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VOTING RECORD—88th CONGRESS, 2nd SESSION

ADA Dubs 88th Human Rights Congress, Cites Civil Rights and Poverty Acts

The 88th Congress is the Human Rights Congress. Enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is a historic and long overdue breakthrough. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 ranks with the adoption of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution as a momentous advance in the growth and development of civil rights. For the first time, civil rights legislation will give Americans the means to make the Constitution a living reality in every part of the United States.

The achievement of human dignity requires not only full protection of all legal rights but it requires the abolition of poverty. Enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 although pitifully inadequate marks a first commitment by the Federal Government to wage total war to eliminate the causes of poverty. Although the legislators left much undone, the accomplishments of the 88th Congress, sec-

ond session were prodizious.

EXPLANATORY NOTE

The Voting Record is offered as a guide in judging the performance of Senators and Congressmen on issues of importance. Readers, however, will recognize the Record's inherent limitations. It is, of course, no measure of a legislators's creative ability or the diligence with which he performs his work in committee. It does not reflect on its face the failure of the Congress to deal with some major issues or the degree of responsibility of individual legislators. These ludgments cannot be made in statistics or percentages; they require the use of other yardsticks and careful scrutiny on an individual basis of the capablity and performance of legislators.

The Record does not evaluate the attendance records of Senators or Congressmen. However, an undue number of absences may provide a basis for further inquiry into the legislator's attention to his duties.

Once the bill got to the Senate floor, a key issue revolved around Senator Dirksen's pro-posed amendment to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Dirksen's initial proposals would have resulted in crippling the antitob discrimination section. Pro-civil rights Senars also announced their opposition to these amendments.

Senators Humphrey and Dirksen then sought to reach an agreement on a new proposal that would meet with Dirksen's acceptance, and thereby increase the likelihood of invoking clo-ture, but at the same time would not weaken the Civil Rights bill.

With such agreement reached between Humphrey and Dirksen, civil rights supporters defeated the fillibister. The Senate vote to invoke cloture will surely rank as one of its historic acts. Civil rights legislation was finally con-sidered on its merits and ultimately decided without the built in procedures that so frequently have crippled civil rights legislation in past years. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 stands as a strong and effective law.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Among the other significant legislation en-Among the other significant legislation enacted in the second session were a tax cut, food stamp legislation to provide extra food for low-income families, an increase in the benefits under the National Defense Education Act, Federal aid for mass transit legislation, and outstanding improvements in housing legislation.
Foreign aid survived for the first time in several years without major cutting, and the International Devolopment Association received increased funds.

increased funds.

Increased runds.

In the closing days of Congress, a group of liberal Senators led a successful fight to preserve the integrity of the Supreme Court and protect its decision calling for apportionment of state legislatures on the basis of population.

These were the landmarks. The failures will

be discussed later.

Civil Rights

Civil rights legislation represents a triumph of the American political process over the legis-

President Johnson, Senators Humphrey (D-President Joinson, Senators Humphrey (D-Minn.), Kuchel (R-Calif.) and Dirksen (R-Ill.), Speaker McCormack, Congressmen Celler (D-N.Y.), McCulloch (R-Ohlo), Bolling (D-Mo.) and Brown (R-Ohlo) provided the bipartisan leadership necessary to enact the Civil Rights leadership necessary to enact the Civil Rights Act. They worked closely with leaders of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights comprising Clarence Mitchell, Director of the NAACP Washington Bureau, Arnold Aronson, the Secretary of the Leadership Conference, and Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., ADA Vice Chairman for civil rights.

House Passage

Once strong civil rights bill cleared the House Judiciary Committee in November, 1963, the bill had to overcome the Rules Committee obstacle course. Liberals made a concerted drive obstacle course. Liberais made a concerted orbot fore the Civil Rights bill from the House Rules Committee by initiating a discharge petition. The discharge petition served its purpose since Chairman Smith (D-Va.), after a lengthy delay, allowed a majority of the House Rules Commitio actiono grant a ruletto civil rights region

Present in the House gallery were representatives of many Leadership Conference organizations from around the country who communicated their presence to their Congressmen. This lobbying technique was supplemented by an efficient Democratic Study Group whip system, organized by liberal House Democrats. Both systems worked well. Southern attempts to weaken the Civil Rights bill failed.

The effective groundwork laid in the House Judiciary Committee by the Leadership Conference convinced pro-civil rights Democrats and Republicans of the need to add to President Kennedy's original comprehensive recommendations an equal job opportunity section, provide the Attorney General with injunctive authority to protect constitutional rights otherwise denied because of race, and to strengthen the proposal assuring that federal money is spent non-discriminatorily.

