Gale B4th Dealt People Out

The voting record of the second session of the 84th Congress adds up to a resounding denard for political action by independent liberals his year. The record demonstrates that, if the ountry is to hold its own or move forward to ard greater enjoyment of personal political freem and economic opoprtunity and security, to be selected to the Congress and liberal leadership restored to the White louse. The old coalition of conservative Southern bemocrats and Republicans controlled most of his session. The House of Representatives was tall times under the rule of this group.

Johnson As Broker

The Senate, under what has been widely divertised as "technically brilliant leadership," ecame a legislative brokerage house. Many state gislatures have operated in such a manner, but is complete acceptance in the US Senate is new. The number one broker is majority leader Lynon Johnson (D. Texas) and he is ably assisted y minority leader William Knowland (R.Calif.). In all domestic issues, except those touching oil r gas interests, these leaders stand aloof from he subject matter and sit in the cloak rooms or the telephones arranging deals among the arious blocs in the two parties. Each bloc or senator is invited to state what it or he wants and each is warned not to ask for more than one r two things, and above all not to interfere with that the other blocs or Senators have requested.

As a consequence of this brokerage arrange-

As a consequence of this brokerage arrangement hardly a measure came to the Senate floor his year without having been subjected to interest and deals. Therefore, the record is one of starts and stops and ups and downs, not all had, but very little good. Such a record defies a broad overall appraisal. Each area of need for ction and each legislative measure must be inalyzed and judged separately.

Foreign Policy

Foreign Policy

The failure of the Eisenhower Administration to come to grips with the need for specific egislation to implement its foreign policy must be blamed for what Congress did not do in foreign affairs. Secretary of State Dulles repeatedly admitted in closed hearings before Congressional Committees that the world situation had deteriorized over the last year or year and a half. However, publicly, President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles painted a picture of a bright present and a glowing immediate future in world affairs. The fact that the Administration had failed to request dequate funds for foreign aid during its first three years in office, meanwhile drawing upon the 20 billion left in the foreign aid pipeline by the Fruman Administration, was another source of read difficulty. In 1956 the President was forced to request nearly three times as many dollars for foreign aid as Congress had appropriated in 1955. A provoked Congress became vindictive, and gave the Administration only about two-hirds of what it had originally requested. Resorded votes in the House on the foreign aid authorization and appropriation came only on inal passage. The real tests were decided on unrecorded votes in the House on the foreign aid authorization and appropriation came only on inal passage. The real tests were decided on unrecorded votes on crippling amendments. Therefore, the House voting record in this respect serves merely to spotlight the hard core of 125 House isolationists. The Senate votes came on nore fundamental issues and are therefore more meaningful. An interesting event in the Senate was that a number of Southern Democrats, who ip until the last year or two were among the supporters of foreign aid, voted for substantial reductions in this year's program.

Everyone present and voting in both the House and Senate was recorded as favoring a

Everyone present and voting in both the louse and Senate was recorded as favoring a esolution expressing opposition to the admis-

Civil Rights in the Senate

On July 24. Senate rejected a procedural motion to at ours. The passage of this motion was a necessary prerequisite to bringing the House-passed tivil rights bill before the Senate. The motion was defeated 76 to 6. The six Senators voting for civil rights were: Senators Bender, Donglas, Hennings, Ives, Langer and Lehman, Senator Morse was absent but was paired in favor of the motion. All other Senators were recorded as voting against the motion or as absent.



WASHINGTON, D. C.



Congressional Supplement

sion of Red China to the United Nations. Of course, the question of the admission of Red China to the United Nations has not and will not come before the United States Congress. But the China Lobby wing of the GOP was convinced that once the '56 election is out of the way, Eisenhower and Dulles cannot be trusted on this issue and therefore they saw the expression of the unanimous sense of the Congress as an absolute necessity.

Two Steps Forward

Two steps forward

Two major items of domestic legislation should be rated as creditable. The Congress approved amendments to the Social Security Act, which for the first time will permit persons in covered employment who become permanently and totally disabled to receive their earned benefits when they reach the age of fifty. The measure also provided that widows and working women could receive their social security benefits at age 62 rather than age 65. The benefits at the earlier age are to be paid on a reduced scale.

The second major piece of legislation excepted.

age are to be paid on a reduced scale.

