This was the first post-Sputnik Congress. It faced issues as great and complex as any that ever confronted a US Congress. As it adjourned, it was hard even to recall the atmosphere of patriotic concern and sober resolve in which it had convened only nine months earlier.

It would be incorrect to call it a "do-nothing Congress." Its record of accomplishment is long and, under less exacting circumstances, would appear substantial. It was constructive but—in the context of 1958—meager. It would be remembered, if for nothing else, as the Congress which admitted Alaska to the Union, decreed civilian control over the nation's programs for the conquest of outer space, and took the first significant step since 1947 toward unification of the defense establishment. But it will also be remembered as the Congress that ignored civil rights in the face of the gravest Constitutional crisis of 100 years, virtually ignored the crisis in American education in the face of the Soviet challenge, and produced the most violent — if unsuccessful — attack on the Supreme Court in a generation.

In fairness, it must be recorded that the 85th a generation.

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unsuccessful — attack on the Supreme Court in a generation.

In fairness, it must be recorded that the 85th Congress labored under the handicap of a President unable or unwilling to give the leadership required, most especially in times like these. The President's role was rarely strong and more often perfunctory, uncertain or even negative.

The leadership that came from the Congress itself was above all else practical. It practiced "the art of the possible," but never rose to the heights of the impossible, which is the test of leadership and may be the price of American survival. It was mainly not partisan, though there were intensely partisan encounters.

Since it chose to abstain from raising issues except in the most general terms, the Congressional leadership denied itself the motive force of powerful issues and was forced to operate by brokering among the diverse power blocs of the Senate and the House. In the process of assembling a majority on any plece of legislation, much often had to be traded away on that piece of legislation or in commitments for some other.

This process has its virtues and its drawheals. It processed a better Reciprocal Trade

of legislation or in commitments for some other.

This process has its virtues and its drawbacks. It produced a better Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act than many expected; it also produced miserable failures in education, urban renewal and labor legislation. It had a general tendency to whittle legislation to the least common terms acceptable to a widely based coalition majority—and often this was very little indeed. There were many occasions when it might have served the country better if the leadership had elected to go down fighting in a good cause rather than accept legislation compromised to the vanishing point.

On balance, the session has been justly char-

On balance, the session has been justly characterized as "a session distinguished by middle-of-the-road legislation or none at all".

Defense and Foreign Policy

Even before the Session convened, the Preparedness Sub-Committee of the Senate, under the chairmanship of Senator Lyndon Jonhson, initiated a comprehensive exploration of the failure of the United States to keep pace with the USSR. This eventuated in a series of recommendations to the Senate and to the Administration. Sputnik revived demands, in Congress, and out, for Federal aid to education at all levels. Many eloquent speeches and extensive testimony were put into the record, but the bills which emerged were limited mainly to higher education and to sciences and mathematics, largely ignoring the need for strengthening of the American educational system at its, base. Repeated efforts to include aid for school construction were rebuffed. Even these limited bills, however, ecame slimmer and slimmer as they went through successive wringings in committee, in the Administration, and on the floor. What finally emerged was properly characterized by one critic as "a pale shadow of earlier promises."

promises."

The post-Sputnik alarm produced a modified military reorganization plan, which was a triumph of Congressional and Administration leads, ership over the parochial prejudices of the several armed services and their Congressional devotees. The Congress also brought into being a new civilian agency to direct aeronautical and space programs, a decision which may prove as important as the 1947 decision to place atomic



SEPTEMBER, 1958

Congressional Supplement

energy under civilian control.

energy under civilian control.

Two major pieces of legislation affecting international relations emerged after protracted legislative battles. A five-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act passed the House by a surprisingly wide margin—with concessions to protection, which, while they weakened the program, did not cripple it. The House bill, however, was mutilated in the Senate Finance Committee; and it required all the skill of the Senate leadership, with the devoted support of Senate liberals, to salvage enough to make a tolerable four-year compromise with the House possible.

Another major battle was waged in both Houses to provide the funds for continuance of the Mutual Security program. In this case, it was the House which made the cuts and the Senate which moved to restore them. The final bill approved \$400 million for the Development Loan Fund—\$225 million less than the President's request. This was partially offset by a \$2 billion increase in the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank and an extension of the program for the sales abroad of agricultural surpluses for foreign currencies.

Anti-Recession Legislation

Anti-Recession Legislation

Anti-Recession Legislation

The response of the Congress to the recession was much sound and little substance. When the January figures on unemployment made it unmistakably clear that this was a major recession, the Congressional leadership rushed through a series of bills and resolutions bearing the appearance of "anti-recession legislation" but of little usefulness as means of hastening near-term recovery.

On two major anti-recession measures, unemployment insurance and tax relief, the Congress did little. A bill to provide more adequate unemployment benefits was whittled down by the conservatives, with Administration support, until there was nothing left but an offer of loans to the states if they chose to extend the duration of benefits.

In spite of persistent efforts, principally by Senator Douglas, the Administration (by compact with the Congressional leadership) refused to consent to a reduction of income and excise taxes as a means of stimulating purchasing power and promoting recovery.