Senate Passage

As civil rights legislation moved to the Senate, President Johnson, Senators Humphrey and Kuchel and Congressmen McCulloch and Celler and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights supported Senate passage of the House approved bill without dilution. For the first time the Senate civil rights fillibuster was not considered in the atmosphere of what basic provisions must be compromised to end the fillibuster. Senate the Humphrey as floor manager established tor Humphrey, as floor manager, established credibility that attempts to weaken the Southern targets—public accommodations, equal job op-

portunities, and non-discriminatory spending of federal funds—would be fully resisted.

Civil rights forces won their initial battles.

Senator Russell's (D-Ga.) point of order challenging a Senate ruling that placed the Civil Rights bill on the Senate calendar was tabled. By tabling Russell's point of order, civil rights forces bypassed Senator Eastland's "graveyard". Senate Judiciary Committee. Next the Senate tabled Senator Morse's motion to send the legislation to the Senate Judiciary Committee for 10 days.

The principal features of the Economic Opportunity Act establish an Office of Economic Opportunity, directly responsible to the President, to administer the poverty program; expand opportunities for youth to gain education, skills and experience necessary to become full particles. and experience necessary to become run partici-pants in our society; stimulate our communities to initiate local action programs to attack the roots of poverty through comprehensive plan-ning with both public and private organizations.

Unfortunately damaging amendments were added to the Economic Opportunity Act. Govaction to the Economic Opportunity Act. Governors were granted the unprecedented power of vetoing job corps and community action projects in their own states. Each enrollee must execute a Communist disclaimer affidavit and take a loyalty oath provision. Finally, in order to gain the votes of 8 Congressmen it was agreed that Adam Yarmolinsky, a principal formulator of the poverty program, would not be named the program's Deputy Director.

the program's Deputy Director.

The Revenue Act of 1964 represents Congressional acceptance of the use of tax policy to stimulate economic growth. For the first time in American political history an Administration has deliberately and purposefully incurred a budget deficit by lowering taxes to spur economic growth. The American process has caught up with the principles of Lord Keynes!

The Food Stamp Act of 1964 allows hundreds of thousands of low income families to improve their nutrition without loss of dignity.

prove their nutrition without loss of dignity. The Food Stamp Act will allow those who buy \$6 worth of food stamps to purchase vegetables, fruits and meats worth approximately \$10.

Basic improvements were achieved in the National Defense Education Act. Total funds

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available to educational institutions were increased. The yearly limit on loans to graduate and professional students was increased from \$1,000 to \$2,500, and the aggregate limit was increased from \$5,000 to \$10,000. The program was extended to include English, reading, history, geography and civics, and guidance and counseling programs were extended to elemen-tary and public junior high schools.

With bipartisan support metropolitan area dwellers won two significant victories. Legislation authorizing a new \$375 million 3-year program of federal aid to improve and expand mass transit commuter facilities was finally enacted. transit commuter facilities was finally enacted. In housing legislation significant accomplishments were made. The quality of the housing program was improved by requiring minimum standards of code enforcement, providing assistance to dislocated families and small businesses and authorizing below market interest loans for rehabilitating housing in urban re-

Foreign Economic Policy

President Johnson provided strong leader-ship in the foreign aid fight. For the first time in many years Congress failed to slash the President's foreign aid recommendations, a "bare bones" 3.5 billion dollar request. The President's oones" 3.5 billion dollar request. The President's strong leadership helped diminish Congressman Passman's power to mutilate the foreign aid programs. The Dixiecrat-conservative Republican coalition attempted to cut foreign economic aid by nearly \$250 million but failed.

IDA

The House first rejected a \$312 million contribution for an increase in the resources in the International Development Association. The IDA provides 50-year low interest loans to under-developed nations. After initially rejecting the Senate approved IDA funds increase, under prod-ding by the White House, the House reconsidered and approved the IDA increase.

Food for Peace

Congress finally succeeded in restricting and undermining increased trade with East Eu-ropean countries. Faced with many absences by Administration supporters the House moved to prohibit sales of surplus goods to Communist countries. Although the House-Senate conferees modified the restriction, East European countries still must purchase farm surplus goods in U.S. dollars rather than in their own currency

Congress restored American protectionism in the meat industry by enacting meat import quota legislation and rejected a conference report enabling the U.S. to carry out its obligations under the International Coffee Agreement of 1962, ratified by the Senate. To those nations whose welfare in large part depends upon coffee prices, the House defeat is a bitter blow.

Reapportionment

Senate liberals won an important victory by their successful delaying action against enactment of the Mansfield-Dirksen reapportionment rider to the foreign aid bill. The rider prohibited federal court action in state reapportionment cases for at least two years. The uphill fight to sustain the Supreme Court decision was waged against seemingly insurmountable odds. Arrayed against the supporters of the Supreme Court against the supporters of the Supreme Court were Senators Mansfield and Dirksen.