The second major piece of legislation enacted was the highway bill, which will provide substantial Federal funds for the construction of a modern, up-to-date interstate highway system. There was no liberal-conservative conflict over whether or not there should be a highway bill. The Federal Government has been in the business of subsidizing roads since the founding of the Republic. The liberal-conservative clash in the legislation came over the question of whether contractors building the roads should be required to pay wages equal to those prevailing in the labor market area. This prevailing wage requirement, known as the Davis-Bacon Act, is in most Federal construction legislation. The Senate first rejected application of Davis-Bacon to the highway bill, but later reversed itself. The bill, as it finally became law, carries the prevailing wages provision.

Sobeloff Approved

After months of inaction the appointment of Simon Sobeloff to the US Court of Apepals was confirmed by the Senate. Mr. Sobeloff had been severly attacked because he, as Solicitor-General of the United States, had argued the Government's side in the school segregation cases before the Supreme Court, and had refused to sign a Government brief justifying the use of undisclosed informers in loyalty-security cases. For months it appeared that the Judiciary Committee, which is dominated by such anti-civil rights, anti-civil liberties Senators as Eastland, Jenner and Welker, would not permit the nomination to come to the Senate for a vote. Several behind-the-scenes commitments on other legislative matters were used in getting the nomination reported from the Committee.

lative matters were used in getting the nomination reported from the Committee.

The plus side of the natural resources ledger should show that this Congress succeeded in providing some funds to move forward on the construction of projects already authorized. The minus side of this ledger includes the unbelievable Senate rejection of the high Federal Dam at Hells Canyon on the Snake River, and the failure of the House to vote on the Senate-passed bill to permit. New York to develop the power potential of the Niagara River. Public development of Hells Canyon went down to defeat in the Senate because of almost total Republican opposition and the ability of the private utilities interests to get the support of eight Southeastern Senators who hold office as Democrats. The bill authorizing the New York state development of the Niagara had passed the Senate after two crucial tests—an attempt to remove the public and co-op preference clauses from the bill, and a move to kill the bill by recommitting it to Committee. The private power interests stopped the Niagara bill in the House Rules Committee. The bill was successfully blocked from floor action by a "back-scratching" operation, in which Congressman Wm. E. Miller (R.-N.Y.) moved to kill the civil rights bill by recommital and the South-

erners who dominate the Rules Committee kept the Niagara measure off the floor.

School Setback

The most disheartening episode in this session of Congress was the defeat of the school construction bill in the House of Representatives. The school bill was defeated when 95 House Republicans who voted to add an amendment, offered by Congressman Powell, barring aid to school systems in defiance of the Supreme Court's decision voted against final passage of the bill.

A housing bill providing for 35,000 units of public housing during each of the next two years became law. The Senate had originally endorsed a program of 135,000 units for each of the next four years, but when the final off-the-floor compromise was agreed to and brought before the Senate for ratification, Johnson and Knowland effectively prevented a roll call vote.

The old Lodge Gossett proposal for giving more influence to the low-vote, one-party states in electing the President was back before the Senate again this year. This time it was labelled the Daniel-Mundt-Thurmond proposal, and would have permitted extensive gerrymandering. It failed of passage because the required two-thirds support could not be obtained. Senators Kennedy, Douglas, Case of New Jersey, and Lehman led the battle against this dangerous scheme.

Oil-Gas Lobby Scandal

No review of the record of the 84th Congress would be complete without a condemnation of the majority in the Senate who voted for the bill of the oil-gas industry to free producers' prices from regulation. The condemnation is not so much for their support of this anti-consumer legislation, but for their all-out opposition to an investigation of the scandalous activities of the industry in pressing for passage of the bill. The disclosure on the floor of the Senate of an attempt by an oil company to influence a Senator's vote was not accepted as a signal for caution, but started a stampede for a vote before more could be learned. The Senate was guided in this disgusting performance by Johnson and Knowland, working together as a team.

Important matters of national concern were passed over or unresolved in the attempt to avoid controversy. Legislation to meet the farm problem fell short of establishing a long-term policy and a short-term answer to low farm income. Civil rights and decent immigration legislation were lost in that seemingly inevitable compromise with the South. Tax reform was shelved because of strong opposition by the President. Improved labor legislation, extension of coverage of the minimum wage, and new health legislation were passed over because sufficient votes were not available to assure progress.

(NOTE: It was not possible to list more than seven significant roll-calls in the House, because most controversial issues were shunted aside in committee before they could reach the floor.)

Voting Records Inside

This supplement contains the voting record of each member of the House and Senate for the second 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-out division of opinion for and against liberal policies as ADA seasthem. Necessarily this manner of selection, coupled with limitations of space, requires the omission of lesser issues and issues which do not present a clear-out liberal versus conservative distinction.

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

House Voting Record

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Mutual Security Author 275-12

June 11.

