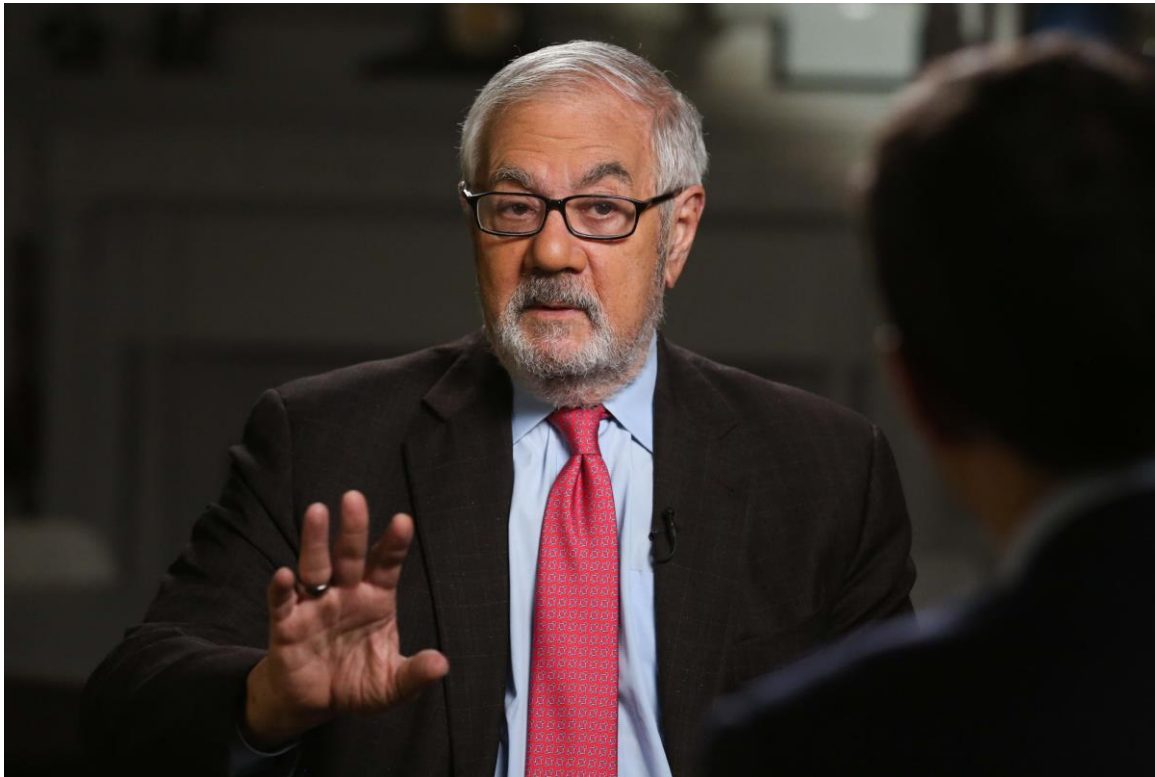
- 1) Link the bioguide and congress.gov if possible.
- 2) What parts of the debate to focus on? Use the newspapers and CQ Almanac.
- 3) Look for quotes on your topic.
- 4) Use voteview.
- 5) If you quote the CR—and you definitely should—give me the member's name, the page number, the date and the Congress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



VII. Being objective is hard. Get over it.

- 1) Your job here is not to ask if something SHOULD have happened, but to explain WHY it did
- 2) Use the scholarly arguments to contextualize this
- 3) Sources, sources, sources

General Points



VIII. Make an effort on the citation and footnote guidelines.

When referencing a bill, no periods are needed (i.e. HR, Hres, HJR, HCR, S, Sres, SJR, SCR).

With members, when you first reference them, cite the Position Firstname Lastname (Party-ST). So, for example:

Rep. Barney Frank (D-MA).

Afterwards, you can simply refer to them by their last name.

If you're not familiar with it, you can take capitalized text that you pulled from an article title, highlight it, then select the case size button in Word (it's next to the font size) and select "Capitalize Each Word." It saves some time.

Ugh. Please don't give me "Footers". Insert a footnote.

General Points



IX. Use historical newspapers to bolster your conclusions

Newspapers will get insider quotes. These quotes will often contextualize whether the process that played out on the floor was “sincere” or “a show.”

They will also help you focus on the most important amendments.

X. Link this to your Aftermath section.

What happened to the vocal supporters and opponents of this bill? Was the issue Congress focused on a problem in the years to come?



“Writing a Legislative History: Accessing Sources

Prof. Anthony Madonna

POLS 4620E

Lecture #6d

University of Georgia

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

Key Terms



Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 88th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 109

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 7, 1963

No. 121

House of Representatives

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D.D., offered the following prayer:
Isaiah 41: 13: *For I the Lord thy God will hold thy right hand, saying unto thee, Fear not; I will help thee.*

Almighty God, our help in ages past and our hope for years to come, Thou alone canst guide and sustain us in these days when nations seem to find it so difficult to live together in peace and good will.

Grant that the time may speedily come when humanity shall know how to conquer the tensions and discords in the human heart and shall seek to call forth those nobler instincts and release their hidden splendor.

May we never be primarily interested and concerned in discovering the secret energies contained in the earth and soil and concealed in the sky, but show us how we may assist mankind in gaining wisdom to master its emotions and control its baser passions.

God forbid that any of the countries should ever again be turned into battlefields and its cities and hillsidea be ground into dust and ashes by human rage and violence.

Hear us in Christ's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. McGown, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H. J. Res. 324. Joint resolution extending an invitation to the International Olympic Committee to hold the 1968 winter Olympic games in the United States.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with an amendment in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 1058. An act to amend title 37, United States Code, to increase the rates of basic pay for members of the uniformed services, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills and joint resolutions of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 812. An act to provide for the release of restrictions and reservations on certain real property heretofore conveyed to the State of Arkansas by the United States of America;

S. 1087. An act to promote the cause of criminal justice by providing for the representation of defendants who are financially unable to obtain an adequate defense in criminal cases in the courts of the United States;

S. J. Res. 33. Joint resolution granting consent for an extension of 4 years of the Interstate Compact To Conserve Oil and Gas; and

S. J. Res. 72. Joint resolution favoring the holding of the Olympic games in America in 1968.

The message also announced that the Vice President had appointed Mr. Jounsvon and Mr. Carlson members of the joint select committee on the part of the Senate, as provided for in the act of August 5, 1959, entitled "An act to provide for the disposition of certain records of the U.S. Government," for the disposition of executive papers referred to in the report of the Archivist of the United States numbered 64-2.

ADJOURNMENT TO 11 O'CLOCK A.M., AUGUST 8, 1963

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock tomorrow, August 8, 1963.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma? There was no objection.

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

(Mr. AYRES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, contrary to the reference made yesterday that some Members of Congress are phonies, I disagree. To imply that Members of Congress are phonies is an insult to the electorate who, by their votes, sent the Mem-

bers of this body here. However, it was interesting to note the large number of our Members with sizable Negro constituencies who came to the crowded well and qualified to vote their conscience. Yesterday was a busy day for civil rights legislation insofar as getting jobs for the minorities is concerned.

Mr. Speaker, how can I know what is best for the Negro when the five distinguished Negro Members of this body are so evenly divided on this issue? The gentleman from New York (Mr. POWELL) and the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. NIX) voted for the antidiscrimination amendment. The gentleman from California (Mr. HAWKINS) and the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DAWSON) voted against the amendment, and my friend, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DIXON) voted present.