To further increase the difficulties of the lib-

erals, the Justice Department, through Acting Attorney General Katzenbach and Solicitor Genreral Cox participated in drafting the language of the rider. Once the rider was introduced, Senate liberals stated that any proposal to prevent the federal courts from acting on state reapportion-ment cases will be filibustered.

ment cases will be filibustered.

There has been much superficial comment that liberals used Rule 22 to filibuster the Mansfield-Dirksen rider to death. Liberals have never opposed the use of Rule 22 if used for the purpose for which, it is intended; to shed light on Senate issues. In this instance the liberals' well documented arguments turned majority support for the Mansfield rider, and a quick end to any debate, into a vote sustaining the Supreme Court reapportlonment decision. Senator Dirksen was so determined to reach a quick decision sen was so determined to reach a quick decision that he attempted to invoke cloture after 26

hours of actual debate-the shortest time to invoke cloture in the Senate's history! The rejec-tion of the Mansfield-Dirksen cloture motion by a vote of 63-30 indicates that the Senate does not believe that it should be pushed into deciding significant questions without adequate debate.

The Supreme Court decision on reapportion-

ment is historic in its impact and scope. The Su-preme Court decision established the principle that representation in state legislatures should that representation in state legislatures should be based on population. No longer will reactionary rural interests be able to dominate the legislatures and policies of state governments and no longer will they exert an abnormal control over the policy party structure and the policies of the federal government. If the decision is funda-mental to society, it will also be resisted strongly by those affected by it. A constitutional amend-ment modifying the Supreme Court decision is likely to be one of the major issues of the 89th Congress.

THE UNFINISHED TASK

The 88th Congress is equally important for what it failed to accomplish. Thirteen major measures—a majority supported by the Administration—were not considered by Congress or even by their appropriate committees. They represent the first order of business for the 89th Congress and serve to highlight the inadequacies of the present Congressional structure and rules.

The 88th Congress failed to enact:

Medicare for persons over 65.

Aid for public and elementary education. A federal scholarship program, and long low term interest rates for college stu-

Necessary immigration reforms to eliminate national origins quota system.

Truth-in-lending bill.

Truth-in-packaging bill.

Tax reforms to make the internal revenue code system more equitable.

A permanent accelerated public works program.

An expansion of the Area Redevelopment Act to start the redevelopment of entire regions such as Appalachia.

Improvement of the public assistance sys-

Reform of the unemployment insurance system to require uniform eligibility re-quirements at minimum weekly benefit levels.

Extension and increase in minimum wage.

Congress broke the civil rights log jam but this required herculean efforts by the President, bipartisan support in Congress and mobilization of the nation's opinion by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, representing 80 national organizations and which includes ADA among its leaders. With such support the obstructive minority rules of Congress can be overcome.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964

overcame the opposition of House Rules Committee Chairman Smith (D-Va.) but only after tremendous effort had been exercised by the Johnson Administration and Speaker McCor-

Federal aid to public and secondary educa-tion could not be brought to the House floor for a vote because a majority of the House Rules Committee opposes such federal aid. Even if a majority were not opposed, opposition of the Committee's Chairman, "Judge" Smith, to a comprehensive program of aid to higher education, including federal scholarships and allowing students to borrow at long term low interest rates, prevents House consideration of such legis-

Eliminating the national origins quotas in Eliminating the national origins quotas in our immigration system is supported by the Johnson Administration, but Senate consideration is blocked by the refusal of Senator Eastland (D-Miss.), Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, to hold hearings.

Although Senator Hart's Anti-Trust Subcommittee has approved truth-in-packaging legislation. Senator Facting has refused to consider

lation, Senator Eastland has refused to consider the bill in the full Judiciary Committee.

Tax reform legislation was discarded because a majority of the Senate Finance Committee opposes closing tax loopholes.

KEY TO SYMBOLS FOR HOUSE AND SENATE VOTES

- AND SENAIE VOIES
 Indicates a vote which ADA believes to be in harmony with liberal policies. Indicates a vote which ADA believes to be contrary to liberal policies. Indicates a pair in favor of what ADA considers the liberal position. Indicates a pair contrary to what ADA considers the liberal position. Means the member was absent but was officially announced as favoring the liberal position.

 Means a member was absent but was officially announced as opposed to the liberal position.
- eral position.

 Indicates the member was officially recorded as absent.

ne number next to a Representative's name re-fers to his district.

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

Democrats as the majority party are listed first in boldface type, Republicans in lightface. Liberal Quotient (LQ): measure of the liberalism of a member of Congress determined by the percentage of his votes cast, paired or announced, in support of liberal policy measured against the number of votes counted.

against the number of votes counted. Term Liberal Quotient (TLQ): a measure of the legislator's liberalism during his current term of office. For House members this refers to the entire 88th Congress 1963-1964. For Senate members it refers to their liberal quotient during the course of their current six year term. For those Senators elected in 1955, Term Liberal Quotient refers to the years 1959-1964; those Senators elected in 1960, Term Liberal Quotient refers to the years 1961-1964; those Senators elected in 1960, Term Liberal Quotient refers to the years 1961-1964; those Senators elected in 1962, Term Liberal Quotient refers to 1963-1964.

