

# Ike Holds Sway, Dems Duck Issues In First Session

Just after the opening of Congress last January, Sen. Lyndon Johnson declared: "There is no expense of government more costly or intolerable than the burden of laggard government... We have... an obligation to lead. We are clearly moving to a new age... Government, though, is hardly moving at all... We need new ideas in many fields. We need to forge new tools of government."

Measured by this or any comparable yardstick, the first session of the 86th Congress was a failure. New tools were not forthcoming. Congress made no real move to translate new ideas into legislative action.

Its final record was both devoid of real accomplishment and unresponsive to the challenges of our times. And the beginnings of public disquietude with the status quo, clearly reflected in the elections of 1958, made no imprint at all.

Responsibility for stagnating government is widely shared. A myopic Administration viewed the high price of private goods and services as the major concern of government, a balanced budget the only weapon for meeting this concern, and reduced Federal expenditures for public welfare programs the only means for balancing the budget. With the aid of new and vigorous Republican leadership in Congress, the Administration achieved remarkable discipline in GOP ranks in the service of this single dogma.

But the notable success of the Administration was possible only with the complicity of the Democratic leadership in Congress. Early in the session, Messrs. Rayburn and Johnson smuggled into the strait-jacket offered them by the Administration. The argument was not to be about goals or the means to achieve them, but only which party deserved the laurels for cutting more deeply into the other's program. Instead of accepting the challenge to meet the country's needs, the leadership "made divided government work" by the simple expedient of surrendering to the President. Among major bills, only housing and public works were cut to fit Presidential vetoes; but in the face of veto threats other bills were compromised before passage or before the issues were even exposed to public view.

## "Tell The Men They May Keep Their Horses; They Will Need Them For The Spring Plowing"



The liberals were not without responsibility for the failure of this "liberal" Congress. While they saw the needs more clearly and proposed programs to meet them, they were peculiarly susceptible to pleas not to rock the party boat. Just a handful of liberals in the Senate and a hardy little band in the House carried the fight on economic issues. But liberals generally were unorganized and ineffective. Relying heavily on the dispensations of the leadership, they were powerless when the leadership was unable or unwilling to back them.

The apparent lack of direction and decision within the Democratic majority vindicated Sen. Proxmire's early fight against the Majority Leader's tight hold on the reins of party policy. The Wisconsin Senator's demand for decision by caucus of all Democratic Senators took on more point as the session wore on and it became evident that Senator Johnson's capacity for political leadership was by no means as great as his highly vaunted skill as a parliamentary tactician.

There has also been a disposition to govern by gimmickry not limited to those incapable of greater imagination. Programs justifiable in their own right have been justified on tangential grounds. When the immediate impetus of a Sputnik or a recession was no longer present, proponents of aid for education or for housing or for redevelopment of depressed areas were disarmed.

# ADA VOTING RECORD

## FIRST SESSION, 86th CONGRESS

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

OCTOBER 1959

### DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICY

Hopes for bringing continuity and planning to the economic aid program were scuttled by the President; but even the President's program was deeply cut by Democrats in retaliation for the bludgeoning they received on the "spending" issue.

Senator Fulbright had proposed a long-sought \$5-billion, 5-year program for the Development Loan Fund. But the Fulbright amendment was defeated by a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats, with Presidential backing. Johnson and Dirksen compromised on a 2-year \$1.8 billion bill, requiring annual appropriations; but many joined with isolationist Republicans in reducing the final appropriation to \$550 million for this year.

Although there was discussion about the "missile gap" and the adequacy of our defenses, the defense budget was approved substantially as submitted by the President and the draft was extended for four years with only a little debate about its efficacy as an instrument of national defense.

Although some Congressmen raised questions about the foreign policy implications of a series of treaties giving atomic arms data to our allies, including West Germany, Congress did not exercise its prerogative to prevent the treaties from going into effect.

Congress did, however, increase the U. S. subscription to the World Bank and Monetary Fund.

### CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

Civil rights received a major setback early in the session when Johnson and Dirksen maneuvered a large bipartisan majority to prevent effective action to curb the filibuster. Only 28 Senators voted for Senator Douglas' amendment enabling a majority of Senators to invoke cloture after 15 days of debate.

