History, Rules & Precedents

of the

Senate Republican Conference

THE 116TH CONGRESS

Chairman John Barrasso

HISTORY, RULES & PRECEDENTS

of the

SENATE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

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Preface

The Republican Conference of the United States Senate is a descendant of the early American party caucuses that decided party policies, approved appointees, and selected candidates. The meetings were private, and early records of the deliberations do not exist. Senate Republicans began taking formal minutes only in 1911, and they began referring to their organization as the "Conference" in 1913.

An early outgrowth of the effort to enhance party unity was the creation in 1874 of a Steering Committee to prepare a legislative schedule for consideration by the Conference. The Committee became a permanent part of the Republican organization. The Steering Committee was a powerful influence on Republican legislative priorities well into the twentieth century; it was rejuvenated by Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio in 1944 and was the predecessor of the present Republican Policy Committee.

Aside from the Steering Committee, formalized Republican "leadership" in the nineteenth century was minimal; most legislative guidance came from powerful committee chairmen managing particular bills. The Conference began to acquire significance, however, with the election of Senator William B. Allison of Iowa as Chairman in 1897, and during the terms of successors such as Senator Orville H. Platt of Connecticut and Senator Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island. The Chairman in 1915, Senator Jacob H. Gallinger of New Hampshire, recommended that Republicans follow the example of the Democrats, who two years earlier had elected a Whip to maintain a quorum to conduct Senate business. Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr., of New York was elected both Conference Secretary and Whip; a week later the responsibilities were divided between Senator Wadsworth as Secretary and Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas, who was elected Whip.

The Conference continued to meet in private to assure confidentiality and candor. This practice was suspended only once, on May 27, 1919, when the Conference reaffirmed its commitment to the seniority system for choosing committee chairmen by electing Senator Boies Penrose of Pennsylvania as chairman of the Finance Committee over objections from Progressive Republican insurgents. (This was apparently the first and only open party conference in the history of the Senate.)

During this period, the Chairman also served as informal floor leader. One reason for the lack of a formal post was the fact that committee chairmen usually took responsibility to move to proceed to the consideration of measures reported by their respective committees and managed the legislation on the floor. The first recorded Conference election of a formal Floor Leader was held March 5, 1925, when the Conference Chairman, Senator Curtis of Kansas, was unanimously chosen to serve in both posts.

Throughout the 1920s, when Republicans held the Senate majority, the Conference met chiefly at the beginning of each session to make committee assignments; for the remainder of the session, Members were notified of the order of business by mail. This slow pace continued through the 1930s, when Republican Senators were so few that they dispensed with a permanent Whip and the Conference Chairman and Floor Leader, Senator Charles L. McNary of Oregon, appointed Senators to serve as Whip on particular pieces of legislation.

Senator McNary died in 1944, and the posts of Conference Chairman and Floor Leader were separated in 1945. Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan became Chairman and Senator Wallace H. White, Jr., of Maine became Floor Leader. This separation has continued to be one of the chief differences between the Republican and Democratic Conferences, since the Floor Leader of the Democrats has continued to serve as their Conference Chairman.

In 1944, Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, still in his first term, persuaded Republicans to revive their Steering Committee, and he became its Chairman. In 1946, it became the Republican Policy Committee under legislation appropriating equal funds for majority and minority parties. Until the mid-1970s the staffs of the Conference and Policy Committee were housed together under a single staff director who administered their budgets jointly. Staff separation was begun during 1979-1980, while Senator Bob Packwood of Oregon was Chairman of the Conference, and completed under Senator James McClure of Idaho. Under Senator McClure's leadership in the 1980s, the Conference began providing television, radio, and graphics services for Republican Senators.

The form and frequency of Conference meetings has depended upon leadership personalities and legislative circumstances. Since the late 1950s, the Conference has met at the beginning of each Congress to elect the leadership, approve committee assignments, and attend to other organizational matters. Although other meetings are called from time to time to discuss pending issues, the weekly Policy Committee luncheons afford a regular forum for discussion among Senators. As a former Republican Leader,

Senator Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois, said in 1959:

> "… when the Republican Policy Committee meets weekly, it is actually a meeting of the Republican Conference over the luncheon table, at which time we discuss all matters of pending business. Thus, so far as possible, all the information which is within the possession and the command of the leadership is freely diffused to every member."

At the time Senator Dirksen spoke, the elected party leadership included: Chairman of the Conference, Secretary of the Conference, Floor Leader, Whip (now Assistant Floor Leader), and Chairman of the Policy Committee. On July 31, 1980, Conference rules were amended to make the Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee an elected position, a change which brought the rules into conformity with what had become custom.

The Republican Conference has never been a caucus in the dictionary sense, that is, a "partisan legislative group that uses caucus procedures to make decisions binding on its members." Even during the tense years of Reconstruction, Republican Senators were not bound to vote according to Conference decisions. In 1867, for example, when Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts refused to follow Conference policy on an issue, and Senator William P. Fessenden of Maine charged, "… you should not have voted on the subject [in Conference] if you did not mean to be bound by the decision of the majority," Sumner retorted, "I am a Senator of the United States," and no attempt was made to discipline him. Such independence was reiterated on March 12, 1925, when a resolution introduced by Senator Wesley L. Jones of Washington passed in the Conference without objection:

> "To make clear and beyond question the long-settled policy of Republicans that our Conferences are not caucuses or of binding effect upon those participating therein but are meetings solely for the purpose of exchanging views to promote harmony and united action so far as possible,
>
> "Be It Resolved: That no Senator attending this Conference or any Conference held hereafter shall be deemed to be bound in any way by any action taken by such Conference, but he shall be entirely free to act upon any matter considered by the Conference as his judgment may dictate, and it shall not be necessary for any Senator to give notice of his intention to take action different from any recommended by the Conference."