Congressional Reform

Congress is so tied up by seniority on chairmanships and committee assignments, as well as by archaic rules of procedure, that in order to consider significant legislation it is necessary to consider significant legislation it is necessary to overhault the Congressional system and diminish the power of Congress' self-perpetuating bosses. The Congressional system must be brought to the point where it functions by considering legislation rather than by burying it.

The unassailable fact is that a democratic government must, while protecting minority rights, be responsive to the majority will—and, in a constantly changing world, it must adapt and evolve in order to remain an effective in-strument for meeting the needs of its people and achieving their full aspirations.

A technical assistance program to bring democratic institutions to Congress is the first order of business in the 89th Congress. Indeed, although the election of 1964 may well give President Johnson and the Congress a mandate to enact a liberal program, the procedures and practices that have developed in the Congress obstruct the majority from acting. Too often the fate of important and constructive legislation hinges on overcoming minority rule.

The criterion established by the 1964 Demo cratic platform, that major measures should be considered and voted upon before a session of Congress adjourns, requires congressional reform. At the opening of the 89th Congress, ADA will support rules changes in the House and Senate. Such rules changes should include allowing consideration in both bodies of major Adminis-tration measures. This requires support of the 21 day and 7 day rules to restrict the power of the House Rules Committee and allow the Senate to authorize, after adequate and full debate, the invocation of cloture by a majority of the Senate membership.

To restrict arbitrary action by committee chairmen, ADA supports reducing the number of signatures required on a discharge petition from 217 to 150. ADA will support choosing committee chairmen in both the Senate and House by allowing a majority of the members of the majority party an effective voice in the choice of committee chairmen. Under the present system chairmen are chosen solely on the basis of

seniority.
Only with such rules changes, and an assurance that key House and Senate committees re-flect the attitude and persuasion of the majority of the majority party, can the unfinished agenda be acted upon by the 89th Congress.

SENATE ISSUES

Change Senate rules to permit Senate committees to meet during Senate session. Defeated 43-36, January 24, 1964.

A vote for Senate rules change is plus; a vote against, minus.

A single Senator may prevent any committee from meeting while the Senate is in session simply by objecting. Senator Clark (D-Pa.) attempted to modify this one man Senate rule by providing that a majority of the Senate present and voting, on a non-debatable motion, could allow Senate committees to meet while the Senate convened. The Senate rejected the Clark amendment and adopted the weaker Church (D-Ida.) proposal allowing committees to meet during the "morning hour"—the first two hours of the Senate.

2. Retain 4% dividend credit. Defeated 47-44. February 4, 1964.

A vote against retention of 4% dividend credit is plus; a vote for, minus.

Senators Dirksen (R-III.) and Morton (R-Ky.) sought to retain the regressive 4% dividend credit, by allowing taxpayers to deduct 4% of their dividend income over \$300. Both the House and the Senate Finance Committee supported repeal of the 4% dividend credit.

Repeal of the dividend credit is one of the few tax reforms contained in the Parsaya Ax 6 10%.

in the Revenue Act of 1964.

3 Permit federal regulatory agencies to require regulated utilities to pass benefits from tax savings to consumers. Defeated 48-43, February 5, 1964.

A vote for passage of tax savings to consumers is plus;

a vote against, minus.

Regulated utilities received a 3% investment tax credit in 1962.
Senator Proxmire (D-Wis.) attempted to repeal the proviso that prohibits regulatory agencies from passing on savings to consumers on a yearly basis, which amounts to a substantial loss to utility consumers.

Permit federal regulatory agencies to require the regulated transportation industry to pass benefits from industries' tax savings to consumers. Defeated 46-42, February 5, 1964.

A vote permitting regulatory agencies to pass savings on to transportation consumers is plus; a vote against, minus.

The regulated transportation industry received a 7% tax investment credit in 1962. Senator Proxmire (D-Wis.) attempted to repeal the proviso that prohibited regulatory agencies from passing on such savings to trans-

5. Reduce 27.5% oil depletion allowance. Defeated 57-35, February 6,

A vote for oil depletion reduction is plus; a vote against, minus.

Senator Douglas moved to reduce the 27.5% oil depletion allowance on a sliding scale of 15% for companies with gross incomes above \$5 million and to 21% for companies with gross incomes between \$1 and \$5 million and to leave it at 27.5% for companies with incomes under \$1 million. The Douglas Amendment would have encouraged smaller oil companies to drill for oil, but would remove a giant "loophole" advantage from the largest oil companies.