Mr. Speaker, since I am to advise the Negro leadership of this country this afternoon as to my position on civil rights legislation, I would like to know what is the real position of the Negroes on antidiscrimination legislation.

FREEDOM TO BROADCAST

(Mr. DORN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, radio and television broadcasters should be protected and encouraged in their constitutional right of free speech. The right of broadcasters to editorialize is a basic, fundamental, and essential freedom guaranteed by the Constitution. I have been shocked and alarmed at proposals and regulatory practices that would drive editorials from the airways. This is a Fascist concept to intimidate those who do not agree and is a threat to all free speech. Sinister suggestions have been proposed that broadcasters be completely controlled by a powerful, growing, centralized Federal bureaucracy—sinister suggestions from those who would not dare propose book burning or censorship of editorials in periodicals and newspapers.

Mr. Speaker, many radio and television stations do not avail themselves

12537



COMPLIMENTS OF
FRANK HORTON
Representative to Congress
36th District of New York

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 it was enacted in and the order it passed. 115 PL 12 is a public law number corresponding to 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 chambers 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

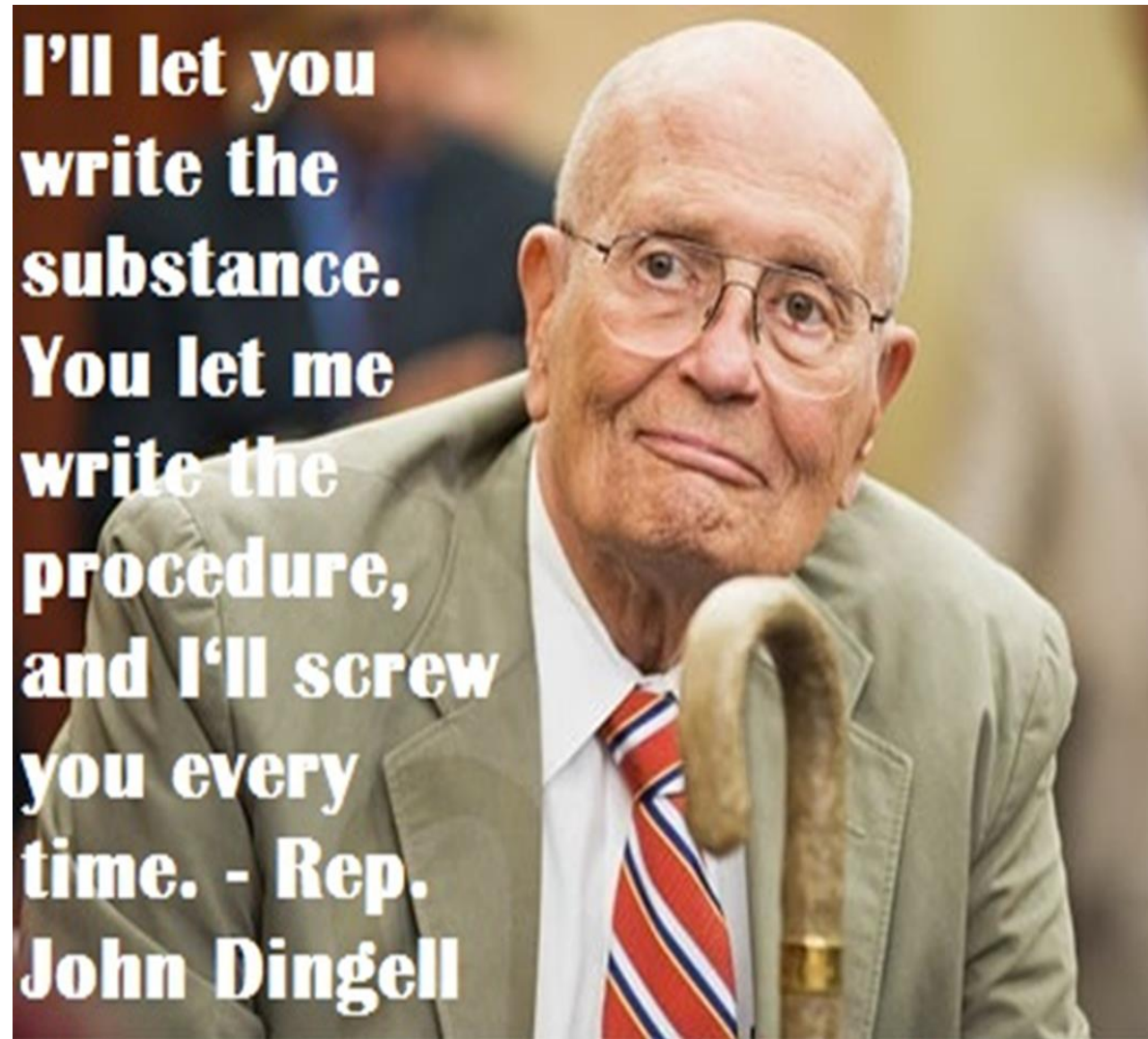
Congressional Record via
Heinonline

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.

The screenshot shows the University of Georgia Libraries website. The top navigation bar includes links for FIND, GET, SERVICES, COLLECTIONS, and ABOUT. Below the navigation bar is a search area with a search bar and buttons for Multi-Search, Books & More, E-Journals by Title, and Google Scholar. A red box highlights the 'Databases A-Z' button in the right sidebar. A red arrow points from this button to the search results page below. The search results page shows '25 Databases found for H' and lists several databases, including 'HeinOnline', which is highlighted with a red box. The 'HeinOnline' entry includes the text 'Law journals, Supreme Court opinions, and more'.

Finding Your Enactment in the CR

Pulling up HeinOnline will bring you to the following screen:

The screenshot displays the HeinOnline search results page. On the left, there are two columns of database categories: 'Browse Databases by Category' and 'Browse Databases by Name'. The 'Browse Databases by Name' column contains a list of databases, with 'U.S. Congressional Documents' highlighted by a red box. A red arrow points from this box to a larger, detailed view of the 'U.S. Congressional Documents' dropdown menu on the right. This menu lists various options, with 'Congressional Record' highlighted by a red box. Other options include 'Congressional Budget Office', 'Rules & Precedents', 'Other Works Related to Congress', 'Congressional Directory', 'Congressional Hearings', 'CRS Reports', 'Committee Prints', 'U.S. Congressional Serial Set', and 'Additional Resources'.

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)

This will bring you to a list of volumes and congresses.