A second major setback came when the Administration withdrew the support it gave in 1957 to Part III which would enable the Attorney General to bring injunction suits in the Federal courts on behalf of persons seeking public school desegregation. With most of the substance removed from the civil rights bill, Republicans and southern Democrats on the House Judiciary Committee combined to cut the bill still further and wound up reporting a truncated version of the Administration measure.

In the Senate, the civil rights forces were disorganized and leaderless. In fact, the only sustained effort of the session was Johnson's campaign to get Southern acquiescence and GOP agreement to a bill which would appease the demand for action without promising any real progress. In this he failed.

At the end of the session, the civil rights forces counted themselves lucky that the Johnson package had failed and that the issue was still alive. They could not, however, claim the credit; Johnson's goal had been thwarted by the refusal of the Dixiecrats to go along with anything more than an extension of the Civil Rights Commission. The best the liberals could do was to obtain a leadership commitment that civil rights would be on the agenda for next February 15. This, plus the solid voting recommendations of the Civil Rights Commission for Federal protection for voting rights, buoyed their hopes for action next year.

### CIVIL LIBERTIES

The Supreme Court remained under fire in Congress during this session, but its detractors made less progress than in prior years. The House passed three bills designed either to counteract specific decisions or undermine the Court's jurisdiction.

None of the House-passed bills reached the Senate floor. Recent Court decisions limiting the effect of the Watkins and Nelson opinions had taken some of the steam out of the campaign for legislation, and the presence of new Northern Democrats in the Senate probably made the anti-Court forces wary of waging a fight they had narrowly lost last year. But the single Senate action on civil liberties was hardly encouraging: Majority Leader Johnson helped to engineer the defeat of a proposal to repeal the student loyalty oath requirement in the National Defense Education Act.

### LABOR

The culminating triumph of the session for the Administration came when, under Halleck's leadership, a GOP-Dixiecrat coalition was able to convert the labor reform bill into a measure to impair the bargaining strength and organizing activities of unions.

There had been widespread agreement on the principal reform provisions of the bill, embodied in its reporting, elections and trusteeship sections. But when, midway through the session, Sen. McClellan fastened his "bill of rights" onto the bill, the drive was on to add provisions harmful to unions in their dealings with management. A group of House Democrats, with the approval of Speaker Rayburn, sought to redraft and carefully limit labor-management provisions to protect legitimate union interests; but by then the tide was too great to stem.

A misleading speech by the President and careful exploitation of the public revulsion at the disclosures of the McClellan Committee helped whip up enough sentiment to put the Griffin-Landrum bill through. In its most controversial provisions, the measure turned over a large block of cases within Federal jurisdiction to the state courts, imposed stringent curbs upon picketing for the purpose of organizing a non-union plant, and placed new restrictions on the right of unions to seek the help of other unions, employers or employees in a labor dispute. It is clear that much of the bill's weight will fall upon organizing campaigns in the South.

That the labor bill is being hailed by both parties as the "major achievement" of this Congress merely serves to highlight the sorry record. Among the few accomplishments worth noting are the admission of Hawaii to the Union, a measure to permit TVA to issue its own bonds to finance additional power facilities, permissive authority for a food stamp program (which the Secretary of Agriculture has already said he will disregard), and a small increase in funds for medical research.

### THE BUDGET AND PUBLIC WELFARE

Legislation to provide federal support for education was perhaps the chief victim of the Administration's budget-balancing campaign. An aid-to-education bill was trimmed in Committee and pigeon-holed in the House Rules Committee. The Administration refused to budge beyond its plan for building a few schools with a little Federal money, even when, in the closing weeks, Senate liberals offered the 1957 Eisenhower education bill as bait.

The fate of the education bill also testified to the ineffectiveness of the House leadership. At the outset of the session, House liberals withdrew their demands for procedural reform of the role of the Rules Committee, when they received assurances from the Speaker that he would use his influence to see that legislation would not be blocked by the whim of Chairman Howard Smith (D., Va.). But as the session ended, the Speaker had succeeded only in blasting out the housing bills; and aid-to-education languished in Rules along with civil rights and a Senate-passed bill to aid depressed areas.