6. Repeal preferential tax treatment of stock option plans. Defeated 57-39, February 7, 1964.

A vote to repeal preferential tax treatment for stock options is plus; a vote against, minus.

Under existing law part of income received from stock option plans is untaxed. Senator Gore (D-Tenn.) sought to eliminate the favored and preferential tax treatment allowed profits resulting from stock option plans.

Table point of order to refer House-passed Civil Rights bill to Senate Judiciary Committee. Passed 54-37, February 26, 1964.

A vote to table is plus; a vote against, minus.

Senator Mansfield (D-Mont.) moved to table and thereby reject Sena tor Russell's (D-Ga.) point of order in opposition to a ruling that placed the Civil Rights bill directly on the Senate calendar, thus bypassing the "graveyard" Senate Judiciary Committee.

Table motion to refer Civil Rights bill to Senate Judiciary Committee with instructions to report it to the Senate April 8th. Passed 50-34,

A vote to table is plus; a vote against, minus

Senator Mansfield moved to table Senator Morse's (D-Ore.) motion to refer the Civil Rights bill to the Senate Judiciary Committee with instructions to report it to the Senate April 8th. If the Morse motion had carried, Southern Senators could have again filibustered against bringing the Civil Rights bill up in the Senate.

Jury Trial amendment for criminal contempt cases in Civil Rights bill, except in voting cases. Passed 51-48, June 9, 1964.

A vote against Jury Trial amendment is plus; a vote for, minus.

Senator Morton (R-Ky.), singling out civil rights cases, moved to ide jury trials for defendants in criminal contempt cases in the Civil provide jury triais for detendants in criminal contempt and the Rights bill except in voting cases. Jury trials do not apply in any other criminal contempt cases and the amendment removes a deterrent from the Justice Department's legal arsenal. The Morton amendment does not affect civil contempt cases.

Limit coverage of Equal Employment Opportunities Commission to employers and unions having over 100 employees or members, De-feated 63-34, June 9, 1964.

A vote against limiting coverage is plus; a vote for, minus.
Senator Cotton (R-N.H.) moved to limit coverage of EEOC to em-

ployers and unions having over 100 employees or members. The Labor Department estimated that if the Cotton amendment carried 8 million job holders; otherwise protected, would be unprotected against job dis-

11. Invoke cloture on Senate civil rights filibuster. Passed 71-29, June 10, 1964.

A vote to invoke cloture is plus; a vote against, minus.

Senators Mansfield and Dirksen, with the concurrence of Senators Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Kuchel (R-Calif.), moved to invoke cloture—thereby ending the civil rights filibuster. For the first time in Senate history, cloture was successfully invoked on a civil rights issue which permitted the Senate to vote on the merits of civil rights legislation.

Delay effective date of non-discrimination in public accommodations until November 15, 1965. Defeated 59-40, June 19, 1964.

A vote against delay is plus; a vote for, minus.

Senator Russell attempted to delete the requirement that non-discrimination in public accommodations would become effective once the Civil Rights bill was signed into law by postponing the effective date until November 15, 1965.

 Increase the exemption from public accommodations coverage of owner-occupied motels and hotels from 5 to 10 rooms. Defeated 51-35, June 11, 1964.

A vote against increased exemption is plus; a vote for, minus.

Senator Cooper (R-Ky.) attempted to increase the exemption from public accommodations coverage of owner-occupied motels and hotels from to 10 rooms, thereby exempting many motels and hotels from the Civil Rights bill.

14. Limit authority of individual-EEOC members to file discrimination charges and initiate investigations concerning job discrimination. Defeated 51-47, June 17, 1964.

A vote against limiting EEOC members' authority is plus; a vote for, minus. Senator Ervin (D-N.C.) attempted to limit the effectiveness of the EEOC by limiting the authority of individual commissioners to file discrimination charges and initiate investigations on job discrimination cases. Such limitations depart from the usual authority given administrative agency commissioners, as well as state and local anti-job discrimination commissioners.

5. Granting governors power to veto anti-poverty programs. Defeated 49-46 (mly 23, 1962.

A vote against granting the governor veto power is plus; a vote for, minus. Although the Senate approved the Economic Opportunity Act of

Atthough the Senate approved the Economic Opportunity Act on 1964 by a wide margin, Senator Holland (D.Fla.) attempted to restrict the bill sharply by handing a governor unprecedented power to veto the job corps and community action programs in his state. The Holland amendment, narrowly defeated, served as the basis for handing governors such power in the House bill, which the Senate also ultimately accepted.

16. Recommit requirement that Senators and Senate employees earning over \$10,000 per year disclose major financial interests. Passed 48-39, July 31, 1964.

A vote against recommittal is plus; a vote for, minus.