By this vote the House autized \$3.6 billion for foreign aid vote for foreign aid is marked a against, minus.)

Refuse Federal Aid to States for Prevention Water Pollution—Defeated 165-213, June 13.

The House voted to strengthe Water Pollution Control Prior to final passage this vote taken, wherein the House refus delete the provision for Federal to states in building sewage displants. (A vote for Federal marked Alvert expring) marked plus; against, minus.

Substitute Tax Reba System for Grants to 3. States in School Con tion Bill — Defeated
168-250, July 7.

The opponents of Federal 1
States and local communities school construction proposed

school construction proposed percent income tax rebate for as a substitute for the gran mula proposed in the Commendorsed bill. It was generally ceded that this rebate formula have destroyed the effectives the bill. (A vote for the rebate mula is morked minus as mula is marked minus; as plus.)

Federal Aid for School 4. Construction — Del 194-224, July 5.
The House Committee

mended authorization of \$1.5 mended authorization of \$1.8 to be paid over the next few as grants to states and local munities for school constructs this vote the House defeated to (A vote for school construct marked plus; against, minus.

Key to Symbols

(+) indicates a vote which
policies.

(-) indicates a vote which

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Reject Power —Pass July 2 ie Joint gy reco of reactors for per. Privade the le door four four to the bill. ched min

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THESENATE

Revoke Authority to Regulate Producers' Prices of Natural Gas-Passed 53-38, February 6.

The Senate voted to revoke the Federal Power Commission's authority to regulate the price of natural gas produced for trans-mission in interstate pipelines. (A vote for removal of regulation is marked minus; against, plus.)

Eliminate 90% of Parity Provision from Farm. Bill-Passed 54-41, March 8.

The Senate voted to reject an attempt to replace the Eisenhower "flexible" support program with a minimum support level of 90% of parity on basic crops. (A vote for deletion of the 90% provision is marked minus; against, plus.)

Direct Popular Election of the President and Vice-President— Defeated 17-66, March 27.

(A vote for the direct deletion is marked plus; against, minus.)

Limit United States Participation in Interna-4. tional Labor Organiza-tion — Passed 43-40, April 19.

The Senate voted to limit US financial participation in the ILO so long as Russia or her satellites remain in the organization. (A vote for limitation is marked minus; against, plus.)

Authorize New York State Development of 5. Niagara River Power Passed 48-39, May 16.

(A vote for State development is marked plus; against, minus.)

Reduce Amount of Public Housing - Defeated 38-41, May 24.

The Senate voted to reject an amendment substituting 35,000 low-rent public housing units for each of the next two years for the Committee recommendation of 135,000 low-rent public housing units for each of the next four years. (A vote for a lower number is marked minus; against, plus.)

Remove Prevailing Wage Provision from 7. Highway Bill — Passed 40-39, May 29.

The Senate voted to eliminate the Davis-Bacon Act requirement that highway contractors pay a prevailing wage. The Senate later reversed itself and the final highway bill included the provision. (A vote for eliminating the prevailing wage requirement is marked minus; against, plus.)

Cut Aid to India by 50%8. —Defeated 23-56, June 29.

The Senate rejected Senator Bridges' attempt to halve foreign aid to India. (A vote for the cut is marked minus; against, plus.)

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Givilian Atomic Power Program — Passed 49-40, July 12

Same as House Issue number 7. (A vote for the program is marked plus; against, minus.)

Confirmation of Sobel-10. off Appointment-

Passed 64-19, July 16. Passed 64-19, July 16.
The Senate confirmed the appointment of Simon Sobeloff to the United States Court of Appeals. Sobeloff had been attacked for his views against segregation and against the use of informers in loyalty - security cases. (A vote for confirmation is marked plus; against, minus.)

Add Disability Provis-11. ion to Social Security Bill — Passed 47-45, July 17.

The Senate agreed to permit persons in covered employment who become permanently and to-tally disabled to receive social security benefits at age fifty. (A vote for is marked plus; against, minus.)

Permit Additional Income Under Old-Age Assistance—Passed 56-34, July 17.

The Senate voted to permit

States, in determining need of old-age assistance, to disregard the re-cipient's first \$50 of monthly in-come. (A vote for is marked plus; against, minus.)

Hells Canyon Dam — 13. Defeated 41-51, July 19. (A vote for the florm is plus; against, minus)

Reduce Foreign Aid

14. Funds—Defeated
42-44. July 20.

The Senate rejected an attempt to cut foreign military aid by \$400 million. (A vote for the cut is marked minus; against, plus.)