Rules of the Senate Republican Conference

I.

At the beginning of each Congress, or within one week thereafter, a Republican Party Conference shall be held. At that Conference there should be elected the following officers:

Floor Leader
Assistant Floor Leader
Chairman of the Conference
Vice Chairman of the Conference
Chairman of the Policy Committee
Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee

Following the election of the party officers, the membership of the Policy Committee shall be chosen. The Policy Committee shall consist of 22 members. The Chairman of the Conference, the Vice Chairman of the Conference, the Floor Leader, the Assistant Floor Leader, the Chairman of the Policy Committee, the Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, the President Pro Tempore of the Senate (if a Republican), and the chairmen (if Republicans) of the standing committees of the Senate listed in paragraph 2 of Rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate shall serve as members ex officio of the Policy Committee.

Such additional members as may be necessary shall be appointed by the Floor Leader, subject to approval by the Conference. Those members so appointed and confirmed shall serve for two years and may be reelected to serve for an additional two years. A member may serve for four consecutive years and no longer, except in an ex officio capacity, but then shall be eligible for later service on the Policy Committee only after an interval of two years.

In all contested elections, vote shall be by secret written ballot.

The term of office of all party officers herein provided shall extend for not more than two years, and shall expire at the close of each Congress.

A Senator shall serve no more than three terms in any elected party leadership position other than Floor Leader or President Pro Tempore.

The Floor Leader shall be an ex officio member of all committees of the Conference.

II.

The Conference shall adopt a "Conference Legislative Agenda" for the coming Congress to outline the general legislative goals. The "Agenda" shall be adopted by a three-fourths majority of the Conference.

III.

The Chairman may call a Conference at any time and shall call a Conference whenever requested to do so by the Policy Committee or in writing by five or more Senators. The Policy Committee shall meet at least once in two weeks, on a fixed day of the week and at a fixed hour to be determined by the Committee. It may meet at any time on the call of its Chairman. The Committee shall permit any Senator to appear before it upon his request to present any matter in which he is interested.

IV.

The Chairman of the Conference shall preside at all Conference meetings and perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Conference.

The Vice Chairman shall keep accurate minutes of all Conference proceedings. The minutes of the Conference and of all meetings of committees of the Conference shall be kept by the Secretary for the Minority or Majority, as the case may be, which minutes shall be open to inspection by any member of the Conference. The Vice Chairman or the Secretary for the Minority or Majority, as the case may be, shall notify members of all Conference and Committee meetings. In the absence of the Chairman, the Vice Chairman shall have the same powers and duties to call meetings of the Conference as the Chairman.

The Floor Leader shall perform the customary duties of the Majority or Minority Leader, as the case may be, on the floor of the Senate and shall have full authority to deal with all questions of procedure after consulting the Republican Senators who are concerned.

The Assistant Floor Leader shall assist in securing attendance of members at Party Conferences and upon the floor of the Senate when their presence is considered necessary by the Chairman or the Floor Leader and shall perform such other duties as the Chairman or Floor Leader may require.

The Policy Committee shall consider the legislative program in the Senate and the question whether any Party policy is involved, shall prepare and present recommendations for action by the Conference, and shall advise all Senators on legislative matters which they desire to present to the Policy Committee.

V.

A Committee on Committees shall be appointed at the beginning of each Congress to prepare and recommend to the Conference the complete assignments of Republican Senators to committees listed in Rule XXV, paragraph 2, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, as well as the Committee on Rules and Administration, and shall recommend the filling of vacancies occurring during the Congress. All other committee assignments shall be made by the Floor Leader unless otherwise specified by law. The Committee shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference immediately after his election, subject to confirmation by the Conference.

Subsequent to the selection of committee members, the Republican members of each standing committee at the beginning of each Congress shall select from their number a chairman or ranking minority member, who need not be the member with the longest consecutive service on such committee, subject to confirmation by the Conference. But in any event the selection shall be by a majority of the Republican members of such committee. There shall be a vote taken in the committee and in the Conference by a separate secret written ballot. All secret ballot elections shall be conducted by the Party Secretary. (Republican Conference Minutes, November 18, 2008.)

If the Republican Conference shall fail to approve a recommendation of any such standing committee for the position of chairman or ranking minority member, the matter shall be recommitted to such committee with instructions to submit another recommendation.

With the exception of chairman or ranking member, rank on each committee shall be determined by length of service on the committee.

The Leader shall have the authority to appoint half of all vacancies of each "A" committee, and where there are an odd number of vacancies the Leader appoints half plus one of all vacancies.

Effective in the 108th Congress, all Republican Conference members shall be offered two "A" committee slots in order of seniority. Each member may retain only one "B" committee assignment from the previous Congress. Following such process, any remaining "A" committee assignments shall be made by the Floor Leader unless otherwise specified by law.

Should a Senator leave a committee and return to the committee in a subsequent Congress, that Senator would lose previous seniority and return as a junior member.

This rule shall not apply to any committee membership or chairman or ranking minority position held prior to the 93rd Congress.