The Senate voted to accept the Dirksen recommittal motion which rejected the mild Senate Rules Committee resolution that required disclosure of major financial interests by Senators and employees earning over \$10,000. Previously the Senate had rejected a far reaching Clark (D-Pa.) - Case (R-N.J.) proposal to require Senators and employees earning over \$10,000 to disclose assets over \$5,000, items of income, gifts worth more than \$100 and all outside business associations, and forbade business ociation with government regulated businesses.

Reduce foreign aid authorization by \$216 million. Passed 50-35, August 11, 1964.

A vote against reducing foreign aid is plus; a vote for, minus.

The Senate adopted Senator Morse's motion to reduce the foreign aid authorization by \$216 million.

Adopt medicare amendment to Social Security bill. Passed 49-44, September 2, 1964.

A vote for medicare is plus; a vote against, minus

The Senate adopted the Gore (D-Tenn.) - Anderson (D-N.M.) - Javits (R-N.Y.) amendment providing hospitalization for persons over 65, nursing home benefits, outpatient diagnostic service benefits and home health visits financed by Social Security. The House never was permitted to vote on the merits of medicare, and a majority of the House conferees rejected the Senate proposal.

Table and thereby kill reapportionment rider prohibiting federal courts from hearing state reapportionment cases for two years. Defeated 49-38, September 10, 1964.

A vote for tabling is plus; a vote against, minus.

The Mansfield-Dirksen rider to the foreign aid bill would have pro-

The Mansied-Dirksen rider to the foreign and oil would have pro-hibited the federal courts from hearing state reapportionment cases for at least two years. Although the Senate failed to table the rider, the liberal fight against it resulted in limiting Senate action to a "sense of Congress" resolution which places no limitations on the federal judiciary in state reapportionment cases. The "sense of Congress" resolution was eliminated from the foreign aid bill by House-Senate conferees.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

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HOUSE ISSUES

 Motion to recommit Library Services Act and thereby delete all funds for library services to urban areas, and library construction funds to urban and rural areas. Defeated 183-179, January 21, 1964.

A vote against recommittal is plus; a vote for, minus.

The Dixiecrat-conservative Republican coalition, through Congressman Frelinghuysen (R-N.J.), attempted to cripple the Library Services Act.

2. Civil Rights bill. Passed 290-130, February 10, 1964.

A vote for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is plus; a vote against, minus.

After 10 days of debate, the House defeated in non-roll call votes at attempts to weaken the Civil Rights bill. The comprehensive bill's principal features in part assure non-discrimination in private facilities open to the public, in administration of federally assisted programs, and employment; permit the Attorney General to protect 14th Amendment rights otherwise denied because of race; and expedite public school desegregation.

Motion to recommit \$312 million authorization — International Development Association. Passed 208-188, February 26, 1964.

A vote against recommittal is plus; a vote for, minus.

The Dixiecrat-conservative Republican coalition handed President Johnson a congressional defeat by recommitting the IDA bill to committee. IDA, affiliated with the World Bank, provides needed multilateral economic aid to underdeveloped nations. The House reconsidered the authorization on May 13th and approved it.

FCC prohibited from setting standards governing length and frequency of radio and television commercials. Passed 317-43, February 27, 1964.

A vote against final passage is plus; a vote for, minus

The FCC adopted a rule limiting the time and frequency that radio and television stations could devote to advertising. Congressional opposition, stimulated by the broadcasting industry, caused the FCC, to, withdraw its ruling. The House legislation prohibits the FCC from establishing fair guidelines and preventing abuses of frequent and lengthy radio and television commercials. The House placed an unusual restriction on an administrative agency by limiting its authority.

 Recommit, and thereby cripple, Food Stamp legislation. Defeated 223-195, April 8, 1964.

A vote against recommittal is plus; a vote for, minus.

The Food Stamp Act of 1964, the Johnson Administration's first antipoverty legislation, authorized \$375 million for fiscal years 1965-1967 for poverty stricken Americans to increase food purchases of domestically produced meats, fruits and vegetables by buying food stamps. The Dixiecrat-conservative Republican coallition, through Congressman Hoeven (Rowa), moved to recommit the bill requiring the states to finance 50% of the costs. The hearings established that nearly all the states were financially incapable of paying 50% of the costs. If the recommittal motion carried, the Food Stamp program could not begin on a national level.

 Recommit Agriculture appropriation, thereby preventing use of export funds in Communist countries. Defeated 187-186, May 20, 1964.

A vote against recommittal is plus; a vote for, minus.

Congressmen Bow (R-Ohio) and Findley (R-Ill.), seeking to overturn established American foreign policy by limiting trade with East European countries, moved to recommit the Agriculture Appropriation bill thereby prohibiting the use of funds for export payments or export subsidies on agricultural products shipped to Communist countries.

 Recommit and thereby reduce Foreign Aid authorization by \$800 million. Defeated 211-193, June 10, 1964.

A vote against recommittal is plus; a vote for, minus.

