

Callous Neglect of Real National Needs Shown by Congress

The first session of a Democratic Congress under a Democratic Administration since 1952 has been disappointing. Whatever the framework of domestic and international politics within which it operated, the record of the 87th Congress is at best one of callous expediency and, at worst, one of astonishing indifference to real national needs.

On the score-card of achievement which records the steps toward historic greatness, the Congress so far has not advanced the Kennedy Administration beyond the point of standing still. This is not to say that Congress did nothing, nor that real legislative gains were not made. Administration sources, in and out of Congress, have compiled an impressive statistical demonstration, *a la* Lyndon Johnson in the Eisenhower years, to prove their legislative prowess. But, contrasted with the promise and the expectation of the new Administration, the performance is only numerically impressive. The door to the New Frontier remains closed. The key—a combined program of bold Presidential innovation and determined Congressional execution—has yet to be found.

The legislative formula of the Democratic majority under a Democratic Administration has varied little from the formula developed when the Republican Party controlled the White House. It is a formula of accommodation and compromise with the same coalition of Southerners and Republicans which had dominated the last several Congresses. It is a pattern of legislation by least common denominator which might have—but not certainly—been upset by strong Administration pushing for legislative goals. For whatever reason—the rapid acceleration of the international crisis, the slimness of his election victory with its accompanying loss of Democratic House seats, or simply a concept of Presidential posture—the President chose not to seek more than the barely possible from the Congress. By and large that is what he got—or less.

The President gave the Southern bloc in Congress exactly what it wanted—no civil rights legislation and no aid to the anti-filibuster fight. In return, they voted against him most of the time on the really significant issues. Appeasement of the South proved no more successful than appeasement in any other field.

Of the solid achievements in the first session of the 87th, all but two are extensions or revisions of existing programs or legislative proposals long blocked by the predecessor Republican Administration and which would have been the due of any Democratic Administration. Two notable exceptions—the kind of authentic creativeness expected of President Kennedy—are the establishment of the Peace Corps and the establishment at sub-Cabinet level of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

In areas involving the national security, Congress generally gave to the Administration what it requested. On defense expenditures and enlargement of the armed services a spirit of bipartisan support prevailed. When it came, however, to the more subtle but equally important programs for foreign aid, the President got what he sought only grudgingly and after the deletion of the vital requirement for long-range Treasury financing.

Foreign Policy

The course of foreign aid legislation—both authorization and appropriation—through Congress was an up-and-down one: up in the Senate and down in the House. The Senate originally gave the President an impressive victory when it rejected the Byrd amendment requiring annual appropriations to finance development loans to underdeveloped nations. Then the House, led by Democrat Saund of California, struck out the whole Treasury-borrowing program. In the end the House version prevailed and the foreign aid program—key to American foreign policy—must annually be submitted to those citizens of the world who make up the appropriations committee of both Houses.

Not originating in this Congress, but a meaningful foreign policy achievement, was the passage of legislation appropriating \$500 million for the Inter-American Social and Economic Cooperation program, a fulfillment of the President's

ADA World

PUBLISHED MONTHLY EXCEPT JULY AND AUGUST

BY AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

WASHINGTON, D. C. 6 SEPTEMBER, 1961

Congressional Supplement

commitment to the "Alliance for Progress." Extension and expansion of the "Food for Peace" program as part of the Agricultural Act of 1961 is also on the credit side of the legislative ledger.

Domestic Economy

The first session of the 87th Congress marked up a good record of what could be called "cost of living adjustments" for the American economy. Congress brought its measures up to date, but it crossed no New Frontiers. In a flurry of early good will—though hard come by and with narrow margins—both House and Senate improved and extended the minimum wage law, passed excellent housing legislation, extended unemployment compensation benefits, liberalized social security benefits, and provided aid for dependent children. Many of these time-honored anti-depression measures skinned through after near-defeats in the House, but were rescued in one form or another through the House-Senate Conference method.