Except as otherwise provided by this rule, once selected and confirmed, no member of any committee shall be deprived of his assignment or his rank on a committee except by the Conference.

In all elections pursuant to this rule, vote shall be by recorded written ballot, and the result of any such ballot shall be announced to the Conference and shall be made openly available to the public.

A. Service as Chairman or Ranking Minority Member

The Majority or Minority Leader or Assistant Majority or Minority Leader shall not serve as chairman or ranking member on any standing committee, or on any joint committee the membership of which is not determined by ranking position on a standing committee; nor shall any member serve as chairman, except in accordance with the Reorganization Act of 1970, or ranking minority member on more than one standing plus not more than one joint committee, the membership of which is not determined by ranking position on a standing committee; but any member thus required to relinquish a chairmanship or ranking minority member position will assume the position first in seniority following the new chairman or ranking minority member, so long as the respective leadership is held and when such leadership position is changed the member will revert to his position on that committee if he has not previously given up said committee or been assigned to another committee.

Any member who during the 92nd Congress was a ranking member of one standing committee and one joint committee may retain such positions so long as he remains a member of such joint committee.

B. Standing Committee Chair/ Ranking Member Term Limits

(1) A Senator shall serve no more than six years, cumulatively, as chairman of the same standing committee. This limitation shall not preclude a Senator from serving for six years, cumulatively, as chairman of other committees, in series, if the Senator's seniority and election by committee members provides the opportunity for such additional service.

(2) Service as ranking member shall also be limited to six years, cumulatively, in the same pattern as described in (1) above. Time served as ranking member shall not be counted as time served as chairman.

Once a Senator has completed six years as chairman of a committee, there will be no further opportunity for that Senator to serve as ranking member of that same committee if control of the Senate shifts and Republicans go into the minority. The opportunity for service as ranking member, outlined in (2) above, takes place either before or in interruption of the Senator's six-year term as chairman, not after.

C. Limitations on Number of Chairmanships/Ranking Memberships

(1) (A) A Senator serving as chair/ranking member of an "A" committee may not serve as chair/ranking member of any other committee. Except that the chair/ranking member of the Finance Committee may serve as chair of the Joint Committee on Taxation.*

(B) A Senator serving as chair/ranking member of an "A" committee may not serve as chair/ranking member of any subcommittees. Appropriations subcommittee chairmanships are exempted for members whose service on that committee predates the 113th Congress.

(2) (A) A Senator serving as chair/ranking member of a non-"A" committee may not serve as chair/ranking member of any other committee. Except that the chair/ranking member of the Rules Committee may serve as chair of the Joint Committee on Printing or the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress.*

(B) A Senator serving as chair/ranking member of a non-"A" committee, excluding Ethics, may not serve as chair/ranking member of more than one subcommittee. [/1] Appropriations subcommittee chairmanships are not exempted.

(3) The Chairman/Vice Chairman of Ethics may serve on no more than two standing subcommittees.

(4) A Senator may not serve as chair/ranking member of more than two subcommittees.

(Please see Appendix II)

/1 The Chairman of Rules (on 1/9/96) may chair two subcommittees during the 105th Congress.

* Joint committee membership, other than that of the JEC, is established by statute.

D. *Indictment or Conviction of Committee Chair/Ranking Member*

In the event of an indictment for a felony, the chair/ranking member or elected member of the leadership shall step down until the case is resolved. Upon conviction, the chair/ranking member would automatically be replaced.

E. *Seniority*

Seniority for Senators shall date from the constitutional time of the convening of Congress, January 3, and an appointment to fill an unexpired term prior to that time shall not affect the seniority of any member under any circumstances if vacancy occurs between the November election date and the convening of Congress on January 3. In the case that a Senator is appointed to fill a vacancy or elected to the Senate in a special election to fill an unexpired term prior to or on the date of the November election, that Senator shall have seniority over any new Senator elected in the November elections.

If all prior service considerations are equal, Senators' Conference seniority and position for selection of committees should be determined by drawing. The resulting randomly selected order should then be considered throughout the committee selection process.

F. *Bumping Rights*

When a Senator has served on a committee and has lost his membership thereon by a change of committee ratio, he shall have seniority over any and all other Senators to the first vacancy on the committee from which he was removed.

G. *Limitation on Committee Service*

No Senator shall serve at any time on more than one of the following committees: Committee on Appropriations, Committee on Armed Services, Committee on Finance, and Committee on Foreign Relations.

Notwithstanding the limitation contained in the subparagraph, a Senator who on the day preceding the effective date of section 132 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 was a member of more than one such committee may continue to serve as a member of each such committee of which he was a member on that day as long as his service on that committee remains continuous after that day.

H. *Assignments of Newly Elected Senators*

The Committee on Committees is instructed to recommend to the Conference assignments of newly elected Senators as follows. Each newly elected Senator shall have one choice for a committee assignment before any of the newly elected Senators may make a second choice. The order of choice in both cases shall be as follows: (1) previous service in the Senate; (2) previous service in the House; and (3) previous service as a Governor of his State. Those members not meeting any of the preceding criteria shall have their order of choice determined by drawing.

I. *Appointment of Subcommittee Staff Directors*

Subcommittee chairmen shall be awarded funds from the full committee budget for subcommittee staff purposes. Subcommittee chairmen shall appoint subcommittee staff directors, with the concurrence of the full committee chairman, and shall retain supervisory responsibility over subcommittee personnel. *{effective October 1, 1999}*

J. *Subcommittee Waiver Process*

Subcommittee chairs/ranking members shall be determined by rank on either the subcommittee in question or the full committee. Any waivers from the Conference rules governing subcommittee chairs/ranking member positions shall be granted by rank only after subcommittee chair/ranking member positions have been offered to members not seeking a waiver. All waivers granted pursuant to this rule are subject to confirmation by the Conference.