Civil Rights and Civil Liberties

Civil Rights and Civil Liberties

Civil Rights and Civil Liberties

The Congress and the Administration, having passed the voting rights bill of 1957, buried the issue of civil rights under a bi-partisan blanket of inaction.

Senator Douglas' comprehensive and constructive bill to encourage and assist states in making some progress stoward school desegregation was denied even a hearing by a majority of a Senate sub-committee. Pro forma hearings were subsequently held before a House committee. Though the Senate Rules Committee approved Senator Douglas' proposal for a modification of Rule 22 (the anti-fillibuster rule); no action was taken by the Senate. There was not the slightest sign that the Administration and the Congressional leadership were prepared to deal with the explosive civil rights issue.

The unconcern for the constitutional issues of civil rights did not, however, deter the bi-partisan conservative coalition from a broad and massive assault on the Supreme Court for its decisions in cases of civil liberties and, by implication, civil rights. This assault was repulsed on all fronts by the narrowest of margins in a dramatic end-of-session legislative battle which is described elsewhere in this issue of the WORLD.

Ceneral Welfare

General Welfare

It was in the field of "the general welfare"—labor legislation, social and economic welfare housing and urban renewal, education, natural resources—that the strategy of the leadership resources — that the strategy of the leadership produced least.

The Kennedy-Ives bill to prescribe standards for the conduct of internal affairs of unions was

skillfully steered through the Senate, only to become mired in crude politics in the House. Organized management and anti-union Congressmen, unable to get the harsher bill they wanted, joined with the Administration in killing it. Though the bill had been modified in the Senate, seemingly to make it acceptable to the Secretary of Labor, the Administration denounced it before the House and encouraged the Republican yotes that killed it.

One small but significant step toward the re-

Republican yotes that killed it.

One small but significant step toward the reform of abuses was the passage of the Douglas bill for the disclosure of financial transactions of employee pension and benefit plans.

The Congress increased social security benefits and contributions, and the Federal share of public assistance payments. The increases, however, were only about enough to offset the increase in the cost of living, and the basic inadequacies of the social security and public assistance systems remain.

After passing two home financing bills. Con-

sistance systems remain.

After passing two home financing bills, Congress turned down a comprehensive bill for housing and urban renewal. Such a bill, sponsored by Senator Sparkman, easily passed the Senate after many concessions were made to the Republicans. However, a companion bill in the House encountered the opposition not only of the Rules Committee but of the Administration. Though it was supported by a large majority of Congressmen, it was six votes short of the 2/3 required to circumvent the Rules Committee.

A bill for the economic development and re-

A bill for the economic development and re-habilitation of chronically depressed areas was finally passed, but only after having been cut-tailed in both Houses. Even the stripped-down compromise version was too much for the Presi-dent who vetoed it as "unsound."

Natural Resources

The session was almost entirely barren of legislation for the development of natural resources. A bill to rescue Hell's Canyon for Federal development, though passed by the Senate in the first session, died quietly in House Committee in the second. So did several other development projects, including a bill to permit TVA to issue revenue bonds for new power facilities.

TVA to issue revenue bonds for new power facilities.

One unlamented casualty of Congressional politics was the natural gas bill to relieve natural gas producers of price regulation by the Federal Power Commission. This hardy perennial was lost in this Congress, as in its predecessor, as a consequence of the crude tactics of its elindustry advocates in trying to influence Congressional votes by the use of money.

The House "Committee on Legislative Oversight" began the Session with an explosion that resulted in the resignation of one of the members of the Federal Communications Commission for improprieties in connection with the granting of a license for a TV channel. This investigation, which was intended mainly to lead to reforms of the Federal regulatory agencies, by the end of the session had mainly led to the Democrats discovering a gold mine in the Adams-Goldfine scandal.

Voting Records Inside

Voting Records Inside

This supplement contains the voting record of each member of the House and Senate for the second session of the 85th 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 recordare in accord with the general body of tiberal opinion in each case, and the issues have been selected as nearly as possible to provide a yard-stick of Congressional concern with public welfare and national security.

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Permit State Legislation in Areas of Federal Jurisdiction (H.R. 3)-

Passed, 241-155,

July 17th.

The House voted to prohibit the Supreme Court from barring enforcement of state laws in areas preempted by federal statutes, and to restore state anti-subversive laws. (A vote for H.R. 3 is marked minus; against, plus.)

Authorize Federal Loan for Municipal Public 8. Facilities — Defeated,

173-187, August 1st.
The House refused to consider a proposal for federal low-interest loans for local public facilities. (A vote for the loan is marked plus; against, minus.)

Reject Student Loan

Proposal — Defeated,
140-233, August Sth.
The House refused to recommit
the bill to provide federal loans to
ollege and graduate students. (A
ote for the recommittal is marked
ninus; against, plus.)

Kill Federal Aid to **Economically Depressed** Labor Surplus Areas — 10. Defeated, 188-170,

August 15th.