The closest thing to a new proposal directed at long-range economic improvement—one passed twice by Congress and vetoed by Eisenhower—was the Area Redevelopment Act. It sets up a program of Federal loans and grants to areas of chronic unemployment, to be administered by the Department of Commerce and financed through long-term borrowing from the Treasury. But even this victory was trampled by the last-minute decision of the House to put financing of the depressed areas program on an annual basis, in effect repealing the previous decision of both the House and Senate.

In so far as the agricultural segment of the economy is concerned, the Administration's original proposals to overhaul the present creaking machinery of the farm program got very little encouragement in Congress, and the final product in the so-called Omnibus Farm Bill actually is a piecemeal, stop-gap program. While an improvement, the farm bill as passed by Congress essentially represented a retreat if not a defeat for the Administration.

One other aspect of the Administration's approach to agriculture also went down to defeat. The Congress rejected Administration amendments to the Mexican farm labor law which would have prohibited the use of Mexican workers unless they were paid wages at least 90% of those paid to American workers.

Civil Rights

The most glaring legislative void in the past session was in the field of civil rights. With both political parties unequivocally committed to school desegregation legislation, and with President Kennedy himself pledged (as of September, 1960) to action "by the Senate early next session that will implement the pledges of the Democratic platform," there was every reason to believe that one of the first orders of business of this first Kennedy Congress would be such legislation. Far from pushing civil rights legislation, the Administration early made it known that it did not want legislation implementing the Supreme Court's school desegregation decisions or anything else this session. Despite the efforts of a bipartisan group in the Senate, the Administration's position prevailed. The only civil rights legislation passed by the Congress (if it can be called that) was the extension for two years of the Commission on Civil Rights.

Traditionally allied with the legislative battle for civil rights has been the attempt by liberals to change the rules of both the House and Senate so as to provide that legislation may be democratically decided by all the members of both Houses. In January, Majority Leader Mansfield, despite the fact that a substantial majority of Senators favored a rules change, effectively gagged the Senate on this issue. At that time the Majority Leader took the position that the opening of the new Congress was not the proper

time to settle the rules question. Obviously bowing to the threat of a Southern filibuster by deferring the issue on a successful motion to send it to committee, Senator Mansfield promised to bring it up later in the session.

He made good on his promise by bringing it up at a time when adjournment fever made it scarcely possible to obtain a quorum in the Senate; and then, when the motion failed by a vote of 46 to 35, derided the liberals, who had supported it by saying they couldn't even get a majority. The clear implication of his remarks was that he would not be willing to take on the fight against the filibuster rule in the second session. The performance of the leadership of both parties in the Senate gave aid and comfort to the segregationists and was a denial of their own party commitments.

In the House, efforts to overcome the stranglehold of the Dixiecrat-conservative coalition on the Rules Committee ended in a pyrrhic victory for the compromise proposed by Speaker Rayburn. Events of the past session demonstrated that, without the ability to discharge legislation from the Rules Committee, any combination of forces within the Committee can stifle legislation.

While there is no certainty that the Senate-passed aid-to-education bill ever could have survived the acid test of a floor vote in the House, it is clear that the long delay in the Rules Committee exacerbated the volatile religious issue so that the hope of general education legislation is dimmed for at least another two years.

What's Ahead

The debacle on the education bill may well be an augury of things to come. As this first session went on, the conservatives of both parties closed ranks. The Republicans, particularly in the House, acted as a well disciplined corps under skillful leadership. By contrast, the Democratic leadership was weak, divided, and—as in the case of the education bill—uncommitted.

The second session will have before it such politically sensitive issues as medical care for the aged, education, tax loopholes, and the extension and, if possible, improvement of reciprocal trade agreements. It will take more than a policy of compromise and accommodation to get any one of these through the Congress. The resurgence of the extreme right is a real element in the problem the Administration will face next year.

In the months between now and next January, the Administration and those who support it have a tremendous job of education and persuasion to perform, directed both to the Congress and to the public. President Kennedy can, if he will, take the leadership in this effort. It will fail if he does not.