VI.

A National Republican Senatorial Committee shall be appointed at the beginning of each Congress by the Chairman of the Conference, subject to confirmation by the Conference.

VII.

No action by the Conference upon any matter pending or to be proposed in the Senate shall be binding in any way on members in casting their votes thereon.

VIII.

These rules may be amended at any time by a majority vote of the Conference, provided notice of the amendment has been given at least one week in advance to every member of the Conference that action will be sought upon the subject to be covered by the amendment.

Supplement to the Republican Conference Rules

Previous actions of Republican Conferences and of the Committee on Committees, to be considered as precedents.

Waiver of Seniority Rights

"Where a Republican member of any committee has waived his right to a chairmanship of that committee because of his desire to be chairman of another committee, and later there is a change in Senate control, relieving said Senator of his chairmanship, he shall be restored to his position of seniority on the committee on which he had waived his rights to the chairmanship except where such rights are voluntarily relinquished for the current Congress." (Republican Conference, January 10, 1949.)

* * * * *

A resolution regarding the committee seats of Senator Karl E. Mundt, agreed to because of his long illness, was taken in this case as a possible precedent in future similar cases.

"Resolved, That the Republican Conference declare the committee assignments of Senator Karl E. Mundt temporarily vacant and that the regular procedure for filling of those vacancies take place.

"Upon completion of the assignments, the remaining vacancy be assigned to Senator Mundt, with the understanding of all concerned that when the Senator is able to again participate, his committee positions are to be re–established.

"Further, that the vote on the position be secret and that the vote be announced only in the affirmative, the Chairman appoint a committee to call on the Mundts and inform and assure them of our high regard and that the Conference will return his committee assignments upon his recovery." (Republican Conference, February 3, 1972.)

Service re: Two Republican Senators From the Same State Serving on the Same Committee

"The Chairman recognized Senator Robert Taft, Jr., of Ohio, who made inquiry concerning what the rule might be concerning two Republicans from the same State serving on the same committee. The Senator had a chance to take an assignment on the Committee on Armed Services, but Senator William B. Saxbe of Ohio, his colleague, was already on the committee.

"The matter was briefly discussed and the Chairman suggested that the committee proceed on the existing principle which had been generally followed in the past, that two Republican Senators from the same State not be assigned to the same committee. He stated that the Chairman of the Republican Conference had previously appointed a committee to study all matters relating to seniority precedents for possible inclusion in the Conference Rules. The Chairman asked that a motion be made to proceed on the basis of existing precedents. It was made, duly seconded, and agreed to." (Committee on Committees Minutes, January 11, 1973.)

Conference Confirmation of Ranking Member by Secret Ballot

"The Conference met in accordance with Rule IV requiring Conference confirmation of ranking members selected by Republican members of each Senate committee. Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana had been selected ranking member of the Committee of Foreign Relations by Republican members of that committee, despite the fact that Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina had greater seniority. The Conference Chairman, Senator John Chafee of Rhode Island, interpreted the 'recorded written ballot' required by Rule IV to mean a secret written ballot. On appeal, the ruling of the Chairman was sustained, 33–12.

"The remaining question, 'that the recommendation of the minority [Republican] members of the Foreign Relations Committee not be confirmed ... and that the decision on the [ranking] minority member be sent back to the Foreign Relations Committee with instructions to select their ranking member on the basis of seniority,' passed 24–17." (Republican Conference Minutes, January 20, 1987.)

Senatorial Courtesy in Federal Judicial Appointments

"Recognizing the custom and traditions of the Senate, the Senate Republican Conference hereby directs its Chairman, Senator John H. Chafee, to inform the President of the United States of its support for Senator James M. Jeffords' recommendation of his candidate to be United States District Judge in the State of Vermont." (Republican Conference, November 21, 1989.)

The resolution was offered by Senator Thad Cochran of Mississippi, who based it upon the Senate custom that the recommendation of a Senator of the President's party for a Federal district court judgeship in his State is tantamount to selection. Senator Jeffords of Vermont had submitted the name of a well–qualified candidate to fill a vacancy in his State, and the Bush Administration had refused to submit the nomination to the Senate for confirmation.

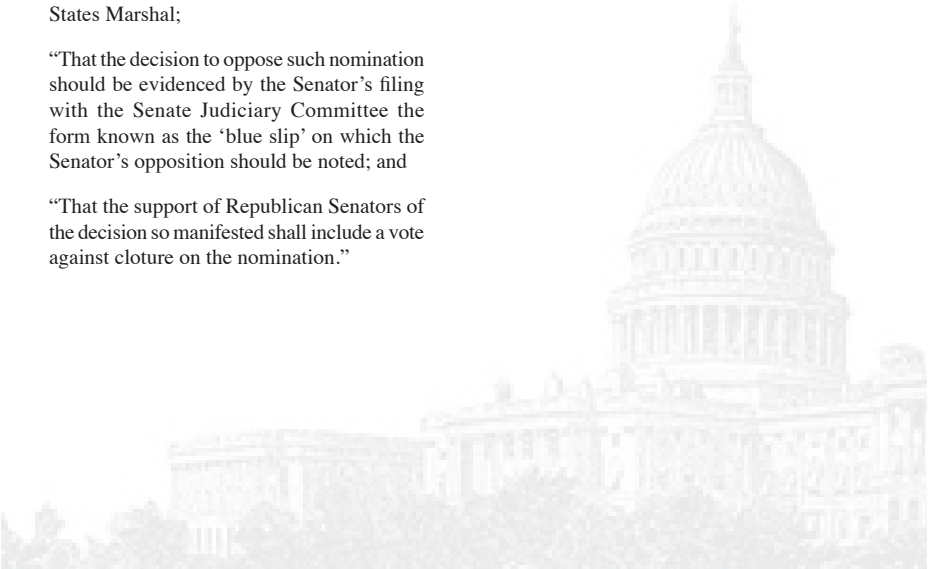
In September 1993, on a motion of Senator Cochran, the Conference adopted the following resolution:

