

84th Ducks Roll-Calls

Any voting record culled from the first session of the 84th Congress must be an inadequate one. The measure of political genius in this session has too often been the ability to engage in parliamentary maneuvers to forestall the open discussion and recorded vote associated with the democratic process. There were not only too few roll-call votes on liberal vs. conservative issues—there were simply too few roll-call votes. When there were votes, the issues were often clouded by off-the-floor compromises and deals. An example of this undemocratic parliamentary practice was the Senate removal of the requirement of fair labor standards from the highway construction bill without a recorded vote.

The same old conservative coalition which has controlled all but one Congress since 1940 remained dominant this session. During the past 15 years this coalition has taken on different sizes and shapes. Its power was greatly curtailed during the 81st Congress, elected in 1948 with President Truman. Today it is made up of almost all the Republicans plus one-third or more of the Democrats in Congress. In past years a small band of Republicans in the Senate and House could always be relied upon to do battle on the liberal side. This band has all but disappeared. Some are no longer in the Congress (i.e. Tobey, Norris and Javits.) One has left the Republican Party—Wayne Morse. But most significant, almost all who remain have submerged themselves in what former Representative, now Senator, Clifford Case (R., N.J.) describes as his "1000% support of Eisenhower." This has meant nearly a 1000% repudiation of liberal practices and principles, as any fair reading of Eisenhower's domestic program in health, education, welfare, labor relations, natural resources and basic economic policy clearly demonstrates.

Liberals in this first session of the 84th Congress knew they were in the minority. The question they faced on each issue—as well as on overall strategy—was whether to do battle and thus build a record upon which a campaign for the election of more liberals could be based, or to compromise here and there so as to be able to put together from time to time a winning combination on specific votes. Too often, this "compromising" was a one-way street, with the conservatives directing the traffic.

Foreign Policy Issues

On foreign affairs Congress did little of a positive nature. It approved a Formosa Resolution demanded by President Eisenhower to underwrite authority which he already had under the Constitution. A strong effort was made to make opposition to the Formosa Resolution a pro-Communist crime against freedom. Only a handful of Senators were willing to vote for a modification of the Resolution. In the House no amendments were offered and only three of the 413 Representatives recorded voted against passage.

On reciprocal trade Democratic leaders in the House got through a good bill which would have permitted substantial tariff reductions and at the same time have discouraged duty increases. However, before the House-passed bill was brought to the Senate for debate, the President had agreed to a behind-the-scenes compromise with Senator Byrd (D., Va.). The compromise reduced the President's tariff-cutting authority and opened new ways for protectionists to garner support. In arguing for passage of the

Voting Records Inside

This supplement contains the voting record of each member of the House and Senate for the first session of the 84th Congress. For this record, as in the past, we have chosen a cross section of major issues which show a clear-cut division of opinion for and against liberal policies as ADA sees them. Necessarily this manner of selection, coupled with limitations of space, requires the omission of lesser issues and issues which do not present a clear-cut liberal versus conservative distinction.

The pluses and minuses in this voting record are in accord with the general body of liberal opinion in each case, and the issues have been selected as nearly as possible to provide a yardstick of Congressional concern with public welfare and national security.



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mutilated bill when it finally came before the Senate, reciprocal trade supporters explained that "after all, it's better than no bill at all." They were relying heavily on what they believed to be the President's ability to resist pressure for tariff increases. Apparently they failed to note that, since President Eisenhower took office in 1953, not one tariff has been reduced while three increases have been approved.

The "massive" foreign aid program which President Eisenhower talked about during the fall of 1954 became rather weak and puny by the time he sent his request to Congress in the late winter of 1955. Congress not only trimmed the program substantially but wrote into the law a "spite India" provision. Opposition to this serious curtailment in foreign aid was left to those in the lower echelons of the Administration.

Domestic Issues

Democratic leadership in the House was responsible for the passage of a tax-reduction bill which would have given badly needed relief to taxpayers with large families and low incomes. But in the Senate the measure was killed when the two ranking Democrats on the Senate Finance Committee joined President Eisenhower in opposition to this kind of a tax cut.