Other measures which never saw the light of day included the Forand bill to provide medical care for the aged through use of the social security system; a community facilities bill; a plan to provide minimum federal standards for the amount and duration of unemployment compensation; proposals to increase minimum wages to \$1.25 an hour and extend coverage to employees presently exempt, and a bill to afford to migratory farm workers some of the protections of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Congress also permitted the Temporary Unemployment Compensation Act of 1958, with its supplemental jobless benefits, to expire on July 1, 1959. The Administration had opposed all these bills, and once the Democrats gave ground on the budget issue, no serious effort was made to bring them to the floor.

In its long odyssey, the housing bill was twice vetoed and thrice compromised. It was severely compromised by the Senate Democratic leadership before it was ever sent to the White House. Two vetoes, sustained by bipartisan minorities, resulted in further trimming. What finally emerged was a minimal one-year measure, carrying just enough funds to enable the urban renewal program to keep going and authorizing 37,000 additional public housing units.

### TAXES AND MONETARY POLICY

The Republican zeal for budget balancing did not extend to measures to increase government revenues by closing tax loopholes. The Senate rejected amendments offered by Sens. Douglas, Clark and Proxmire, aimed at some of the gross inequities. An amendment offered by Senator McCarthy to eliminate the preferential treatment of dividend income was adopted, but quickly dropped in conference by Sen. Byrd's Finance Committee conferees.

A full dress debate is in the offing over the President's request for authority to remove the statutory 4-1/4% limit on interest rates payable on long-term government bonds.

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As the two parties approach the 1960 presidential elections, there is little to choose between their records. The Eisenhower Administration has grudgingly come to terms with some of the changes wrought by the New Deal but steadfastly refuses to move in new directions. The Democrats pay lip service to the needs of the present but are unwilling to move much beyond the lines drawn by their most conservative numbers.

At the end of the session the Congress had neither aired the issues nor written a record; and the question is how long Administration intransigence will continue to be answered by Democratic drift.

Extra copies of this Voting Record of each member of the House and Senate for the 1st Session of the 86th Congress may be had for 10¢ each by writing to: Samuel H. Beer, National Chairman, ADA, 1341 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.



## House Voting Record

But substantial cuts in funds were made later in the appropriation bill. (A vote for the bill is marked plus; a vote against, minus.)

### 6. REJECT "STATES RIGHTS" ANTI-PREEMPTION BILL

--Defeated 191-227, June 24

The House rejected this motion by Rep. Lindsay (R., N. Y.) to recommit (turn down) a bill permitting states to legislate in any area of concurrent jurisdiction not specifically preempted by Congress, and to resurrect state anti-subversive laws. (A vote for recommitment is marked plus; a vote against, minus.)

### 7. REJECT MOVE TO UPSET SUPREME COURT MALLORY DECISION

--Defeated 138-261, July 7

The House turned down this Lindsay motion to recommit (turn down) a bill making a confession admissible in the Federal Courts even though it was obtained from a defendant while he was being detained for an unreasonable time before arraignment. (A vote for recommitment is marked plus; a vote against, minus.)

### 8. SUBSTITUTE TOUGH LABOR BILL FOR REFORM MEASURE

--Passed 229-201, August 13

The House accepted this bill sponsored by Reps. Landrum (D., Ga.) and Griffin (R., Mich.) which, by curbing picketing and boycotts, impairs union bargaining powers in dealing with management. The Landrum-Griffin bill was voted in preference to a measure limited to internal union reform. (A vote for the substitute is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

### 9. ESTABLISH FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

--Passed 232-127, August 21

The House adopted the Sullivan amendment to an overseas food surplus disposal program, permitting the Secretary of Agriculture to distribute surplus food to needy persons in the U. S. through a food stamp system. (A vote for the amendment is marked plus; a vote against, minus.)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