The Voting Record is offered as a guide for liberals in judging the performance of their Senators and Congressmen on issues of importance. Readers, however, will recognize the Record's inherent limitations. It is, of course, no measure of a legislator's creative ability or the diligence with which he performs his work in Committee, nor does it reflect on its face the failure of the current Congress to deal with many of the most urgent needs of the nation or the degree of responsibility of individual legislators for this failure. These judgments cannot be made in statistics or percentages; they require the use of other yardsticks and careful scrutiny on an individual basis of the capabilities of legislators.

The Record does not evaluate the attendance records of Senators or Congressmen. Announcements and pairs are counted as votes even though the member may not have been present when the vote was taken. However, an undue number of absences, announcements, or pairs may provide a basis for further inquiry into the legislator's attention to his duties.

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HOUSE

vote for the motion is marked plus; a vote against, minus.)

Motion to Seriously Weaken Housing Bill— 6. Defeated 197-215, June 22nd.

The House rejected this McDonough motion to send housing legislation back to the Banking and Currency Committee with instructions to delete long-term urban renewal, slum clearance, and housing programs, and report out legislation simply extending existing programs for one year. (A vote for the motion is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

Resolution to Reject Reorganization 7. Plan for NLRB— Passed 231-179, July 20th.

The House adopted this resolution disapproving the President's Reorganization Plan for the National Labor Relations Board. The plan would have made it possible for the NLRB to expedite its huge backlog of cases by delegation of some authority to panels or individual Board members. (A vote for the resolution is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

Permit Use of Atomic- 8. Produced Energy for Public Power—Defeated 164-235, Aug. 8th.

The House turned down this Cannon motion to table a Van Zandt proposal which instructed House members of a conference committee not to accept a Senate-passed authorization to utilize energy generated by Hanford (Wash.) plutonium production reactor to produce needed public power in the northwest. (A vote for the Cannon motion is marked plus; a vote against, minus.)

Move to Consider Aid 9. to Education Measure— Rejected 170-242, Aug. 30th.

After months of delay, the House, by this vote, rejected an attempt to bring a Federal aid-to-education bill to the floor for consideration. (A vote for consideration is marked plus; a vote against, minus.)

Foreign Aid Conference 10. Report — Passed 260-132, Aug. 31st.

By a lopsided majority, the House accepted the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 authorizing appropriations for foreign economic and military aid and establishing a four-year Development Loan Fund program. (A vote for the Report is marked plus; a vote against, minus.)

Use and Senate Votes

votes to be in harmony with liberal

votes to be contrary to liberal policies.

at ADA considers the liberal position

at ADA considers the liberal position

by recorded as absent.

's name refers to his district.