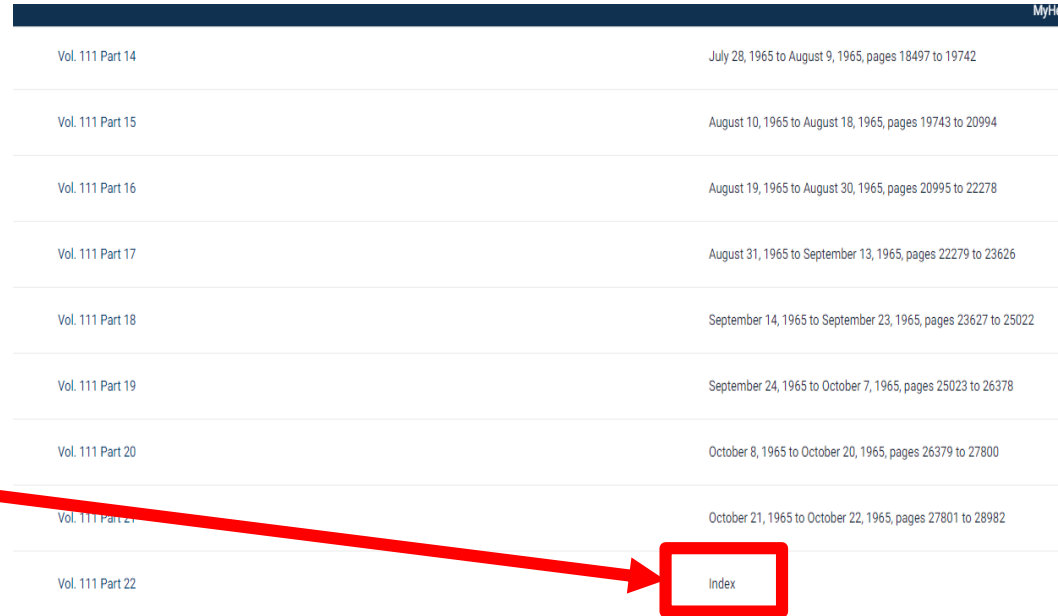
Find the 89th Congress. The overview lists only session 1. So select that.

Finding Your Enactment in the Index

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.



	MyH
Vol. 111 Part 14	July 28, 1965 to August 9, 1965, pages 18497 to 19742
Vol. 111 Part 15	August 10, 1965 to August 18, 1965, pages 19743 to 20994
Vol. 111 Part 16	August 19, 1965 to August 30, 1965, pages 20995 to 22278
Vol. 111 Part 17	August 31, 1965 to September 13, 1965, pages 22279 to 23626
Vol. 111 Part 18	September 14, 1965 to September 23, 1965, pages 23627 to 25022
Vol. 111 Part 19	September 24, 1965 to October 7, 1965, pages 25023 to 26378
Vol. 111 Part 20	October 8, 1965 to October 20, 1965, pages 26379 to 27800
Vol. 111 Part 21	October 21, 1965 to October 22, 1965, pages 27801 to 28982
Vol. 111 Part 22	Index

Finding Your Enactment in Congress.gov

H.R.1 - No Child Left Behind Act of 2001
107th Congress (2001-2002)

LAW Hide Overview ✕

Sponsor: [Rep. Boehner, John A. \[R-OH-8\]](#) (Introduced 03/22/2001)

Committees: House - Education and the Workforce; Judiciary

Committee Reports: [H. Rept. 107-63](#); [H. Rept. 107-334 \(Conference Report\)](#)

Latest Action: 01/08/2002 Became Public Law No: 107-110. ([TXT](#) | [PDF](#)) ([All Actions](#))

Roll Call Votes: There have been [22 roll call votes](#)

Tracker:

Introduced > Passed House > Passed Senate > Resolving Differences > To President > **Became Law**

Summary (5) | Text (7) | **Actions (172)** | Titles (82) | Amendments (28) | Cosponsors (84) | Committees (2) | Related Bills (4)

Summary: H.R.1 — 107th Congress (2001-2002)

[Listen to this page](#)

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

Hide Filters ^ 17 results for Actions Overview Sort by Newest to Oldest ▾


Date	Actions Overview
01/08/2002	Became Public Law No: 107-110. (TXT PDF)
01/08/2002	Signed by President.
01/04/2002	Presented to President.
12/18/2001	Conference report agreed to in Senate: Senate agreed to conference report by Yea-Nay Vote. 87 - 10. Record Vote Number: 371.
12/13/2001	Conference report agreed to in House: On agreeing to the conference report Agreed to by recorded vote: 381 - 41 (Roll no. 497).
12/13/2001	Conference report filed: Conference report H_Rept_107-334 filed.(text of conference report: CR 12/12/2001 H9773-10052)
12/11/2001	Conference committee actions: Conferees agreed to file conference report.
11/30/2001	Conference committee actions: Conference held.
10/30/2001	Conference committee actions: Conference held.
09/25/2001	Conference committee actions: Conference held.
08/01/2001	Conference committee actions: Conference held.
07/19/2001	Conference committee actions: Conference held.
06/14/2001	Passed/agreed to in Senate: Passed Senate in lieu of S_1 with an amendment by Yea-Nay Vote. 91 - 8. Record Vote Number: 192. (text: CR 6/22/2001 CR S6672-6831)
05/23/2001	Passed/agreed to in House: On passage Passed by recorded vote: 384 - 45 (Roll no. 145).(text of measure as reported: 5/22/2001 CR H2421-2516)
05/15/2001	Committee on Judiciary discharged.
05/14/2001	Reported (Amended) by the Committee on Education and the Workforce. H_Rept_107-63 . Part I.
03/22/2001	Introduced in House

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


Finding Your Enactment in the Index

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

	MyH
Vol. 111 Part 14	July 28, 1965 to August 9, 1965, pages 18497 to 19742
Vol. 111 Part 15	August 10, 1965 to August 18, 1965, pages 19743 to 20994
Vol. 111 Part 16	August 19, 1965 to August 30, 1965, pages 20995 to 22278
Vol. 111 Part 17	August 31, 1965 to September 13, 1965, pages 22279 to 23626
Vol. 111 Part 18	September 14, 1965 to September 23, 1965, pages 23627 to 25022
Vol. 111 Part 19	September 24, 1965 to October 7, 1965, pages 25023 to 26378
Vol. 111 Part 20	October 8, 1965 to October 20, 1965, pages 26379 to 27800
Vol. 111 Part 21	October 21, 1965 to October 22, 1965, pages 27801 to 28982
Vol. 111 Part 22	Index



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. 

S. 275—To provide price and income protection for farmers and assure consumers of an abundance of food and fiber at reasonable prices, and for other purposes.

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, 16135, 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.

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. Jentette, 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.

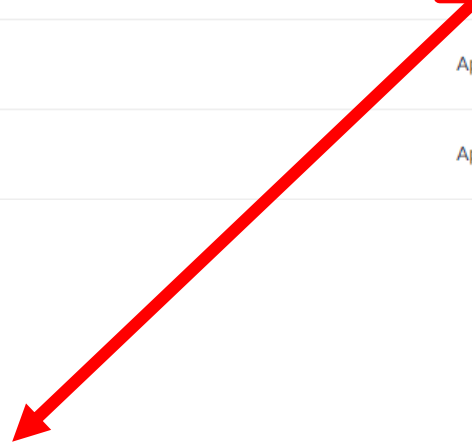
H.R. 2362—To strengthen and improve educational quality and educational opportunities in the Nation's elementary and secondary schools.

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 89-105], 8372.

Finding Your Enactment in the Index

Vol. 111 89th Congress, 1st Session > LibGuide

Vol. 111 Part 3	February 17, 1965 to March 4, 1965, pages 2771 to 4246
Vol. 111 Part 4	March 5, 1965 to March 23, 1965, pages 4247 to 5726
Vol. 111 Part 5	March 24, 1965 to April 6, 1965, pages 5727 to 7200
Vol. 111 Part 6	April 7, 1965 to April 27, 1965, pages 7201 to 8646
Vol. 111 Part 7	April 28, 1965 to May 10, 1965, pages 8647 to 10072



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

Finding Your Enactment in the Index

The screenshot shows a digital archive interface. On the left is a table of contents with entries for various dates in 1965. A red box highlights the entry: "House of Representatives - Wednesday, March 24, 1965 Page 5727". On the right is a page from the Congressional Record, dated Wednesday, March 24, 1965, page 5727. The page contains the text of a House of Representatives session, including a prayer, a call to order, and a discussion of a bill (H.R. 2862) related to elementary and secondary education. The page is titled "Congressional Record" and "PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION".

