

the state and national committees of a candidate's party can support his campaign at a rate of 2¢ per vote—roughly \$2.9 million.

Presidential primary campaigns would be financed by a mixture of public and private funding, but with a spending limit of \$10 million per candidate. To become eligible for any public funds at all, a candidate would first have to raise \$5,000 in each of at least 20 states, in gifts not exceeding \$250. For each \$5,000 such a candidate raised privately, the Government would provide a matching \$5,000, up to \$4.5 million. In addition, the nominating conventions of major parties would be supported from the check-off fund with \$2 million each—roughly what the two parties spent in 1972.

FRINGE CANDIDATES. A presidential candidate from a party not defined as major would be entitled to public funds under a formula linked to the percentage of the public vote his party received in the most recent presidential election. (The American Independent Party, which ran John G. Schmitz for President in 1972, polled 1,099,482 votes, only less than 5% of the total, and thus would not qualify.)

The big battle in the conference committee was over applying the public funding idea to senatorial and congressional races. House members, who have to run for office every other year, were particularly loath to provide ready funds for opponents seeking to unseat them. Some critics of the House bill, which provided public financing only for presidential campaigns, tagged it the Incumbents' Protection Act.

The conferees did agree, however, to place upper limits on both private donations and candidate expenditures in Senate and House campaigns. Candidates for the Senate could spend \$100,000 in primary elections or 8¢ per voter in their state, whichever amount is greater; they could spend \$150,000 in general elections or 12¢ per voter. In New York, for example, the 12¢ would allow about \$1.5 million (in his successful 1970 campaign, New York Senator James Buckley spent \$1.1 million in the general election). The same limitations would apply to House candidates in the six states that have only one Congressman (Alaska, Delaware, Nevada, North Dakota, Vermont and Wyoming). For House races in other states, candidates could spend no more than \$70,000 in their primary- and general-election campaigns.

No single individual could give more than \$25,000 in one election year, no matter how many candidates for federal office shared in his gifts. He could give only \$1,000 to a single candidate in each election (primary, runoff and general) or a total of \$3,000. Organizations such as the National Education Association could give only \$5,000 to a candidate in each such election, or a total of \$15,000.

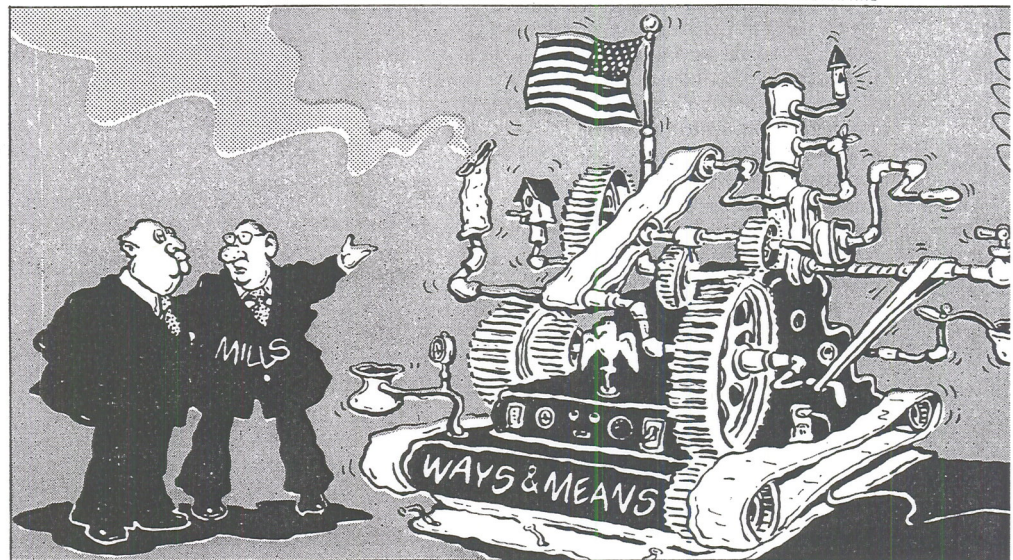
The Senate conferees prevailed in insisting that a relatively independent commission with enforcement powers be created to ensure that the new laws are observed. It would consist of six voting members, two each nominated by the House, the Senate and the President. All nominees to the commission would have to be confirmed by a majority vote of both the House and Senate. The commission could bring civil but not criminal action against offenders; the legislators had no wish to make it easier to jail a Senator or Representative.

By the time the compromise was reached, the pressures for reform had grown so great that many past foes of public financing revealed that they would vote for the measure. Alabama's Democratic Senator James Allen, who

had filibustered against the original Senate bill, indicated he would not repeat that tactic. Ohio Democrat Wayne Hays, who had bottled up the reform in committee for months, is now expected to support the compromise.

The only remaining question was whether President Ford, long an outspoken critic of public financing, would sign the bill. It is expected that he too, despite personal misgivings, will decide that some reform is essential. Said John Gardner, chairman of the citizens' lobby Common Cause: "We got more than we had expected—other than in the area of public financing of congressional elections." Gardner and other observers predict that by 1978, public funding of House and Senate races will also be a fact.

MICHAEL WITTE FOR TIME



"Unwieldy? You call that unwieldy?"

THE CONGRESS

The Struggle to Reform the House

For all of their complaints about the shift of power from Capitol Hill to the White House, most Congressmen realize that the nature of Congress itself, which sometimes resembles a collection of medieval fiefdoms, is largely to blame. Major legislation is frequently blocked by intramural squabbling between competing committees of the House, and some Congressmen hold too many important committee assignments to be effective in any of them. Far more than the Constitution intended, the President initiates—and the Congress, hampered by its unwieldy machinery, merely reacts.