#### New Hampshire

1 Merrow ..... + - + + + - + - A  
2 Bass ..... + - - - - + + - -

#### New Jersey

1 Cahill ..... + - - - + + + - -  
2 Glenn ..... + - - - + + - - -  
3 Auchincloss ..... + - - - + + - - -  
4 THOMPSON ..... + + + + + + + - +  
5 Frelinghuysen ..... A - - - + + + - - -  
6 Dwyer ..... + - - - + + + - - +  
7 Widnall ..... + - - - + + + - - +  
8 Canfield ..... + - + + A A A A A  
9 Omers ..... + - - - + + + - - +  
10 RODINO ..... + + + + + + + - +  
11 ADDONIZIO ..... + + + + + + + - +  
12 Wallhauser ..... + - - - + + + - - +  
13 GALLAGHER ..... + + + + + + + - +  
14 DANIELS ..... + + + + + + + - +

#### New Mexico

AL MONTOYA ..... + + + + + - - + +  
AL MORRIS ..... + + + + + - - + +

#### New York

1 Wainwright ..... + - - - + + + - -  
2 Derounian ..... + - - - + + + - -  
3 Becker ..... + - - - + + + - -  
4 Halpern ..... + - - - + + + - -  
5 Bosch ..... + - - - + + + - -  
6 HOLTZMAN ..... + + + + + + + - +  
7 DELANEY ..... + + + + + + + - +  
8 ANFUSO ..... + + + + + + + - +  
9 KEOGH ..... + + + + + + + - +  
10 KELLY ..... A + + + + + + + - +  
11 OELLER ..... + + + + + + + - +  
12 Dorn ..... + + + + + + + - +  
13 MULTER ..... + + + + + + + - +  
14 ROONEY ..... + + + + + + + - +  
15 Ray ..... + + + + + + + - +  
16 POWELL ..... + + + + + + + - +  
17 Lindsay ..... + + + + + + + - +  
18 SANTANGELO ..... + + + + + + + - +  
19 FARBSTEIN ..... + + + + + + + - +  
20 TELLER ..... + + + + + + + - +  
21 ZELINSKI ..... + + + + + + + - +  
22 HEALEY ..... + + + + + + + - +  
23 DOLLINGER ..... + + + + + + + - +  
24 BUCKLEY ..... + + + + + + + - +  
25 Fino ..... + - - - + + + - - A  
26 Doolley ..... + - - - + + + - - A  
27 Barry ..... + - - - + + + - - A  
28 St. George ..... + - - - + + + - - A  
29 Wharton ..... + - - - + + + - - A  
30 O'BRIEN ..... + - - - + + + - - A  
31 Taylor ..... A - - - + + + - - A  
32 STRATTON ..... + - - - + + + - - A  
33 Kilburn ..... + - - - + + + - - A  
34 Pirnie ..... + - - - + + + - - A  
35 Riehlman ..... + - - - + + + - - A  
36 Taber ..... + - - - + + + - - A  
37 Robison ..... + - - - + + + - - A  
38 Weis ..... + - - - + + + - - A  
39 Osterlag ..... + - - - + + + - - A  
40 Miller ..... + - - - + + + - - A  
41 DULSKI ..... + - - - + + + - - A  
42 Pillion ..... + - - - + + + - - A  
43 Goodell (Sworn in 7/2/59) ..... + - - - + + + - - A

#### North Carolina

1 BONNER ..... + + + + - - - - +  
2 POUNTAIN ..... + + + + - - - - +  
3 BARDEN ..... + A - - - - - - -  
4 COOLEY ..... + + + + - - - - +  
5 SCOTT ..... + - - - - - - - +  
6 DURHAM ..... + + + + A - - - +  
7 LENNON ..... + + + + - - - - +  
8 KITCHIN ..... + + - - - - - - -  
9 ALEXANDER ..... + - - - - - - - +  
10 Jonas ..... + - - - - - - - -  
11 WHITENER ..... + + + + - - - - -  
12 HALL ..... A + - - - - - - - A