It's the *Congressional Record*!

- Some points on the CR...

This Congress breaks up the entries by chamber (the won't all do this.)

Select the date for page 5727.

Finding Your Enactment in the Index

17213

June 24, 1987 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE 17213

SENATE—Wednesday, June 24, 1987

(Legislative day of Tuesday, June 23, 1987)

The Senate met at 9 a.m., on the expiration of recess, and was called to order by the Honorable WILLIAM PROXMIRE, a Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Richard C. Halverson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

Almighty God, You questioned Your servant, father Abraham, as he faced an impossible situation: "Is anything too hard for God?" (Genesis 18: 14). That question is as relevant today as it was 4,900 years ago. We face an impossible situation, if we are humble enough to admit it. Massive problems confront our leaders, and the debt that keeps soaring, and the budget that will not balance, and the growing personal and corporate greed, trade imbalance moving precariously, even waste disposal challenges ingenuity—overcoming social disorder, growing ethnically, divorce, child molestations, chemical dependency, AIDS, greed, lust, and the relentless threat of war.

Loving Lord, Your question was rhetorical; it answers itself. You are the omnipotent God for whom nothing is too hard. Our frustration increases as we search desperately for answers—but we keep looking in the wrong place. For some strange reason, in our human pride, we refuse to look to You, Patient Father, give us the good sense to turn to You and discover the One for whom nothing is impossible. To the glory of Your name and the relief of human need. Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. STENNIS).

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, DC, June 24, 1987.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule 1, section 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable WILLIAM PROXMIRE, a Senator from the State of Wisconsin, to perform the duties of the Chair.

JOHN C. STENNIS,
President pro tempore.

Mr. PROXMIRE thereupon assumed the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE. Under the standing rules, the majority leader is recognized.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, the Chair.

THE CHAPLAIN

Mr. BYRD. I would like to thank the Chaplain for his prayer. We need to look to Him for answers as well as to ourselves. Yet, the Scriptures quoted are not to have us believe that we are to be entirely relieved of efforts on the part of ourselves. We need work, but we need to look to Him for help in solving our problems. And we do not look to Him enough.

I am reminded to do that when I am in a plane and there is great turbulence. I do not say, "Oh, President Reagan," or "Oh, President Carter, will you help me get home? Will you see me home safely to my family?" I say, "Oh, God, get us through this safely."

So we call on Him when we are in dire need. We do not, however, call on Him enough to help us in our everyday—everyday—struggles.

I asked the robin, as he sprang from branch to branch and sweetly sang. What made his breast so round and red? 'Twas "looking at the sun," he said.

I asked the violets, sweet and blue. Sparkling in the morning dew. Whence came their colors, then so shy? They answered, "looking to the sky".

I saw the roses, one by one. Unfold their petals to the sun. I asked them what made their tints so bright.

I asked them, "looking to the light"; I asked the thrush, whose silvery note Came like a song from angel's throat. Why he sang in the twilight dim; He answered, "looking up at Him".

Man fails to look upward to the hills from whence cometh our strength. I thank the Chaplain for reminding us in this busy, busy world, this busy workplace, to pause and call on the eternal source of inner strength that can enable us to overcome these worldly problems.

SCHEDULE

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, the Senate will vote on the budget resolution at 9:30. There are 10 hours of debate, 5 hours to each side. If the full

10 hours are taken, the Senate will

the days, during the long evenings of Thursday, on Friday this week—Friday morning, Friday afternoon, Friday evening, and on Saturday, Saturday morning, Saturday afternoon; and on next Tuesday morning, not Tuesday afternoon alone, but also next Tuesday morning; and on next Wednesday, all day into the evening.

So I urge Senators not to have airline reservations that will bring them in here at 2 o'clock next Tuesday or 3 o'clock next Tuesday, thinking there will be no votes before 2 o'clock or 3 o'clock or 4 o'clock or 5 o'clock next Tuesday. There will be votes. There will be votes every day, and they are going to be important votes, early and late.

Senators probably get a little weary and a little tired of hearing me say these things, but I do caution them, because they are going to find, in the end, that the admissions were accurate.

The campaign financing reform legislation is still the unfinished business, is still very, very, very much alive and is not going to go away. I think we just might as well make up our minds that we are going to live with this bill quite awhile unless we deal with it.

We are operating on multitrack systems at the moment. We are attempting to get as much work done as we can by the Fourth of July break, and, as a consequence, most of the debate and most of the time spent between now and the July break will be spent on matters, other than campaign reform. But, like Banquo's ghost, I must still appear at the head of the table every now and then to say that campaign financing reform still lives and is not going to go away. It will be around until we deal with it because it is an idea whose time has come.

We are still working on an amendment which we hope will garner support from our friends on the Republican side of the aisle.

Search

This Section This Page This Volume

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

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.

Finding Your Enactment in the Index

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 five-minute 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 H.R. 2362 is to meet a

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.

[Historical Dictionary of the Civil War and Reconstruction](#) 

Significant events in the U. S. Civil War era.

[more...](#)



[Historical Newspapers Online](#) 

Full text of historical American newspapers, including the Atlanta Constitution, Christian Science Monitor, New York Times, Washington Post and Wall Street Journal.

[more...](#)



[Historical Statistics of the United States](#) 

Historical statistical data for the United States

[more...](#)



[History of the University of Georgia by Thomas Walter Reed](#) 

A historical account from 1885 to 1950.

[more...](#)



[History Reference Center](#) 

Articles, books, images, and video on U.S. and world history.

[more...](#)



Finding Your Enactment in Historical Newspapers

The screenshot shows the ProQuest website's Advanced Search interface. At the top, there is a teal header with the ProQuest logo. Below it, a navigation bar includes links for Basic Search, Advanced Search (which is underlined), Publications, Browse, and Databases (5). The main content area is titled 'Advanced Search' and includes sub-links for Command Line, Field codes, and Search tips. The search criteria are as follows:

- Search term 1: Education
- Operator: AND
- Search term 2: House
- Publication date: Specific date range...
- Start date: March 23, 1965
- End date: March 26, 1965

There is also an 'Add a row' button below the search terms.

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...

66 results [Modify search](#) [Recent searches](#) [Save search](#)


Sorted by: Relevance


Limit to: Full text


Publication date: Last 12 Months, Last 5 Years, Last 10 Years, Custom Date Range


Publication title, Document type, Database

Select 1-20 ” ✉ 📄

1  **School Bill Passes First House Test: Approval of Aid To Poor Students Is a Key Victory Education Measure Wins First House Test Cites Figures Johnson 'Waits Tensely'**
By Elsie Carper Washington Post Staff Writer. *The Washington Post, Times Herald (1959-1973); Washington, D.C.* [Washington, D.C.]26 Mar 1965: A1.
...the House yesterday by a wide margin. ...
[Abstract/Details](#) [Full text - PDF \(103 KB\)](#) [Show Abstract](#)

2  **School Aid Issue Stirs House Row: Debate Bogs Down In Hassle Over Church-State Snag Shouting Match Legal 'Dynamite' School Aid Issue Stirs House Rows Passage Seems Sure**
By Elsie Carper Washington Post Staff Writer. *The Washington Post, Times Herald (1959-1973); Washington, D.C.* [Washington, D.C.]25 Mar 1965: A1.
...over the church-state issue broke out in the House yesterday...
[Abstract/Details](#) [Full text - PDF \(80 KB\)](#) [Show Abstract](#)

3  **School Aid Stirs House Debate**
The Atlanta Constitution (1946-1984); Atlanta, Ga. [Atlanta, Ga]25 Mar 1965: 12.
...)-The House Wednesday heard President Lyndon B...
[Abstract/Details](#) [Full text - PDF \(48 KB\)](#) [Show Abstract](#)

4  **3 House Members Due Here To Study Antipoverty Drive**
New York Times (1923-Current file); New York, N.Y. [New York, N.Y.]24 Mar 1965: 24.
...of the House Education and Labor Committee will start field...
[Abstract/Details](#) [Full text - PDF \(19 KB\)](#) [Show Abstract](#)

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 \(2010\)](#)

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).