Last year, in an effort to modernize its structure and procedures for the first time since 1946, the House of Representatives created a select committee headed by Missouri's tough-minded Democrat Richard Bolling to produce ideas for reform. Last week, as the House began debate on the Bolling committee's pro-

posals, it was clear that everyone favored reform—for everyone else—and that many Congressmen were sorry they had even mentioned the word. Many members, said Michigan Democrat John Dingell, felt like the little boy who had shot a skunk: "After you've shot it, you're not quite sure what to do with it."

With a budget of \$1.5 million, a staff of 14, and a membership of ten evenly divided between Democrats and Republicans, the Bolling committee labored for more than a year. It listened patiently to committee chairmen, academics, businessmen and labor leaders. It analyzed the 22 standing committees of the House and the 125 subcommittees.

The Bolling group concluded that: some committees have too little to do and others too much (simply because of its overload, for example, Ways and Means is often unable to consider measures that should have top priority); some important fields, like energy or the

environment, are split between two or more committees; the House itself has no firm leadership, and the Speaker little real power; though the House is responsible for continuous overseeing of the Executive Branch, it has made little effort to do this job; though committees have expanded their staffs, the House still has no good way of obtaining information independent of the Executive.

In a 90-page package, the reformers offered these solutions:

▶ An area of concern—the environment, for example—should be handled by only one committee, and duplication should be avoided.

▶ No member should serve on more than one major committee.

▶ The powers of the Speaker should be expanded by strengthening his authority to refer legislation to committees.

▶ Committees should be formally given the continuous task of overseeing the Executive departments for which they are responsible.

▶ An information commission should be set up to recommend ways of giving the House more complete data for drafting laws.

The proposal to reorganize committees was the most controversial. Two of the most powerful committees, Appropriations and Rules, would be left largely alone. But Ways and Means would be stripped of authority over trade legislation, general revenue sharing, major areas of unemployment compensation, manpower and health care (still leaving it in charge of, among other things, taxation, Social Security, Medicare financing and welfare). The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee would be reconstituted into the Committee on Energy and Environment, absorbing jurisdiction in these areas from several other committees and giving up control of Indian affairs, grazing lands and U.S. overseas territories.

The Education and Labor Committee would be split in two. A new Labor Committee would take over nontax aspects of unemployment compensation from Ways and Means and legislation dealing with civil service and postal workers. A new Education Committee would pick up responsibility for the elderly, the arts and humanities and a vast array of federal educational programs. The Foreign Affairs Committee, which has never held real power, would be enormously strengthened by gaining trade jurisdiction from Ways and Means, as well as special responsibilities for tariffs and customs and foreign intelligence. The Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee would almost disappear, while the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and the Internal Security Committee, once the Un-American Activities Committee and the springboard for Richard Nixon's career, would be abolished altogether.

The committee chairmen realized quickly who stood to lose and who to gain from the package. Potential losers

were naturally the most vociferous. "I'll fight to the death," proclaimed Missouri's Leonor Sullivan, the new chairman of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. Arkansas' Wilbur Mills, who as chairman of Ways and Means is considered the single most powerful man in the House, kept silent publicly for the moment, but was expected to speak up—loudly—before the voting. From the outside, the AFL-CIO objected to the breakup of the Education and Labor Committee, fearing that a Labor Committee would focus too narrowly, like some kind of arbitrator, on management-labor disputes. A coalition of environmental groups opposed the marriage of energy and environment in one committee, fearing that their cause would receive short shrift in a

week after four months of hearings, the result was perhaps the most confusing debate in recent memory. "All over the building the members were lobbying each other last week, trying to cut deals and swaps," reported TIME Congressional Correspondent Neil MacNeil. "The confusion was genuine. None of the leaders knew what was what—neither the formal leaders of the House nor the leaders of the various factions involved in the debate."

For all the confusion, there was little doubt that a majority of both parties would not mind a bit if the whole issue just went away. But the trouble was that at least some voters were watching, and in the wake of the Watergate-inspired outcry for reform, it would hardly do to resist a vastly important reform.



WILLIAM DORN (LEFT) WITH CHARLES RAVENEL AFTER BEING NOMINATED

group dominated by energy producers.

The dividing line in the reform argument was never liberal v. conservative. Republicans tended to favor the reformers. Indeed, one of the Bolling planks would guarantee the minority control over one-third of a committee's staff (as opposed to one-quarter now on most committees) so that it would have the resources to offer alternatives to the majority's legislative initiatives. Mostly, the Republicans sat back and gleefully watched Democrats fighting Democrats.

Last May the House Democratic Caucus created another committee to study the Bolling committee's recommendations. That committee, headed by Washington's Julia Butler Hansen, watered down or scrapped most of Bolling's plans in its own 86-page proposal. Afraid that reform would be lost altogether if the House opted for the Hansen sugar pills, Nebraska's David Martin, the ranking Republican on the Bolling committee, came up with a 92-page compromise package, halfway between Bolling and Hansen.

When all three massive, highly technical packages hit the House floor last

SOUTH CAROLINA

Quarterback Sneak

Charles ("Pug") Ravenel had set himself an ambitious timetable. He wanted to be reasonably rich by 30, Governor of South Carolina by 36, President of the U.S. by 44. He had achieved his first ambition, and to everyone's surprise, he seemed on the verge of accomplishing the second. In South Carolina's primary last July, he outpolled six other candidates, then went on to trounce favored Congressman William Jennings Bryan Dorn in the runoff. He was expected to have no trouble defeating Republican State Senator James Edwards, 47, a Charleston dentist with a right-wing following, in the November election. But in his zeal to succeed, Ravenel failed to read—or heed—the fine print in the state constitution.

One section of that 75-page document states that no one shall be Governor who has not lived in the state for five years preceding the election. But Ravenel had been away for 15 years—at Harvard, where he became one of the