The minimum wage was upped from 75c to \$1.00 over the strong opposition of President Eisenhower and Republican leaders in Congress. In the House they came within a handful of votes of stopping the wage at 90c. Proposals for expanding coverage of the minimum wage law to include millions of low-paid workers (who can legally be protected but are not) were dropped early in the consideration of the bill. No roll-call in the record showed who was for expanded coverage and who was against it.

A housing bill cleared Congress in the closing days of the session which included provision for 45,000 public low-rent housing units during the next year. This is the best housing bill that Congress has enacted since 1952, but it is a far cry from the yearly average of 135,000 public housing units authorized by the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Act of 1949. The President had requested only 35,000 housing units and had demanded that they be tied to urban renewal and slum clearance to such an extent that even this small number of units would never have been built.

Enough coalition Democrats joined the Republicans in the House and Senate to permit passage of the Eisenhower plan to sell the government-owned synthetic rubber plants to the nation's biggest oil and rubber companies. The liberals in Congress had hoped that the plants would go to new and independent companies so that competition in the monopoly-ridden rubber industry might be encouraged. No one in Congress argued against the proposition that the government should divest itself of these plants, built originally as an emergency measure during World War II.

The most efficient operation of the coalition was the defeat of statehood for Alaska and Hawaii in the House. Eisenhower and the great majority of the Republicans in Congress opposed statehood for Alaska because they feared Alaska would send a Democratic delegation to Congress. Eisenhower and the Republicans have been lukewarm about statehood for Hawaii since it elected a Democratic legislature in 1954, and they feared that if too might send a Democratic delegation to Congress. Southern Democrats opposed the admission of either territory for fear that four more pro-civil rights Senators would be added to Congress, thereby reducing the effectiveness of

the filibuster as a veto to consideration of civil rights legislation.

The House of Representatives, under the rigorous spurring of Speaker Rayburn, passed an amendment to the Natural Gas Act removing the authority of the Federal Government to regulate producers' prices of gas. If it becomes law it will take considerably more dollars from the American consumers each year than they will gain from the minimum-wage law which the 84th Congress enacted. Rayburn was unsuccessful in rounding up a majority of the Democrats to support this natural gas steal. However, in true coalition form, a large majority of the Eisenhower Republicans joined ranks behind the Speaker to give him the votes he needed.

In the Senate's next session it is doubtful that the pro-oil and gas Democratic leadership can round up support from a majority of Democrats to obtain passage of this legislation. However, unless President Eisenhower can be persuaded to take a stand on the side of the consumer, the Republicans are sure to provide the votes needed for final passage of the bill. Big oil and gas companies use the easy money gained by tax favors, such as depletion allowances, to buy their way into the good graces of the leadership of both parties. The offshore oil giveaway of 1953 and the natural gas act amendment of 1955-56 are the fruits of their labors.

On civil rights there is little in the record by which to judge the members of Congress. No civil rights bill came to a vote. Anti-segregation provisions in the housing and military reserve bills were either not voted on or the votes were purposely unrecorded. The single roll-call on a civil rights issue came with an attempt to retain the poll tax exemption in the soldier vote law. This vote can only serve as a demonstration of the fact that supporters of civil rights legislation throughout the country have been so preoccupied with activity in the courts and state legislatures that they have failed to make their continued support for Federal legislation understood by their representatives in Congress. This is one area where action in Washington is almost entirely dependent upon pressure from home.

A Better Second Session?

It would be unfair and certainly unwise to pass final judgment on the 84th Congress from its record during the first session. Congressional Democrats have undergone a new experience, that of being the Congressional majority with a Republican President. The Democrats proved themselves to be able parliamentarians, but, as ADA has repeatedly pointed out, parliamentary ability alone is no reason for maintaining a party in control. There are good arguments why the Democrats should in the election year of 1956 force more of the issues to the floor and demand roll-calls. The liberals hope they will heed these arguments.