#### North Dakota

AL BURDICK ..... + + + + + + + - +  
AL Short ..... - - - - - - - - -

#### Ohio

1 Sherer ..... - - - - - - - - -  
2 Hess ..... - - - - - - - - -  
3 Schenck ..... + - - - - - - - -  
4 McCulloch ..... + - - - - - - - -  
5 Letta ..... + - - - - - - - -  
6 VACANCY ..... + - - - - - - - -  
7 Brown ..... + - - - - - - - -  
8 Betts ..... + - - - - - - - -  
9 ASHLEY ..... + - - - - - - - -  
10 MOELLER ..... + + + + - - - - -  
11 COOK ..... + + + + + + + - +  
12 Devine ..... + - - - - - - - -  
13 Baumhart ..... + - - - - - - - -  
14 Ayres ..... + - - - - - - - -  
15 Henderson ..... + - - - - - - - -  
16 Bow ..... + - - - - - - - -  
17 LEVERING ..... + + + + + + + - +  
18 HAYS ..... + A A A + + + + A  
19 KIRWAN ..... + + + + + + + - +  
20 FRIGHAN ..... + + + + + + + - +  
21 VANTK ..... + + + + + + + - +  
22 Bolton ..... A - - - - - - - -  
23 Minshall ..... + - - - - - - - -

#### Oklahoma

1 Belcher ..... + - - - - - - - -  
2 EDMONDSON ..... + + + + + + + - +  
3 ALBERT ..... + + + + + + + - +  
4 SREED ..... + + + + + + + - +  
5 JARMAN ..... + + + + + + + - +  
6 MORRIS ..... + + + + + + + - +

#### Oregon

1 Norblad ..... + - - - - - - - -  
2 ULLMAN ..... + + + + + + + - +  
3 GREEN ..... + + + + + + + - +  
4 PORTER ..... + + + + + + + - +

#### Pennsylvania

1 BARRETT ..... + + + + + + + - +  
2 GRANAHAN ..... + + + + + + + - +  
3 BYRNE ..... + + + + + + + - +  
4 NIX ..... A + + + + + + + - +  
5 GREEN ..... + + + + + + + - +  
6 TOLL ..... + + + + + + + - +  
7 Milliken ..... + - - - - - - - -  
8 Curtin ..... + - - - - - - - -  
9 Dague ..... + - - - - - - - -  
10 PROKOP ..... + + + + + + + - +  
11 FLOOD ..... + + + + + + + - +  
12 Fenton ..... + - - - - - - - -  
13 Lafore ..... + - - - - - - - -  
14 RHODES ..... + + + + + + + - +  
15 WALTER ..... + - - - - - - - -  
16 Mumma ..... + - - - - - - - -  
17 Bush ..... + - - - - - - - -  
18 Simpson ..... + - - - - - - - -  
19 QUIGLEY ..... + + + + + + + - +  
20 Van Zandt ..... + - - - - - - - -  
21 DEBT ..... + - - - - - - - -  
22 Saylor ..... + - - - - - - - -  
23 Kearn ..... + - - - - - - - -  
24 Keary ..... + - - - - - - - -  
25 CLARK ..... + + + + + + + - +  
26 MORGAN ..... + - - - - - - - -  
27 Fulton ..... + - - - - - - - -  
28 MOORHEAD ..... + + + + + + + - +  
29 Corbett ..... + - - - - - - - -  
30 HOLLAND ..... + + + + + + + - +

#### Rhode Island

1 FORAND ..... + + + + + + + - +  
2 FOGARTY ..... + - + + + + + - +

#### South Carolina

1 RIVERS ..... + + + + - - - - A  
2 RILEY ..... + - - - - - - - -  
3 DORN ..... + - - - - - - - -  
4 ASHMORE ..... + - - - - - - - -  
5 HEMPHILL ..... + + + + - - - - +  
6 McMITLAN ..... + + + + - - - - +

#### South Dakota

1 McGOVERN ..... + + + + + + + - +  
2 Berry ..... + - - - - - - - -

#### Tennessee

1 Reece ..... + + - - - - - - A  
2 Baker ..... + + + + + + + - +  
3 FRAZIER ..... + + + + + + + - +  
4 EVINS ..... + + + + + + + - +  
5 LOSER ..... + + + + + + + - +  
6 BASS ..... + + + + + + + - +  
7 MURRAY ..... + - - - - - - - -  
8 EVERETT ..... + + + + + + + - +  
9 DAVIS ..... + + + + + + + - +