[more...](#)

[CQ Historic Documents Collection](#)

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

[more...](#)

[CQ Researcher Plus Archive](#)

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

[more...](#)

[CQ Voting and Elections Collection](#)

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

[more...](#)

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.

CQ Almanac

Explore a decade by clicking on

Your Profile
Favorite Documents
Saved Searches
Document History

Browse By TOC
Browse By Topic
Policy Tracker
Series Appendix

How To Cite
About The Series

education

SEARCH Advanced Search

Search Form

To search for a complete phrase, place it in quotes. Use search operators to narrow the search: and, or, not, *, w/#.

education Search Reset Search content from CQ Press

Search All Text Search titles only

Search all topics
 Search specific topics:

- Agriculture
- Appropriations
- Banking, Finance, Commerce and Economics
- Budget
- Congress and its Members
- Defense, National Security, Homeland Security
- Election Results and Analysis
- Energy and Environment
- Foreign Policy and Intelligence
- General Government

Search all books
 Search specific books:

- CQ Almanac 1961
- CQ Almanac 1962
- CQ Almanac 1963
- CQ Almanac 1964
- CQ Almanac 1965
- CQ Almanac 1966
- CQ Almanac 1967
- CQ Almanac 1968
- CQ Almanac 1969
- CQ Almanac 1970

(use the Ctrl key to select multiple books)

Finding Your Enactment in CQ Almanac

The Results...

Great resource for the Background section as well.

The screenshot shows the CQ Almanac website interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with a search box and a 'SEARCH' button. Below the search bar, the 'Search Results' section displays 'Results 1 - 30 (of 483) for your search on "education":'. A table lists various legislative and historical events related to education, including bills introduced, school aid acts, and poverty programs, with columns for Title, Event Date, and Hits.

Title	Event Date	Hits
<input type="checkbox"/> Bills Introduced in 1966	1966	332
<input type="checkbox"/> House Bills	1966	287
<input type="checkbox"/> Bills Introduced – Education and Welfare	1965	185
<input type="checkbox"/> First General School Aid Bill Enacted	1965	180
<input type="checkbox"/> Elementary Education Act Expanded	1966	149
<input type="checkbox"/> Bills Introduced – Taxes and Economic Policy	1965	128
<input type="checkbox"/> Scholarships Featured in College Aid Bill	1965	116
<input type="checkbox"/> Antipoverty Funds Reduced and Earmarked	1966	91
<input type="checkbox"/> Nursery to Graduate Schools Aided in 1965	1965	82
<input type="checkbox"/> President's 'War on Poverty' Approved	1964	80
<input type="checkbox"/> College Construction, Student Loan Funds Increased	1966	79
<input type="checkbox"/> Bills Introduced—Education and Welfare	1964	67
<input type="checkbox"/> Contributions of \$500 or More to House Candidates in 1964	1965	62
<input type="checkbox"/> Antipoverty Program Funds Doubled	1965	62
<input type="checkbox"/> Message to Congress: Johnson Calls for Broad Elementary, Secondary And College Educational Aid Programs	1965	58
<input type="checkbox"/> Message to Congress: on World Health and Education	1966	58

Additional Sources: Google Scholar

The logo for Google Scholar, featuring the word "Google" in its multi-colored font followed by "Scholar" in a grey sans-serif font.A screenshot of the Google Scholar search interface, showing a long, empty search bar with a blue search button on the right side.

Articles 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.

ProQuest Congressional

Legislative & Executive Publications

Members & Committees Regulators News & Social Media Congress in Context

Legislative & Executive Publications

Enter keywords to search within all fields including full text

Limit by Date Find Terms Advanced Search tips Bookmark this search

New to ProQuest Congressional? Here are some useful starting places.

Legislative Histories

Legislative Insight provides compiled histories with full text PDFs and tools to facilitate research into the legislative histories of U.S. statutes.

Go to Legislative Insight

Congress in Context

Read our Congressional profiles to gain an understanding of the historical context of each Congressional term, including an overview of party divisions and leadership, economic conditions, conflicts, major laws, Landmark Supreme Court cases and major events.

Browse Congress in Context

Research Reports

Nonpartisan Congressional Research Service (CRS) reports are great starting points for research on a wide variety of topics, past and present. Reports often provide pro and con positions, overviews, statistics and analysis.

Search for CRS Reports

Members of Congress

Access Member profiles to find information on Senators and Representatives, including sponsored bills, remarks, and floor votes.

Search for a Member of Congress

Bills by Number

Do you have a bill number or another type of citation for a government document you would like to lookup?

Search by Number

Hearings

Explore Hearings to find differing perspectives on the issues of the day as congressional committees take testimony from a wide range of individuals to inform decisions on legislative proposals or investigative proceedings.

Search for Hearings

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](#)
- [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](#)

- [U.S. International Trade Library](#)
- [U.S. Presidential Library](#)
- [U.S. Presidential Impeachment Library](#)
- [U.S. Statutes at Large](#)
- [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/sqp/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



Biographical Directory
of the
United States Congress
1774 - Present

New Search House History Senate History Copyright Information Privacy

Our new website is coming soon. [Learn more](#)

Enter desired criteria and click 'Search'

Last Name:	First Name:
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Position:	State:
<input type="text" value="Choose an option"/>	<input type="text" value="Choose an option"/>
Party:	Year or Congress:
<input type="text" value="Choose an option"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="button" value="Search"/>	<input type="button" value="Clear"/>

- 5) Bioguide provides a “Biographical Directory of the U.S. Congress from 1774-Present. Students with questions about individual 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.

H.R.1628 - American Health Care Act of 2017
115th Congress (2017-2018) | [Get alerts](#)

BILL Hide Overview ×

Sponsor: [Rep. Black, Diane \[R-TN-6\]](#) (Introduced 03/20/2017)

Committees: House - Budget

Committee Reports: [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](#)

Tracker:

Introduced → **Passed House** → Passed Senate → To President → Became Law

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

Committee Resources

ProQuest | Legislative Insight

Home Quick Search Guided Search Search by Number Timeline Browse Legislative Proc

Legislative History of the Airline Deregulation Act > LibGuide

PDF | Print | Export | Legislative Process

Options Publication Filter

PL95-504 contains 89 publications. *Tip: Begin your research with reports marked with*

Find terms on this page:

Find terms in full text publications:

Legislative History of the Airline Deregulation Act of 1978, P.L. 95-504
9v. Washington: Covington & Burling, 1978
Washington: Covington & Burling.

Cumulative Contents

1 (Doc. Nos. 1-8, 1978)
-- Contents --
Table of Documents
Page 1

Airline Deregulation Act of 1978

Publication Type: Legislative History

DIGITAL-PDF ID: PL95-504
PUBLIC LAW PDF ID: PL95-504FT
DATE: Oct. 24, 1978
ENACTED-BILL: 95 S. 2493
STATUTE AT LARGE: 92 Stat. 1705
CONG-SESS: 95-2
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>

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.