> "It is Resolved by the United States Senate Republican Conference assembled on September 8, 1993:
>
> "That Republican Senators, as a matter of Senatorial Courtesy, will support the decision of any Republican Senator to oppose the confirmation of a person nominated to serve in his or her State as United States District Judge, United States Attorney or United States Marshal;
>
> "That the decision to oppose such nomination should be evidenced by the Senator's filing with the Senate Judiciary Committee the form known as the 'blue slip' on which the Senator's opposition should be noted; and
>
> "That the support of Republican Senators of the decision so manifested shall include a vote against cloture on the nomination."

Conference Position on Judicial Activism

During deliberations on the Republican Conference Agenda in January 1997, the Conference appointed a task force to consider the process surrounding federal judicial nominations. After discussing the task force recommendations, the Conference adopted the following position with respect to judicial activism on April 29, 1997:

> "The Republican Conference opposes judicial activism, whereby life-tenured, unaccountable judges exceed their constitutional role of interpreting already enacted, written law, and instead legislate from the bench by imposing their own personal preferences or views of what is right or just. Such activism threatens the basic democratic values on which our Constitution is founded."



Precedents in Selection From Minutes of the Republican Conference

"Senator White, as Chairman of the Committee on Committees, reported that he had sent a letter to all Senators (sitting and elect) outlining the new committee structure and requesting Senators to indicate their preference for assignments.

"General discussion followed on rules for allocating committee assignments.

"Mr. Loeffler explained the past basis for assignments as follows:

1. Seniority of service on committees.
2 Seniority of service in the Senate.
3. Attention to geographical distribution and balance.
4. No Senator to be assigned to serve on Finance and Appropriations at the same time.
5. No two Republican Senators from the same State to be on the same committee.
6. Ties determined by draw.

"To this Senator White added that in some cases distinctions had to be made by reference to other data such as the public offices held by a Senator before his election to Congress (Governor, etc.).

"No action was taken." (From the Minutes of the Steering Committee of November 14, 1946.)

(According to J. Mark Trice, former Secretary for the Minority, public offices referred to above have been over the years listed in the following order:

1. Previous service in the Senate.
2. Previous service in the House.
3. Previous service as Governor of his State.

When Senator Dirksen was first elected to the Senate, in order to give him seniority over other members of the House of Representatives also elected at the same time, length of service in the House was added as a factor and has been considered ever since.)

Previous Public Service as Basis of Committee Assignment

"The Chairman recognized Senator Robertson who spoke of a printer's error in the listing of the Republican membership on the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, whereby the name of Senator Kem was placed above that of Senator Thye. Senator Robertson stated that when the Committee on Committees acted, Senator Thye had been placed on the list above Senator Kem because the former had been the Governor of his State.

"The Chairman recognized Senator Kem who questioned the precedent which had been followed by the Committee on Committees whereby in the case of equal qualifications of Senators–elect for Committee service, consideration was given to their previous service in the Senate, previous service in the House of Representatives or previous service as Governor of a State.

"The Chairman recognized Senator Robertson who made the following motion, which was seconded and agreed to, 'That the error in the listing of Republican Members on the Committee of Agriculture and Forestry be corrected.'" (Republican Conference Minutes, December 13, 1947.)

Committee Selection Process

At a June 1992 meeting of the Republican Conference, Senator Lott, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, proposed, and the Conference adopted, the following precedent regarding the selection of committees:

1) Time Requirements—If a Senator is presented with selection options prior to noon, that Senator must notify the committee of his or her decision by the close of business that same day (5 p.m. EST). If a Senator is presented with selection options after noon, then a decision must be made by noon on the next business day.

2) Senators should designate which committee they wish to relinquish as their third "A" committee. This designation (if not stated in a letter) would be under the same time constraints as above. (Republican Conference Minutes, June 23, 1992.)