There are some in Washington who believe that during the election year we will see greater demand for action among the Congressional Republicans, so that they will have something more to run on in 1956 than Eisenhower's coattails. Therefore, it is possible that during the second session of the 84th Congress the desire for control of the 85th Congress might encourage action which would result in the passage of legislation in the interest of a majority of the American voters.

When Congress reconvenes in January it will have behind it several months of back-home reaction to the first session. If we are to see victory on liberal issues in the second session, it will be because those who voted for a liberal program in 1954 have effectively reasserted their continuing support and demand for such a program.

THE SENATE

1. Censure of Senator McCarthy — Passed 67-22, December 2, 1954.

The Senate reconvened in November 1954 to consider a resolution of condemnation and censure which had been introduced against the conduct of Senator McCarthy. After various amendments the resolution to condemn and censure McCarthy for 1) his failure to cooperate with a subcommittee which had investigated charges against him; 2) his abuse of the subcommittee; 3) his unfair and unfounded charges against the committee which recommended censure; and 4) his calling the Senate censure session a "lynch bee", was adopted. (A vote for censure is marked plus; against, minus).

2. Require Formosa Defense Be Consistent with International Law and UN Charter — Defeated 11-75, January 28.

President Eisenhower asked Congress to record itself in support of his authority to use US forces to defend Formosa, the Pescadores and related positions and territories in the area. Much controversy developed over whether or not such a position could involve the United States in war over the offshore islands such as Matsuo and Quemoy. Senator Kefauver proposed a substitute resolution which would have provided for defense of Formosa and the Pescadores according to standards of international law and the UN. (A vote for the Kefauver substitute is marked plus; against, minus).

3. Individual Income Tax Reduction — Defeated 61-32, March 15.

The House had approved a measure which would permit individual income tax payers a credit of \$20 per person. Such a law would give equal dollar relief to all taxpayers regardless of level of income. By this vote the Senate deleted the House passed reduction in taxes. (A vote for the elimination of the reduction is marked minus; against, plus).

4. Sale of Government-Owned Rubber Plants to Largest Oil and Rubber Companies — Resolution to disapprove, defeated 31-56, March 23.

The 83rd Congress authorized the sale of the 24 government-owned synthetic rubber plants. The plants were to be sold by a Commission to the highest bidder with due care to protect the public against monopoly. The Commission negotiated package bids and proposed to sell more than 80 percent of the production capacity to four large rubber companies and three large oil companies. Small rubber producers and fabricators complained that the proposed sale would contribute to the monopoly condition of the industry. This vote was taken on a resolution to disapprove the sale. (A vote for disapproval marked plus; against minus).

5. Modification of Tariff — Increasing Provisions of Trade Bill — Defeated 21-67, May 4.

The Senate Committee had written into the bill to extend the Reciprocal Trade Act a number of provisions establishing new machinery for increasing tariffs. Senator Douglas moved to modify some of these restrictive provisions. (A vote for modification of increase provisions is marked plus; against, minus).

6. Put 75 Percent of Foreign Economic Aid Funds on Loan Basis — Defeated 29-52, June 2.

Much of the foreign economic aid is made available on a negotiated part grant-part loan basis. These negotiations are left in the hands of the Administration. Here it was proposed to make it a rigid rule that 75 percent of the funds be on a loan basis. Such a provision

	1**	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ALABAMA										
Hill*	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
Sparkman	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
ARIZONA										
Hayden*	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	
Goldwater	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	
ARKANSAS										
Fulbright*	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
McClellan	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
CALIFORNIA										
Knowland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kuchel*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
COLORADO										
Allott	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Millikin*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CONNECTICUT										
Bush*	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Purtell	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DELAWARE										
Frear	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Williams	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FLORIDA										
Holland	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Smathers*	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GEORGIA										
George*	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Russell	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IDAHO										
Dworshak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Welker*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ILLINOIS										
Douglas	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dirksen	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
INDIANA										
Capewhart*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jenner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IOWA										
Hickenlooper*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Martin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KANSAS										
Carlson*	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Schoepfel	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KENTUCKY										
Barkley	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Clements*	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
LOUISIANA										
Ellender	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Long*	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MAINE										
Payne	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Smith	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MARYLAND										
Beall	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
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Kennedy	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Saltonstall	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MICHIGAN										
McNamara	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Potter	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
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Eastland	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
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Symington	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MONTANA										
Mansfield	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Murray	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

would have greatly handicapped the effective administration of the program. (A vote for the loan requirement is marked minus; against, plus).