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 \(92-249\)](#): [↗](#)
[Johnson v. American Airlines, Inc. \(94-1170\)](#): [↗](#)
[Alaska Airlines, Inc. v. Brock \(85-920\)](#): [↗](#)
[American Airlines, Inc. v. Wolens \(93-1286\)](#): [↗](#)
[Northwest, Inc. v. Ginsberg \(12-462\)](#): [↗](#)

In addition to Congress.gov, committee reports can be found in other places.

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?

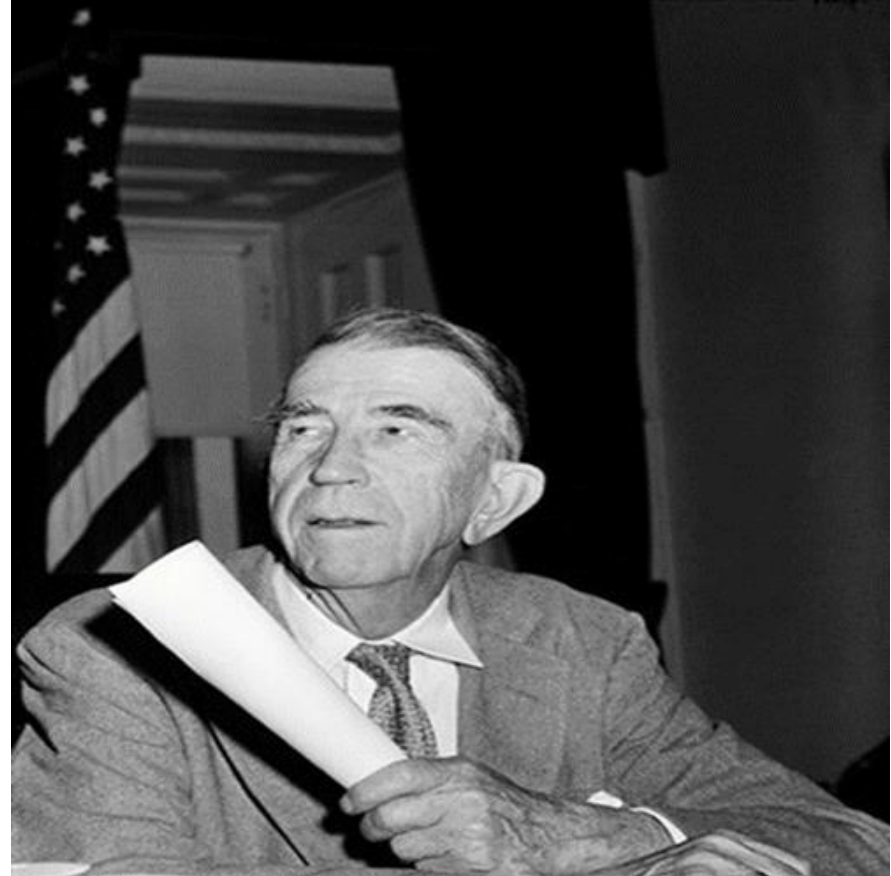
9 to 4 majority party advantage on Rules...

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 **open rule**. 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 **modified-open rule** 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 **closed rule** 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 simply 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 **modified-closed** 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

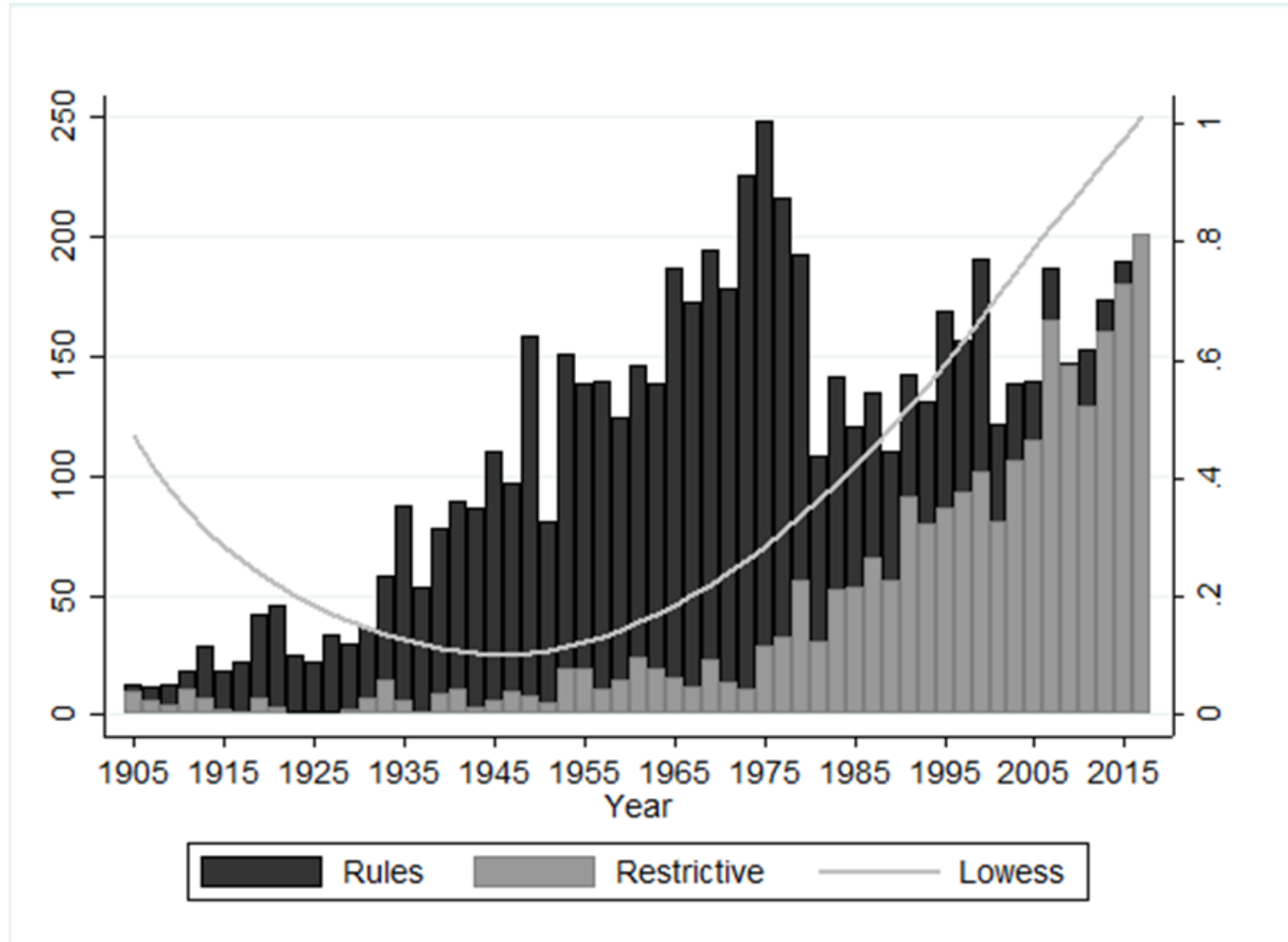


A **structured rule** is a restrictive rule that provides for only certain amendments to be in order. These are usually list in a report of the Committee on Rules. An announcement for a structured rule is typically made several days in advance. Amendments are then proposed and screened by the Rules Committee. 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
7. 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 **division vote** 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. Knutson) there were—ayes 135, noes 152.