The Dixiecrat-conservative Republican coalition, through Congressman Adair (R-Ind), sought to emasculate the Administration's "bare

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bones" foreign aid program by cutting \$750 million from the Development Loan Fund and \$50 million from the President's contingency fund.

8. Recommit and thereby kill Mass Transit legislation. Defeated 215-190, June 25, 1964.

A vote against recommittal is plus; a vote for, minus.

Supporters of mass transit legislation built bi-partisan support for the Administration's 3 year \$375 million program of matching state grants to improve urban mass transportation. The Dixiecrat-conservative Republican coalition attempted to authorize a study of the problem and thus bury federal aid for urban mass transit improvements.

 Motion to recommit and thereby slash foreign aid appropriation. Defeated 208-198, July 1, 1964.

A vote against recommittal is plus; a vote for, minus.

The Dixlecrat-conservative Republican coalition, through Congressmen Passman (D-La.) and Rhodes (R-Ariz.), moved to recommit the foreign aid appropriation and reduce economic aid funds by nearly \$250 million. A concerted Administration effort handed the coalition its first defeat on a foreign aid appropriation.

 Motion to strike enacting clause and thereby kill anti-poverty bill. Defeated 225-197, August 7, 1964.

A vote against the motion to strike enacting clause is plus; a vote for, minus.

The Dixiecrat-conservative Republican coalition opposes federally supported programs to eliminate the causes of poverty. Judge Smith (D-Va.) moved to strike the enacting clause in order to kill the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 outright, and thereby eliminate the authorization of \$947.5 million in fiscal 1965 for a variety of federally aided programs designed to combat poverty.

11. Final passage anti-poverty bill, Passed 226-184, August 8, 1964.

A vote for final passage is plus; a vote against, minus.

The Dixiecrat-conservative Republican coalition successfully weakened the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, but continued to oppose its enactment. Weakening amendments include: handing governors authority to veto job corps projects and community action programs; eliminating requirement that public and private agencies cooperate in community action programs; requiring that all enrollees in the poverty program sign a Communist disclaimer affidavit and take a loyalty oath.

 Prohibiting federal courts from hearing state reapportionment cases. Passed 218-175, August 19, 1964.

A vote against final passage is plus; a vote for, minus.

The House Rules Committee usurped the authority of the House Judiciary Committee by preventing it from considering legislation affecting state reapportionment decisions. The House enacted legislation barring the Supreme Court, and all the lower federal courts, from jurisdiction over matters dealing with state legislative reapportionment. Similar legislation was defeated in the Senate, but the Dixiecrat-conservative Republican coalition was determined to exert maximum pressure in support of limiting federal jurisdiction in state reapportionment cases.

 Motion to recommit Food for Peace legislation, thereby barring sales to Poland and Yugoslavia. Passed 183-175, September 3, 1964.

A vote against recommittal is plus; a vote for, minus.

Due to the many absences of many Administration supporters, Congressman Findley's (R-III.) motion to recommit the Food for Peace bill with instructions to prohibit U.S. sale of surplus goods to Communist countries, carried. The House-Senate conferees retained the restriction in modified form by requiring such countries to make purchases of farm surplus goods in U.S. dollars, a new restriction for the Food for Peace

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Edward D. Hollander Chairman, Exec. Comm. Page H. Wilson Editor

Leon Shull
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9—Fuqua	-	- , -						_	-	+	+	-	-		3 2		2—Natsher			-		+	+	+		+	. +	+	_	Ŧ,		.64
10—Gibbons							+	-	+	+	+	+	-		2 6		7—Perkins				_		+	+	+	+	+	+	_	+		80
7—Haley						· -	_	-	-	-	-	-	-		0 -		1—Stubblefield	+	-	+			+		-	+	+	+	_ '	+	69	68
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* Burton, D-Calif., 2-24-6	4, re	place	Shell	y, D-C	alif.										,	,	5—Snyder	-	-	7.7	-			7.	_		-	-	+		. 8	8
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HOUSE VOTING RECORD