specific district but was elected "at

type; Republicans are in light-face

Issue No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
MONTANA										
1 Olsen	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Battin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEBRASKA										
1 Weaver	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Cunningham	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3 Beermann	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 Martin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NEVADA										
Baring (AL)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEW HAMPSHIRE										
1 Merrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Bass	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEW JERSEY										
1 Cahill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Glenn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Auchincloss	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Thompson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Frelinghuysen	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Dwyer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Widnall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Keelson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Gesner	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Redline	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Addonizio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 Wallhauser	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 Gallagher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Daniels	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEW MEXICO										
Montoya (AL)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Morris (AL)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEW YORK										
1 Pike	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Derouinian	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Becker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Halpern	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Addabbo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Holtzman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Delaney	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Anfuso	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Keogh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Kelly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Celler	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 Carey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 Multer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Rooney	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Ray	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 Powell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 Lindsay	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 Santangelo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Farbatstein	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 Ryan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21 Zelenko	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 Kealey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23 Gilbert	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24 Buckley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25 Fino	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26 Dooley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
27 Barry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28 St. George	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
29 Wharton	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
30 O'Brien	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
31 King	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
32 Stratton	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
33 Kilburn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
34 Firth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35 Richman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
36 Taber	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
37 Robison	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
38 Weis	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
39 Ostertag	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40 Miller	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
41 Dulski	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
42 Pillion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
43 Goodell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA										
1 Bonner	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Fountain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Henderson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Coaley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Scott	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Kornegay	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Lennen	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Kitchin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Alexander	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Jonas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Whitener	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 Taylor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NORTH DAKOTA										
Short (AL)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Nygaard (AL)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
OHIO										
1 Scherer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Clancy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Schenck	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 McCulloch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Latta	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Harsha	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Brown	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Betts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Ashley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Moeller	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Cook	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 Devine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 Mosher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Ayres	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Moorehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 Bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 Ashbrook	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 Hays	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Kirwan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 Feighan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21 Vank	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 Bolton	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23 Minshall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
OKLAHOMA										
1 Belcher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Edmondson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Albert	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Stead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Jarman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Wickersham	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
OREGON										
1 Norblad	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Ullman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Green	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Durno	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Issue No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
PENNSYLVANIA										
1 Barrett	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Granahan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Byrne	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Nix	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Green	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Toll	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Milliken	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Curtin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Dague	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Scranton	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Flood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 Fenton	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 Schweiker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Rhodes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Walter	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 Kunkel (Elected 5/16/61)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 Schneebell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 Whalley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Goodling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 Van Zandt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21 Dent	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 Saylor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23 Gavin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24 Kearns	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25 Clark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26 Morgan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
27 Epton	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28 Moorhead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
29 Corbett	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
30 Holland	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
RHODE ISLAND										
1 St. Germain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Fogarty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA										
1 Rivers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Riley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Dera	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Ashmore	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Hemphill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 McMillan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SOUTH DAKOTA										
1 Rieffel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Berry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
TENNESSEE										
1 Reece (Elected 5/16/61)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Baker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Frazier	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Evans	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Leach	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Bass	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Murray	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Everett	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Davis	+	+	+	+	+					

THE SENATE

1. Postpone Consideration of Filibuster Curb—Passed 50-46, Jan 11th.

Senate Democratic leader Mansfield opened the 87th Congress with this motion to refer a proposal to revise Rule XXII to curb Senate filibuster to the Rules Committee, and thereby prevent Senate action on this question by majority rule. Mansfield coupled his referral motion with a promise to bring up the question later in the session. (A vote for delay is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

2. Require Year-By-Year Congressional Appropriation for Area Redevelopment Act—Defeated 45-49, March 14th.

The Senate turned down Robertson's amendment, which would have required annual refinancing of the program to aid chronically depressed areas rather than permit long-term planning through direct borrowing from the Treasury. See House Issue No. 3. (A vote for the amendment is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

3. Put Emergency Unemployment Compensation on a State-by-State Basis—Defeated 42-44, March 16th.

The Senate rejected this Finance Committee amendment which would have put the emergency temporary extension of unemployment compensation on a basis that would have placed the burden on employers in each state, rather than spreading it nationwide by "pooling" among the states. The amendment would have prompted action to reduce benefits in states of high-level unemployment. (A vote for the amendment is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

4. Weaken Minimum Wage Bill—Defeated 34-63, April 18th.

The Senate rejected Dirksen's attempt to substitute the House-approved Ayres-Kitchin bill for broader extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act. See House Issue No. 2. (A vote for the amendment is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

5. Grant the President Discretionary Authority to Aid Iron-Curtain Countries—Passed 43-36, May 11th.

The Senate approved President Kennedy's request to amend the Mutual Defense Control Act of 1951 so as to permit non-military aid to nations other than the Soviet Union and Communist China when the President determined such aid was in the interest of US security. Similar requests had been made by President Eisenhower and approved by the Senate but not by the House, as was the case this session. (A vote for the amendment is marked plus; a vote against, minus.)