#### Texas

1 PATMAN ..... - + + + + - - + +  
2 BROOKS ..... + + + + + + + - +  
3 BECKWORTH ..... + + + + + + + - +  
4 RAYBURN ..... + + + + + + + - +  
5 Alger ..... - - - - - - - - -  
6 TEAGUE ..... + A + + + + - - +  
7 DOWDY ..... + - - - - - - - -  
8 THOMAS ..... + - - - - - - - -  
9 THOMPSON ..... + + + + + + + - +  
10 THORNBERRY ..... + + + + + + + - +  
11 POAGE ..... + + + + + + + - +  
12 WRIGHT ..... + + + + + + + - +  
13 IKARD ..... + + + + + + + - +  
14 YOUNG ..... + + + + + + + - +  
15 KILGORE ..... + + + + + + + - +  
16 RUTHERFORD ..... + + + + + + + - +  
17 BURLISON ..... + + + + + + + - +  
18 ROGERS ..... + - - - - - - - -  
19 MAHON ..... + - - - - - - - -  
20 KILDAY ..... + + + + + + + - +  
21 FISHER ..... + - - - - - - - -  
22 CASEY ..... - - + + + + + - +

#### Utah

1 Dixon ..... A - - - - - - - -  
2 KING ..... + + + + + + + - +

#### Vermont

AL MEYER ..... + + + + + + + - +

#### Virginia

1 DOWNING ..... - - - - - - - - -  
2 HARDY ..... - - - - - - - - -  
3 GARY ..... + - - - - - - - -  
4 ABBITT ..... + - - - - - - - -  
5 TUCK ..... - - - - - - - - -  
6 Poff ..... + - - - - - - - -  
7 HARRISON ..... + - - - - - - - -  
8 SMITH ..... - - - - - - - - -  
9 JENNINGS ..... + - - - - - - - -  
10 Broyhill ..... + - - - - - - - -

#### Washington

1 Pelly ..... + - - - - - - - -  
2 Westland ..... + - - - - - - - -  
3 Mack ..... + - - - - - - - -  
4 May ..... + - - - - - - - -  
5 Horan ..... + + + + + + + - +  
6 Tollefson ..... + A + + + + + - +  
7 MAGNUSON ..... + + + + + + + - +

#### West Virginia

1 Moore ..... - - + + + + + + +  
2 STAGGERS ..... + - - - - - - - -  
3 BAILEY ..... + + + + + + + - +  
4 HECHLER ..... + - - - - - - - -  
5 KEE ..... + + + + + + + - +  
6 SLACK ..... + - - - - - - - -

#### Wisconsin

1 FLYNN ..... + + + + + + + - +  
2 KASTENMEIER ..... + - - - - - - - -  
3 Withrow ..... + - - - - - - - -  
4 ZABLOCKI ..... + - - - - - - - -  
5 REUSS ..... + + + + + + + - +  
6 Van Pelt ..... + + + + + + + - +  
7 Laird ..... A - - - - - - - -  
8 Byrnes ..... + - - - - - - - -  
9 JOHNSON ..... + + + + + + + - +  
10 O'Konski ..... + - A A - - - - -

#### Wyoming

AL Thomson ..... + - - - - - - - -

### Key to Symbols for House and Senate Votes

(+) A vote which ADA believes to be in harmony with liberal policies.

(-) A vote which ADA believes to be contrary to liberal policies.

(+) A "pair" in favor of what ADA considers the liberal position on the specific issue.

(-) A "pair" contrary to what ADA considers the liberal position on the specific issue.

(+a) Absent but officially announced as favoring the liberal position on the specific issue.

(-a) Absent but officially announced as opposed to the liberal position on the specific issue.

(A) Officially recorded as absent, with neither a "pair" nor an announced position.

The number next to a Representative's name refers to his district.

(AL) means the Representative has no specific district but was elected "at large."

Names of Democrats appear in upper case; Republicans in lower case.

\* Announced "present" but not voting.