The House rejected this motion to recommit a proposal providing federal grants and loans for the rehabilitation of areas suffering chronic unemployment. (A vote for the recommittal is marked minus; against, plus.)

Suspend Rules and Adopt Housing Legislation — Failed,

251-134, August 18th.
The House fell just short of the required two-third vote to suspend rules after House Rules Committee Chairman Smith (D.-Va.) refused to permit his committee to consider urban renewal, slum clearance and public housing bill. (A vote for rules suspension is marked plus; against, minus.)

Suspend Rules and Adopt Kennedy-Ives Labor Bill (2/3 Vote Required) — Defeated,

190-198, August 18th.
The House refused to suspend the rules and adopt the Kennedy-Ives labor reform bill. (A vote for rules suspension is marked plus; against, minus.)

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Exempt Employer-Operated Pension Plans from Public Scrutiny

Defeated, 28-59, April 24th.

The Senate voted down a move by Sen. Allott (R.-Colo.) to exempt employer - administered pension and welfare plans from the registration and disclosure provisions of the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act. (A vote for exemption is marked minus; against, plus.)

Federal Aid for Economically Depressed Areas — Passed, 46-36, May 13th.

The Senate passed the Area Redevelopment Act, providing Federal loans and grants of \$379.5 million for the redevelopment of localities suffering chronic unemployment. (A vote for passage is marked plus; against, minus.)

Liberalize Unemployment Compensation-3. Defeated, 21-63, May 27th.

The Senate turned down an amendment by Sen. Kennedy (D.-Mass.) to the Temporary Unemployment Compensation Act of 1958 to cover additional workers, increase benefits and establish a uniform duration of compensation. (A vote for liberalizing unemployment compensation is marked plus; against, minus.)

Increase Assistance to Aged, Blind, and Disabled—Defeated, 40-40, May 28th.

The Senate rejected by this tie vote an amendment by Sen. Long (D.La.) raising public assistance to the aged, blind, and disabled by about \$5 per month. (A vote for the increase in assistance is marked plus; against, minus.)

Bar Presidential Discretionary Aid to Iron-Curtain Countries -Passed, 43-42, June 5th.

The Senate accepted this amendment to the Mutual Security Act by Sen. Knowland (R.-Cal.) withholding from the President authority to grant aid to Communist-dominated countries other than China and North Korea, as a means of strengthening the security of the United States. (A vote for the amendment is marked minus; against, plus.)

Authorize Government 🦠 Suits Against-Unions in Fund-Use Disputes -Defeated, 30-51, June 16th.

The Senate rejected an amendment by Sen. Potter (R.-Mich.) permitting the Secretary of Labor to sue a union on the basis of an individual member's complaint that union funds were expended for other than collective bargaining purposes. (A vote for the amendment is marked minus; against, plus.)

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* Election for this seat in 1958.

Reduce Benefits to Oil and Gas Interests — 9. Deteam., Aug. 11th. Defeated, 31-58,

The Senate turned down a proposal by Sen. Proxmire (D.-Wis.) whereby the oil and gas depletion tax allowance would have been maintained at the present 27.5% allowance for incomes not exceeding \$1 million, but scaled down to 15% for incomes exceeding \$5 million. (A vote for the amendment is marked plus; against, minus.)

Public School Construction Program-10. Defeated, 30-61, Aug. 13th.

The Senate voted down an amendment by Sen. McNamara (D.-Mich.) to the National Defense Education Bill authorizing annual expenditures of \$1 billion for a 2-year public school construction program. (A vote for the amendment is marked plus; against, minus.)

Increase Social Security 11. Benefits-Defeated, 32-53, Aug. 16th.

The Senate turned down an amendment by Sen. Yarborough (D.-Tex.) to raise to 10% the Housepassed 7% increase for old age survivors and disability payments and taxes. (A vote for the increase is marked plus; against, minus.)

Set Aside Broad Curb of Supreme Court Authority — Defeated, 39-46, ^{thu}12. Aug. 20th

> The Senate turned down a motion by Sen. Hennings (D.-Mo.) to table (and thereby to kill) an amendment offered by Sen. McClellan (D.-Ark.). whereby H.R., 3, (see House Issue #7) would have been substituted for legislation much narrower in application pending on the floor. (A vote for the Hennings motion is marked plus; against, minus.)

Reduce Taxes 7. Defeated, 23-65, June 18th.

The Senate rejected an amendment by Sen. Douglas (D.-III.) to the excise tax extension bill reducing personal income taxes by \$50, repealing or reducing certain excise taxes, and providing tax relief for small businesses. (A vote for the amendment is marked plus; against, minus minus.

Retain Presidential Authority on Reciprocal Trade Agreements -8. Passed, 63-27, July 22nd.

The Senate rejected an amendment to the Trade Agreements Extension Act whereby a Tariff Commission ruling in favor of a higher tariff would prevail in spite of Presidential objections to such a ruling unless both Houses of Congress supported the President. (A vote for Presidential authority is marked plus; against, minus.)