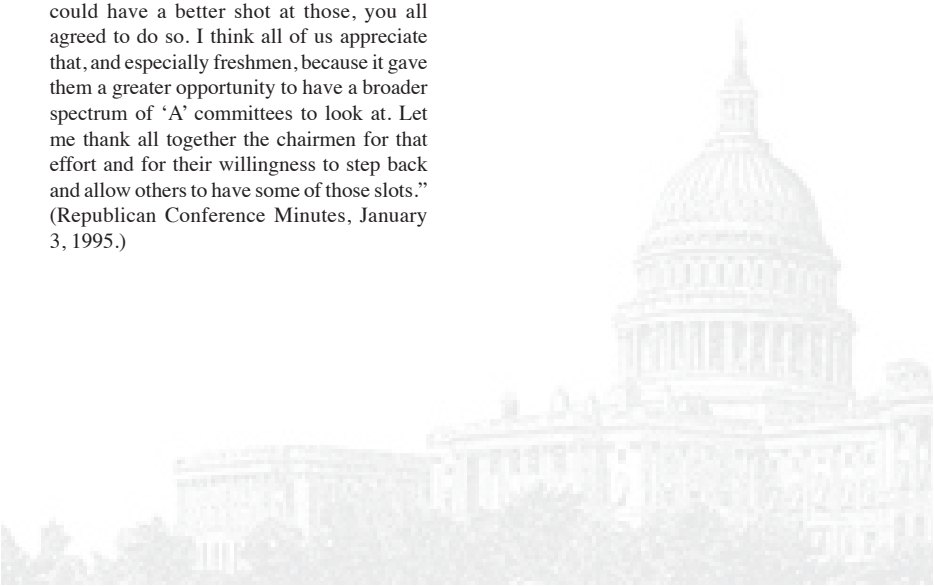
Service of Committee Chairmen on "A" Committees

At a January 3, 1995, meeting of the Republican Conference, the Chairman of the Committee on Committees, Senator Larry Craig of Idaho, reported:

> "Let me now thank the committee chairmen, for when it was my task to ask you—because I was asked by Leader Dole to do so—if you would stand aside from your third 'A' committee so that freshmen and other Members could have a better shot at those, you all agreed to do so. I think all of us appreciate that, and especially freshmen, because it gave them a greater opportunity to have a broader spectrum of 'A' committees to look at. Let me thank all together the chairmen for that effort and for their willingness to step back and allow others to have some of those slots." (Republican Conference Minutes, January 3, 1995.)

Term Limits for Leadership and Committee Chairs

The Chairman recognized Senator Alexander, who prompted a discussion on the precedent that partial terms do not count against the term limits specified in Rules 1 and 5. General discussion followed. Concerns were raised that the precedent should not apply to a lengthy partial term, and Senator Alexander made a motion that the Conference "continue to proceed on the existing precedent that partial terms of one year or less not count against the term limits specified in Rules 1 and 5 of the Conference rules." The motion was adopted by voice vote. (Republican Conference Minutes, April 19, 2016)



Resolutions Adopted by the Senate Republican Conference

January 10, 2017

Earmark Moratorium

Resolved, that it is the policy of the Republican Conference that no Member shall request a congressionally directed spending item, limited tax benefit, or limited tariff benefit, as such items are used in Rule XLIV of the Standing Rules of the Senate

Moratorium on Unfunded Mandates on State and Local Governments

Resolved, the Senate Republican Conference believes that Congress should not create new federal unfunded mandates on state and local governments. In further-ance of this goal, it is the policy of the Conference to:

1. Support an amendment to the Budget Act or the annual budget resolution creating a point of order against federal unfunded mandates on state and local governments, which point of order may be waived by a vote of three-fifths of senators duly chosen and sworn.

2. Ask the Chairman of the Budget Committee to undertake a review of fed-eral unfunded mandates on state and local gov-ernments and, where appropriate, recommend the repeal or amendment of those mandates.

Moratorium on New Entitlement Spending Programs

Resolved, during the 116th Congress the Senate Republican Conference believes Congress should not enact any new entitlement (mandatory spending) programs unless accompanied by reductions in the number and size of existing entitlement programs.

Balanced Budget Amendment

It is Resolved by the United States Senate Republican Conference:

(1) That a Balanced Budget Amendment to the United States Constitution is necessary to restore fiscal discipline to our Republic;

(2) That a Balanced Budget Amendment should require the President to submit to Congress a proposed budget prior to each fiscal year in which total federal spending does not exceed total federal revenue within 10 fiscal years;

(3) That a Balanced Budget Amendment should include a requirement that a supermajority of both houses of Congress be necessary to increase taxes;

(4) That a Balanced Budget Amendment should include a limitation on total federal spending.

Cancel Unspent Stimulus Funds

Resolved, that it is the policy of the Republican Conference to cancel unspent federal stimulus funds.

Hiring Freeze on Non-Security

Resolved, it is the policy of the United States Senate Republican Conference that a net federal hiring freeze on non-security employees should be imposed.

Non-Defense Discretionary Spending Cap

It is Resolved by the United States Senate Republican Conference:

(1) That federal spending has grown at unsustainable levels under President Obama and the Democrat-led Senate;

(2) That non-defense discretionary spending has grown by over 16.73 percent between FY 2008-2012;

(3) That these spending levels have caused and accompanied a dramatic increase in the size of government;

(4) That these spending increases have led to record-setting deficits which pass off our debts to our children and grandchildren and threaten to cause economic harm to the long-term strength of our nation;

(5) That non-defense non-emergency discretionary spending should be reduced to FY 2008 levels adjusted for inflation; and

(6) That such a reduction in non-security discretionary spending should be enforced through Discretionary Spending Caps.

Surplus Member Office Allocations

It is Resolved by the United States Senate Republican Conference:

(1) That the current fiscal trajectory of the nation is unsustainable;

(2) That Congress must demonstrate leadership in restoring fiscal discipline to the federal government;

(3) That surplus balances unused by members of Congress be used to pay down the national debt;

(4) That such surplus balances not be used for purposes other than reducing the national debt.