So the amendment was rejected.

Teller Vote

A **teller vote** 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. Knutson).

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 was 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 SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. KNUTSON. Yes.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report 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 trade-agreements 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 yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 181, nays 212, answered "present" 2, not voting 37, as follows:

[Roll No. 88]

YEAS—181

Adams	Gillette	Mason
Allen, Ill.	Gille	Machener
Andersen,	Goodwin	Miller, Nebr.
H. Carl	Granger	Mott
Anderson, Calif.	Guan, Ind.	Mundt
Andrews,	Griffiths	Murray, Wis.
August H.	Gross	O'Hara
Andrews, N. Y.	Gwinn, N. Y.	Peterson, Fla.
Angeli	Gwynne, Iowa	Phillips
Arends	Hagen	Pittenger
Arnold	Hale	Poester
Auchincloss	Hall	Edwin Arthur
Earrett, Wyo.	Hancock	Powers
Bates, Mass.	Hand	Ramey
Beal	Harnes, Ind.	Randolph
Bennett, Mo.	Hartley	Reed, N. Y.
Bishop	Henry	Rees, Kans.
Blackney	Hertler	Rich
Bolton	Hesseltun	Risley
Brehm	Hill	Robertson,
Brumbaugh	Hinslaw	N. Dak.
Buck	Howen	Robson, Ky.
Buffett	Holmes, Mass.	Rodgers, Pa.
Butler	Holmes, Wash.	Rogers, Miss.
Byrnes, Wis.	Hope	Schwabe, Mo.
Campbell	Howan	Schwabe, Okla.
Canfield	Howell	Servauer
Cannon, Fla.	Hull	Shafer
Carison	Jenkins	Sharp
Case, N. J.	Jennings	Short
Case, S. Dak.	Jensen	Sikes
Chenoweth	Johnson, Calif.	Simpson, Ill.
Chiperfield	Johnson, Ill.	Simpson, Pa.
Church	Johnson, Ind.	Smith, Maine
Clacon	Jones	Smith, Ohio
Cleveland	Jonkman	Smith, Wis.
Cole, Kans.	Kearney	Spang
Cole, Mo.	Keefe	Stevenson
Crawford	Kilburn	Stockman
Cunningham	Kilday	Summer, Ill.
Curtis	Kinzer	Sundstrom
Dirksen	Knutson	Taber
Doolittle	Kunkel	Talbot
Dornegoux	Landis	Talle
Dondero	Lane	Taylor
Dwornhak	Latham	Thomas, N. J.
Elliott	Len	Tibbott
Ellis	LeCompte	Towe
Ellsworth	LeFevre	Vorps, Ohio
Eisnesser	Lemko	Vurell
Elston	Lewis	Welch
Engel, Mich.	Luce	Walt
Fellows	McCConnell	Wigglesworth
Fenton	McCowan	Winter
Fogarty	McDonough	Wooten
Fuller	McGregor	Woffenden, Pa.
Gamble	McMillen, Ill.	Woodruff, N. J.
Gavin	Martin, Iowa	Woodruff, Mich.
Gearhart	Martin, Mass.	
Gerlach		
Gifford		
Gilliepie		

NAYS—212

Abernethy	Andrews, Ala.	Barren
Allen, La.	Bayley	Barrett, Pa.
Anderson,	Baldwin, Md.	Burys
N. Mex.	Baldwin, N. Y.	Bates, Ky.

Beckworth	Gorski	O'Neal
Bell	Gossett	O'Toole
Bennet, N. Y.	Grabahn	Outland
Biemler	Green	Patman
Bland	Gregory	Patrick
Bonner	Hare	Patterson
Brooks	Harrison, Ariz.	Peterson, Ga.
Brown, Ga.	Harris	Pfeifer
Bryson	Hart	Pickett
Buckley	Havanner	Poage
Bulwinkle	Hays	Price, Fla.
Burch	Hedrick	Price, Ill.
Burgla	Heffernan	Prent
Byrns, N. Y.	Hendricks	Quinn, N. Y.
Camp	Hobbs	Rabin
Cannon, Mo.	Hoch	Rains
Carnahan	Hollifield	Ramspeck
Celler	Huber	Rashin
Chapman	Izac	Rayfield
Chief	Jackson	Rea
Clark	Jarman	Richards
Clements	Johnson,	Riley
Cochran	Luther A.	Rivers
Coffee	Judd	Robertson, Va.
Colmer	Kee	Robinson, Utah
Combs	Kefauver	Roe, Md.
Cooper, Pa.	Kelley, Pa.	Rogers, Fla.
Corbett	Kelly, Ill.	Rogers, N. Y.
Courtney	Keogh	Roman
Cox	Kerr	Roward
Cravens	King	Russell
Crosser	Kirwan	Ryter
Curley	Kopplemann	Sabath
D'Alembro	LaFollette	Sadowsky
Daughton, Va.	Lanham	Sasser
Davis	Larande	Sheppard
Dawson	Leiniski	Sheldon
De Lacy	Link	Smith, Va.
DeLooney	Ludlow	Snyder
James J.	Lyle	Spence, N. Y.
DeLooney	Lynch	Sparkman
John J.	McCormack	Spencer
Dickstein	McGhee	Stark
Dingell	McGlinchey	Stark
Doughton, N. C.	McKenzie	Sullivan
Douglas, Calif.	McMillan, S. C.	Summers, Tex.
Douglas, Ill.	Madden	Tarver
Doyle	Mahon	Tbom
Drewry	Maloney	Thomas, Tex.
Durham	Mansuro	Thomason
Eberharter	Mansfield,	Tolan
Engle, Calif.	Mont.	Torrens
Reed, Ill.	Mansfield, Tex.	Trinkle
Fallon	Marcantonio	Vinson
Feighan	May	Voorhis, Calif.
Fernandez	McRrow	Walter
Flannagan	Miller, Calif.	Weaver
Flood	Millis	Weiss
Folger	Monroney	White
Forand	Morgan	Whitten
Fulton	Murphy	Whittington
Gallagher	Murphy	Wickersham
Gardner	Murray, Tenn.	Wimsted
Gary	Nelly	Wood
Gathings	Neely	Woodhouse
Geelan	Norrell	Woodrum, Va.
Gibson	Norton	Zimmerman
Gordon	O'Brien, Ill.	
Gore	O'Brien, Mich.	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—2

Brown, Ohio Wasiclewski

NOT VOTING—37

Bender	Grant, Ala.	Rabat
Bloom	Hall,	Reece, Tenn.
Born	Leonard W.	Ree, N. Y.
Boylia	Healy	Savage
Bradley, Mich.	Hebert	Slaughter
Brock	Hess	Selaf
Bunker	Hoffman	Stewart
Cole, N. Y.	Hook	Stigler
Cooley	Johnson,	Taylor
Carthman	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 against.

Mr. Hoffman for, with Mr. Stigler against.

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

Mr. Fisher for, with Mr. Cooley against.