7. Reduce Amount of Public Housing — Defeated 38-44, June 7.

The Senate Committee recommended a housing bill which included provision for 135,000 low rent public housing units per year for four years. Senator Capehart, long-time foe of public housing, moved to substitute the Eisenhower program of 35,000 units per year for two years. (A vote for the reduction is marked minus; against, plus).

8. Cut Economic Development Aid to India — Passed 68-16, July 22.

The House had passed a Mutual Security

Bill which reduced aid for Asia below the Administration's request. The Senate Committee proposed an additional cut of \$10 million in economic assistance to India. (A vote for the cut is marked minus; against, plus).

9. Retain Exemption From Poll Tax in Soldier Vote Law — Defeated 22-56, August 1.

The House and Senate had passed a bill providing new provisions for voting by members of the Armed Services. A provision, which had been in the law since 1940, which exempted servicemen, during time of war, from paying state poll taxes was left out of the new proposals. Senator Morse moved that the bill be sent back to Conference with instructions to retain the poll tax exemp-

tion. (A vote for poll tax exemption is marked plus; against, minus).

10. Nomination of Harold Patterson to Securities and Exchange Commission — Confirmed 49-29, August 2.

President Eisenhower has appointed a number of members to the SEC. Every one of his appointees has been from the securities industry which the SEC was established to regulate. With the nomination of Patterson the Commission was left with no one from outside the industry. Those who opposed Patterson's confirmation were urging that a public interest member be appointed in his stead, so that the public might be protected in the current wave of business mergers and proxy fights. (A vote for confirmation is marked minus; against, plus).

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Hruska..... - - - - -

NEVADA

Bible*..... - - - - -

Malone..... - - - - -

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Bridges..... - - - - -

Cotton*..... - - - - -

NEW JERSEY

Case..... - - - - -

Smith..... - - - - -

NEW MEXICO

Anderson..... - - - - -

Chavez..... - - - - -

NEW YORK

Lehman*..... - - - - -

Ives..... - - - - -

NORTH CAROLINA

Ervin*..... - - - - -

Scott..... - - - - -

NORTH DAKOTA

Langer..... - - - - -

Young*..... - - - - -

OHIO

Bender*..... - - - - -

Bricker..... - - - - -

OKLAHOMA

Kerr..... - - - - -

Monroney*..... - - - - -

OREGON

Morse*..... - - - - -

Neuberger..... - - - - -

PENNSYLVANIA

Duff*..... - - - - -

Martin..... - - - - -

RHODE ISLAND

Green..... - - - - -

Pastore..... - - - - -

SOUTH CAROLINA

Johnston..... - - - - -

Thurmond..... - - - - -

SOUTH DAKOTA

Case..... - - - - -

Mundt..... - - - - -

TENNESSEE

Gore..... - - - - -

Kefauver..... - - - - -

TEXAS

Daniel..... - - - - -

Johnson..... - - - - -

UTAH

Bennett*..... - - - - -

Watkins..... - - - - -

VERMONT

Aiken..... - - - - -

Flanders..... - - - - -

VIRGINIA

Byrd..... - - - - -

Robertson..... - - - - -

WASHINGTON

Jackson..... - - - - -

Magnuson*..... - - - - -

WEST VIRGINIA

Kilgore..... - - - - -

Neely..... - - - - -

WISCONSIN

McCarthy..... - - - - -

Wiley*..... - - - - -

WYOMING

O'Mahoney..... - - - - -

Barrett..... - - - - -

* Election for this seat in 1956.

** Issue number one was voted on in the 83rd Congress. Nine of the members of the 84th Senate had not taken office and Senator McCarthy voted "Present." These ten Senators have no indication of a vote on this issue.

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