(5) That annual appropriations bills should provide the full amount due to each Senator's Official Personnel and Office Expense Account as determined by the allocation formula (which accounts for population and distance from Washington, D.C.) to ensure that amounts saved by one Senator are not spent.

Strengthen and Preserve Our Entitlement Programs

It is Resolved by the United States Senate Republican Conference:

(1) That spending for mandatory programs (such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and federal subsidies for health insurance under ObamaCare) will grow by 72 percent over the next 10 years according to the Congressional Budget Office (CB0) which is faster than projected economic growth;

(2) That the Social Security Disability Insurance (DI) Program will become insolvent around fiscal year 2017, resulting in automatic reductions in payments to DI beneficiaries in late 2016 according to the Social Security actuaries;

(3) That the combined trust funds for DI and for Old Age and Survivors Insurance (OASI) will be depleted of all reserves in 2033 according to the actuaries;

(4) That reform of our nation's entitlement programs to strengthen and preserve the benefits to which beneficiaries are entitled should be a priority of the 114th Congress."

Member and Staff Health Care

Resolved, that it is the policy of the Republican Conference that all Members shall designate all staff they employ as official for purposes of healthcare when filling out the Annual Designation of "Official Office" staff or otherwise complying with the section 1312 of the Affordable Care Act regardless of whether they work in a member's personal office, committee office, leadership office, the cloakroom or any other office.

Challenge to Democrats

The Republican Conference calls upon the Senate Democrats to adopt a policy that all Democrat members shall designate all staff they employ as official for purposes of healthcare when filling out the Annual Designation of "Official Office" staff or otherwise complying with the section 1312 of the Affordable Care Act regardless of whether they work in the member's personal office, committee office, leadership office, the cloakroom or other any other office.

Appendix I

Chairmen of the Republican Conference

William B. Allison (Iowa), *1897-1901, 1904-1906*
Eugene Hale (Maine), *1901-1902, 1903-1904, 1906-1907, 1909-1910*
Orville Platt (Connecticut), *1902-1903*
Nelson W. Aldrich (Rhode Island), *1908-1909*
Shelby Cullom (Illinois), *1910-1913*
Jacob H. Gallinger (New Hampshire), *1913-1918*
Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr. (Massachusetts), *1918-1924*
Charles Curtis (Kansas), *1925-1929* (also elected Floor Leader)
James E. Watson (Indiana), *1929-1932* (also elected Floor Leader)
Charles L. McNary (Oregon), *1933-1944* (also elected Floor Leader)
Arthur H. Vandenberg (Michigan), *1945-1946*
Eugene D. Millikin (Colorado), *1947-1956*
Leverett Saltonstall (Massachusetts) *1957-1966*
Margaret Chase Smith (Maine), *1967-1972*
Norris Cotton (New Hampshire), *1973-1974*
Carl T. Curtis (Nebraska), *1975-1978*
Bob Packwood (Oregon), *1979-1980*
James A. McClure (Idaho), *1981-1984*
John H. Chafee (Rhode Island), *1985-1990*
Thad Cochran (Mississippi), *1991-1996*
Connie Mack (Florida), *1997-2000*
Rick Santorum (Pennsylvania), *2001-2006*
Jon Kyl (Arizona), *2007*
Lamar Alexander (Tennessee), *2008-2011*
John Thune (South Dakota), *2012-2019*
John Barrasso (Wyoming), *2019 - Present*

Vice Chairmen of the Republican Conference *(Title Changed as of January 2001)*

Kay Bailey Hutchison (Texas), *2001-2006*
John Cornyn (Texas), *2007-2008*
John Thune (South Dakota), *2009*
Lisa Murkowski (Alaska), *2009-2010*
John Barrasso (Wyoming), *2010-2011*
Roy Blunt (Missouri), *2012-2019*
Joni Ernst (Iowa) *2019-Present*

Secretaries of the Republican Conference

Charles Curtis (Kansas), *1911-1913*
William S. Kenyon (Iowa), *1913-1915*
James W. Wadsworth, Jr. (New York), *1915-1927*
Frederick Hale (Maine), *1927-1940*
Wallace H. White, Jr. (Maine), *1940-1944*
Harold H. Burton (Ohio), *1944-1945*
J. Chandler ("Chan") Gurney (South Dakota), *1945-1946*
Milton R. Young (North Dakota), *1946-1971*
Norris Cotton (New Hampshire), *1971 - 1972*
Wallace F. Bennett (Utah), *1973 - 1974*
Robert T. Stafford (Vermont), *1975 - 1976*
Clifford P. Hansen (Wyoming), *1977-1978*
E.J. ("Jake") Garn (Utah), *1979-1985*
Thad Cochran (Mississippi), *1985-1990*
Bob Kasten (Wisconsin), *1991-1992*
Trent Lott (Mississippi), *1993-1994*
Connie Mack (Florida), *1995-1996*
Paul Coverdell (Georgia), *1997-2000*

Republican Floor Leaders

Charles Curtis (Kansas), *1925-1929* (also Conference Chairman)
James E. Watson (Indiana), *1929-1932* (also Conference Chairman)
Charles L. McNary (Oregon), *1933-1944* (also Conference Chairman)
Wallace H. White, Jr. (Maine), *1945-1948*
Kenneth S. Wherry (Nebraska), *1949-1951*
Styles Bridges (New Hampshire), *1952*
Robert A. Taft (Ohio), *1953*
William F. Knowland (California), *1953-1958*
Everett McKinley Dirksen (Illinois), *1959-1969*
Hugh Scott (Pennsylvania), *1969-1976*
Howard H. Baker, Jr. (Tennessee), *1977-1984*
Robert Dole (Kansas), *1985-1996*
Trent Lott (Mississippi), *1996-2001*