Mr. Cole of New York for, with Mr. Roe of New York 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:

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

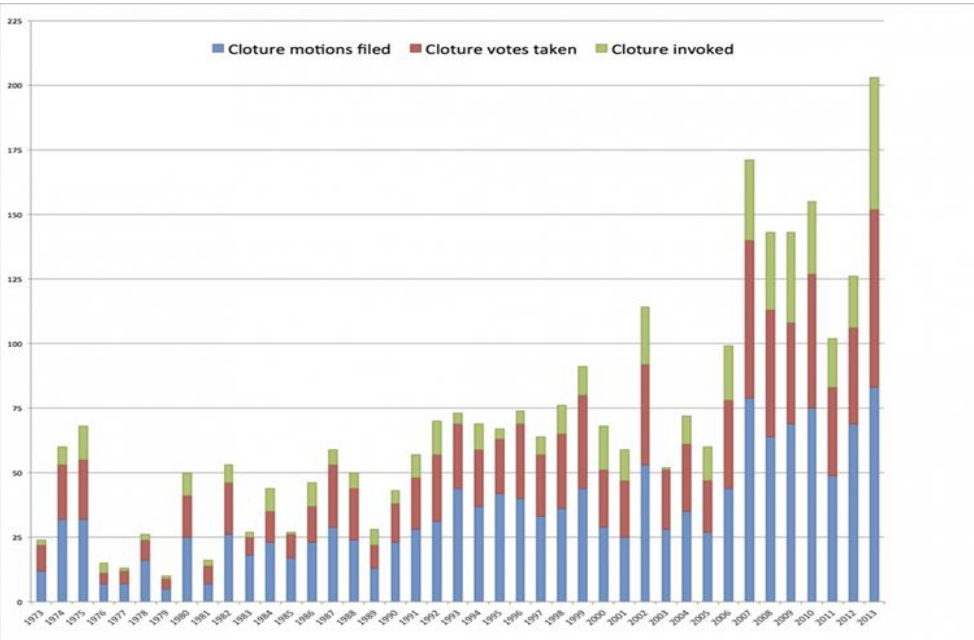


Senate Floor Process: Filibusters

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

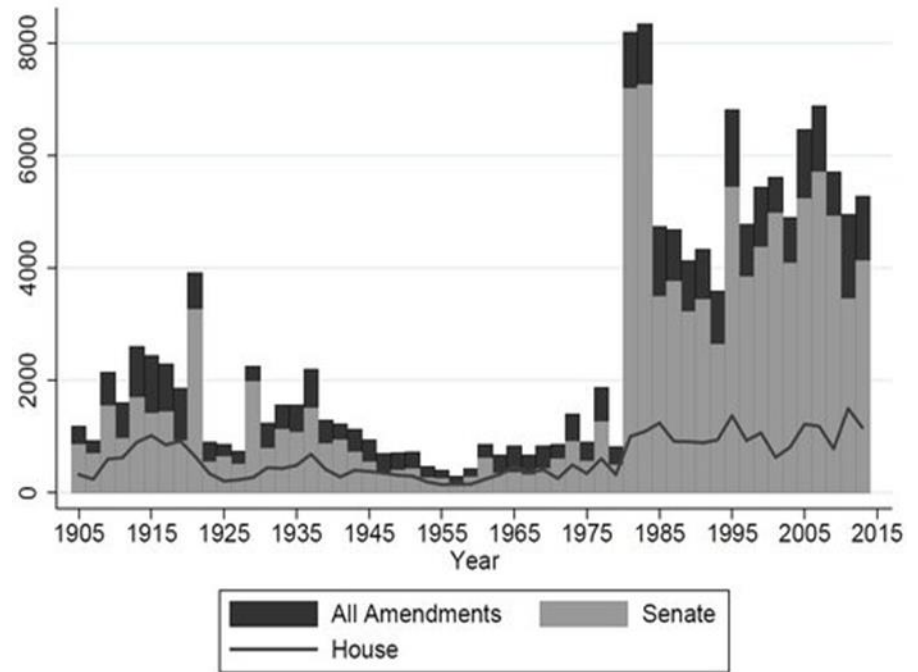
The amending process on the Senate floor is crazy.

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.



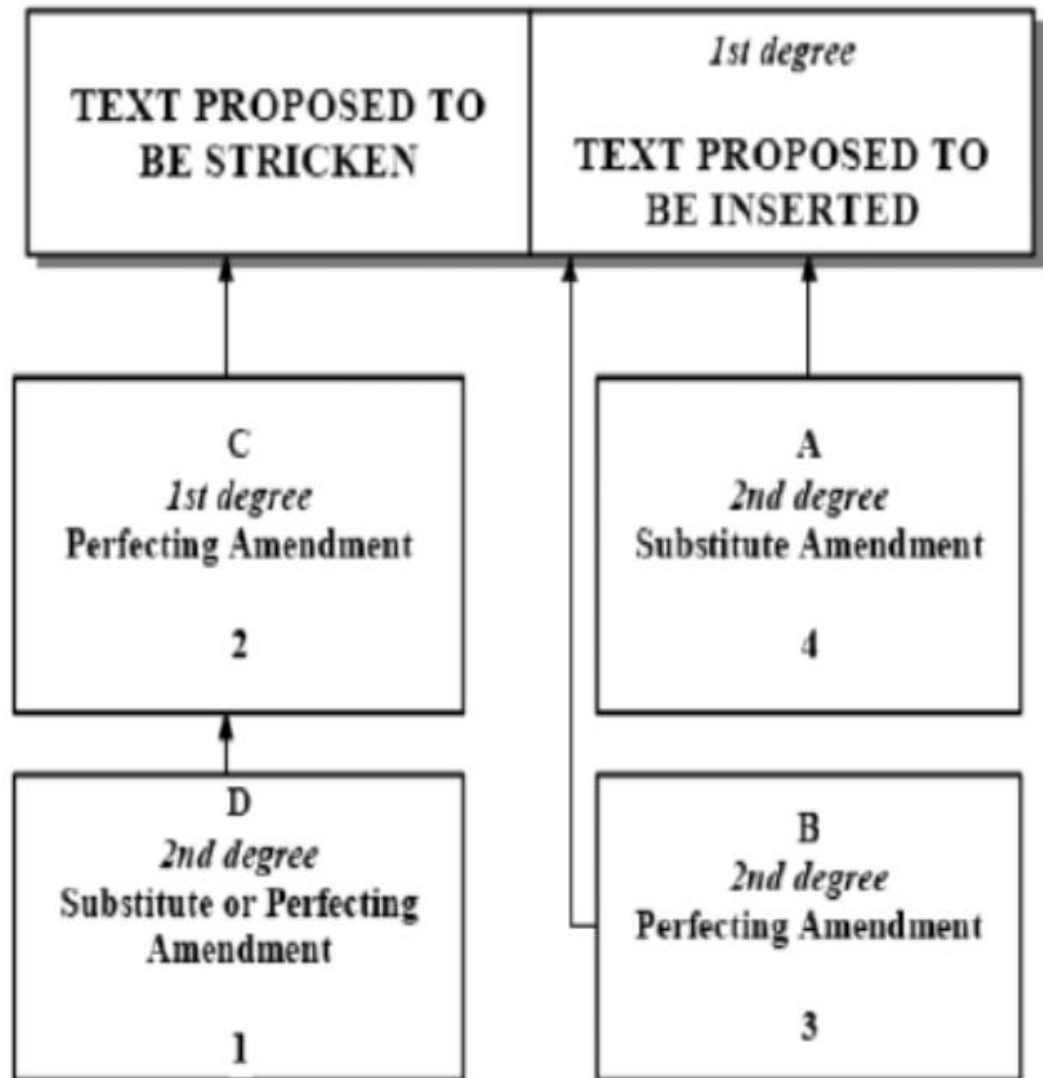
Amendment Tree

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.

Amendment trees 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.