6. Federal Aid to Education—Passed 49-34, May 25th.

The Senate accepted, virtually without change, the Administration

Issue No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Issue No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
ALABAMA											MONTANA											
Hill*	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	Mansfield	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Sparkman	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	Metcalf	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
ALASKA											NEBRASKA											
Barlett	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Curtis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gruening*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Hruska	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ARIZONA											NEVADA											
Hayden*	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	Bible*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Goldwater	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	Cannon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
ARKANSAS											NEW HAMPSHIRE											
Fulbright*	-	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	Bridges	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A
McClellan	-	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	Cotton*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CALIFORNIA											NEW JERSEY											
Engle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Williams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kuchel*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Case	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
COLORADO											NEW MEXICO											
Carroll*	+	A	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Anderson	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+
Allott	+	A	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Chavez	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
CONNECTICUT											NEW YORK											
Dodd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Javits*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Bush*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Keating	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
DELAWARE											NORTH CAROLINA											
Boggs	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	Ervin*	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
Williams	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	Jordan	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
FLORIDA											NORTH DAKOTA											
Holland	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	Burdick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Smathers*	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	Young*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
GEORGIA											OHIO											
Russell	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	Lausche*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Talmadge*	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	Young	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
HAWAII											OKLAHOMA											
Long*	-	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	Kerr	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Fong	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Monroney*	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
IDAHO											OREGON											
Church*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Morse*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dworshak	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Neuberger	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ILLINOIS											PENNSYLVANIA											
Douglas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Clark*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dirksen*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Scott	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
INDIANA											RHODE ISLAND											
Hartke	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Pastore	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Capohart*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Pell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
IOWA											SOUTH CAROLINA											
Hickenlooper*	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	A	Johnston*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Miller	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	A	Thurmond	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
KANSAS											SOUTH DAKOTA											
Carlson*	-	-	-	-	A	+	-	-	-	A	Case*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Schoepfel	-	-	-	-	A	+	-	-	-	A	Mundt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
KENTUCKY											TENNESSEE											
Casper	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Geis	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Morton*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Kefauver	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
LOUISIANA											TEXAS											
Elliender	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Yarborough	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Long*	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Tower (Elected May 27, 1961)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MAINE											UTAH											
Muskie	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Moss	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Smith	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Bennett*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MARYLAND											VERMONT											
Beall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Alken*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Butler	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Prouty	+	A	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MASSACHUSETTS											VIRGINIA											
Smith*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Byrd	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-
Saltonstall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Robertson	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-
MICHIGAN											WASHINGTON											
Hart	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Jackson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McNamara	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Magnuson*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MINNESOTA											WEST VIRGINIA											
Humphrey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Byrd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McCarthy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Randolph	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MISSISSIPPI											WISCONSIN											
Eastland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Proxmire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Stennis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Wiley*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MISSOURI											WYOMING											
Long*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	McGee	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Symington	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Hickey*	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-

*Election for this seat in 1962.

program of Federal grants to states for construction, operation, and maintenance of public schools, including teachers' salaries. See House Issue No. 9. (A vote for the bill is marked plus; a vote against, minus.)

7. Reduce Funds in Housing Bill—Defeated 42-47, June 28th.

The Senate rejected the Bush motion to send urban renewal, slum clearance, and housing bill back to Conference with instructions to reduce the total funds authorized by \$1.6 billion. The bill authorized a four-year urban renewal program, 100,000 additional public housing units, aid to college housing, a stepped-up housing program for the elderly, and a start on open-space and mass transit assistance to local governments. (A vote for reduction is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

8. Deny Authority to Use Atomic Energy for Public Power—Defeated 36-54, July 18th.

The Senate rejected the Hickenlooper motion to delete from the Atomic Energy Commission bill authority to spend \$95 million for construction of facilities to utilize energy generated by the Hanford reactor for public power production. See House Issue No. 8. (A vote for deletion is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

9. Require Annual Appropriations for Development Loan Fund—Defeated 39-56, August 11th.

The Senate rejected Byrd's amendment, which would have required annual appropriation by Congress instead of long-term financing for the

Development Loan Fund. Although termed a "vital" part of the Kennedy aid program, long-term financing was rejected in the final version. See House Issue No. 10. (A vote for the amendment is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

10. Table Four-Year Extension of Civil Rights Commission—Passed 48-42, August 30th.

The Senate accepted the Mansfield motion to table the Clark proposal to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission for four years. The Mansfield motion was made as a concession to a Southern threat to filibuster anything more than a two-year extension, which was later approved by the Senate. (A vote for tabling the four-year extension is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)