Bill Frist, M.D. (Tennessee), *2001-2006*
Mitch McConnell (Kentucky), *2007-present*

Republican Whips

James W. Wadsworth, Jr. (New York), *1915*
Charles Curtis (Kansas), *1915-1924*
Wesley L. Jones (Washington), *1924-1929*
Simeon Fess (Ohio), *1929-1933*
Felix Hebert (Rhode Island), *1933-1935*
Kenneth S. Wherry (Nebraska), *1944-1949*
Leverett Saltonstall (Massachusetts), *1949-1957*
Everett McKinley Dirksen (Illinois), *1957-1959*
Thomas Kuchel (California), *1959-1969*
Hugh Scott (Pennsylvania), *1969*
Robert Griffin (Michigan), *1969-1977*
Ted Stevens (Alaska), *1977-1985*
Alan K. Simpson (Wyoming), *1985-1994*
Trent Lott (Mississippi), *1995-1996*
Don Nickles (Oklahoma), *1996-2001*
Mitch McConnell (Kentucky), *2001-2006*
Trent Lott (Mississippi), *2007*
Jon Kyl (Arizona), *2008-2012*
John Cornyn (Texas), *2013-2019*
John Thune (South Dakota) *2019-Present*

Chairmen of the Republican Policy Committee

Robert A. Taft (Ohio), *1947-1952*
William F. Knowland (California), *1953*
Homer Ferguson (Michigan), *1954*
Styles Bridges (New Hampshire), *1955-1961*
Bourke B. Hickenlooper (Iowa), *1962-1968*
Gordon Allott (Colorado), *1969-1972*
John Tower (Texas), *1973-1984*
William Armstrong (Colorado), *1985-1990*
Don Nickles (Oklahoma), *1991-1996*
Larry Craig (Idaho), *1996-2001*
Jon Kyl (Arizona), *2001-2006*
Kay Bailey Hutchison (Texas), *2007-2008*
John Ensign (Nevada), *2009*
John Thune (South Dakota), *2009-2011*
John Barrasso (Wyoming), *2012-2019*
Roy Blunt (Missouri) 2019-Present

Chairmen of the National Republican Senatorial Committee

Ted Stevens (Alaska), *1975-1977*
Bob Packwood (Oregon), *1977-1979*
John Heinz (Pennsylvania), *1979-1981*
Bob Packwood (Oregon), *1981-1983*
Richard Lugar (Indiana), *1983-1985*
John Heinz (Pennsylvania), *1985-1987*
Rudy Boschwitz (Minnesota), *1987-1989*
Don Nickles (Oklahoma), *1989-1990*
Phil Gramm (Texas), *1991-1994*
Alfonse D'Amato (New York), *1995-1996*
Mitch McConnell (Kentucky), *1997-2000*
Bill Frist (Tennessee), *2001-2001*
George Allen (Virginia), *2001-2004*
Elizabeth Dole (North Carolina), *2005-2006*
John Ensign (Nevada), *2007-2008*
John Cornyn (Texas), *2009-2012*
Jerry Moran (Kansas), *2013-2014*
Roger Wicker (Mississippi), *2015-2016*
Cory Gardner (Colorado), *2017-2019*
Todd Young (Indiana) *2019-Present*

Appendix II

Standing/ Nonstanding	Category	Committee Chair of:	Ability to Chair Another Full Committee	Number of Subcommittees Allowed	Appropriations Subcommittee Exclusions
Standing	Super A	**Appropriations**	N	0	Y
Standing	Super A	**Armed Services**	N	0	Y
Standing	Super A	**Finance**	N	0	Y
Standing	Super A	**Foreign Relations**	N	0	Y
Standing	A	**Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry**	N	0	Y
Standing	A	**Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs**	N	0	Y
Standing	A	**Commerce, Science & Transportation**	N	0	Y
Standing	A	**Energy & Natural Resources**	N	0	Y
Standing	A	**Environment & Public Works**	N	0	Y
Standing	A	**Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs**	N	0	Y
Standing	A	**Intelligence (Select)**	N	0	N
Standing	A	**Judiciary**	N	0	Y
Standing	A	**Health, Education, Labor & Pensions**	N	0	Y
Standing	B	**Budget**	N	1	N
Standing	B	**Rules & Administration**	N	1	N
Standing	B	**Small Business & Entrepreneurship**	N	1	N
Standing	B	**Veterans Affairs**	N	1	N
Non-Standing	B	**Aging (Special)**	N	1	N
Non-Standing	B	**Joint Economic**	N	1	N
Non-Standing	C	**Indian Affairs**	N	1	N
Non-Standing	C	**Ethics**	N	2	N
Non-Standing	C	**Joint Committee on LOC**	Y	N/A	N/A
Non-Standing	C	**Joint Committee on Printing**	Y	N/A	N/A
Non-Standing	C	**Joint Committee on Taxation**	Y	N/A	N/A
N/A	**N/A**	**NON-CHAIRS(34)****	**N/A**	**2**	**N**

** 33 Members have no chairmanship; 34 when the JEC is on the House Side

01/05/15

THE 116TH CONGRESS

Chairman John Barrasso