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6-Morrison		_		_		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	77			NEVADA			1.					,							
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4—Fallon		+	+	_'	Ι	1	T -	+	+	+	+	+	+	92	88		11 Minish		+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+				+		82
3—Garmatz		+	+	_	+	+P	+	4	+	+	+	+	÷	92	84		15 Patten		+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	92
5-Lanklard		A	+	-,	À	+	+	+	+P	+P	+P	+P	+	69	80		10— Rodina			+	-	+	+P	+	+	+				+.		92
2—Long			+	_	+	+	+	+	+	+	Α	+	+	85	88		4 Thompson		+	+	+	+A	+.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ :	190	96 12
AL—Sickles			+	+	+ -	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ '	160	100		3—Auchincloss		+	+	_	_	_	+	.A	+	+	+	+	_	69	64
6-Mathias	-	+	+	-		+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+ .	69	72		1—Cahill			+	_	Ξ	_	+	+	+	+	+	+		69	58
1—Morton	Α	+	-	-	-	-	_	~	-	-	-	-	-	8	8		5—Frelinghuysen		+	+	_	_	+		±.		-	_	+	+	62	44
MASSACHUSETTS																	2—Glenn			_	_			<u>.</u>	+	-	_	+	-		23	36
2—Beland			+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+P	92	92		9Osmers			+	_	_	_	+	+	+	_	−P	_	+	54	52
11—Burke			+	-	+	+	. +	+	+	+	+	+	+	82	82		12-Wallhauser			+P	_	-	_	+	+	+		_	-	Α	46	44
4— Donohue				-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		92		7—Widnall			+	_ `	-	-	+	+	+	_	_	-		48	32
7- Mac Donald				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92	92		NEW MEXICO															
9— McCormack				_	,		÷	+	+			4	+	92	88		AL Montoys	+	+	_	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		A :	69	72
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12-Keith				_	_	_	_	+	_	_	_	_	. —	28	16		23—Buckley			A	Α	+	+P	+P	#	+	+	+	+P	Α	77	80
10—Martin				+	_	A	Α	+	+	-	+P	+P	Α		44		15—Carey			+	Α	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	85	80
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MICHIGAN																	9— Delaney	,		+	+	+	+	+,	+	+	+	+		+ ,	92	88
13-Diggs				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Α	92	88		41— Dulski			+	- '	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	92	80
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17—Griffiths			+	_	A	+	+	+	+ A	+	+	+	A				22—Gilbert			+	+	+	+ ,	+.	+	+	+	+	•	Ā	25	80
16—Losinski					+	-	+	+.	+	+	+	+		77			12—Kelly			A	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+12	85	88
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AL-Staebler					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92	92		16 Murphy	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+]	92	88
12.—Vacancy																	29 O'Brien			+-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	85	80
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10-Cederberg				_	_	-			-		_	-	$\overline{}$	8			18—Powell			+	+	+	+P					+	+	+	100 85	92 92
6Chamberlain				-	-	_	-	_		-	-	_		8 15			14—Rooney			A +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ .		100
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3—Johansen				Α	_		_	_	-	_	_	_	_	0	0		5-Becker	_	+	-	-	-	_	_		_		-	-	-Р	8	8
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MINNESOTA						•			3								38—Goodel1			-	-	_	-	-	-	_	-	- 1	_	-	. 8	
8—Blatnik					+	+	+	+	+	+	.+	+	+	100			2—Grover			-	-	-		· -	+	-	-		+	_	23 85	
5—Fraser			. +			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100			6—Halpern			+	_	+	_	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	62	
4—Karth					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92			36—Horton			+	_	_	Ξ	+	+	_F	· -	_	-	_ _P	8	
6— Oissa				_	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92			30—King			_	_	_	-	_		٠.	_	_	_		. 8	
7—Langen 3—MacGregor	. A	T					_	_	_	_	_	+	_	23			17—Lindsay			+	+	_	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	85	. 84
2—Nelsen	. A				_		_	_	_	_	_	_		8			40-Miller				_	_	·		Ā		· Ė.	, -	À	A ·	-8	8
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MISSISSIPPI			•														39—Pillion			, -	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	P		4
1—Abernethy			_	-	-	-	-	-	_	_	-	-		0			32—Pirnie			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-P			16
5—Colmer			-	~	-	-1	P	-	-	-	,-	_	-P	8			26—Reid				_	_	-	+	+		+	+	,+	+ .		- 60
2-Whitten					_	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		15			34—Riehlman							+	_		·	_	_			. 16 24
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MISSOURI																	4Wydler				_	_		_	+	_	_	_	+			. 28
5—Bolling		- +	+	A	+	+	. А	+	+	+	+	+	A	$\cdot \cdot ^{n}$	84		NO. CAROLINA	-						, s						•		
9—Vacancy 6—Hull					_			_		4	-4	_	_	23	32		1—Benner			_	- 1	+	+	_	+		+	+	_	+	54	- 64
8—lekerd			_	_	- Ŧ	_	_	Α.	٠_	+	+	_	_	31			4—Cooley				_	+			+		+	+		4.	••	- 64
10-Jenes			· _				_	_	_	Á	À	A	+	21			2-Fountain				-	_	· +	+	_		+	+	-			. 28
1—Karston				. A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92	96		3—Handerson	. , -	-	-				, -	· -		+	+	-	- ,	. 31	. ,40
4—Randall.				_	+	_	+				+	+	+	- 65			6—Kernegay	.` +		_`	-	+	+	. - .	-	٠.	+	+			. 38	
3—Sullivan.						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	86			7 Les BOR										F	P -			🙏	
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NORTH DAKOTA																TENNESSEE			-												-
1—Andrews			\ _! _		_	+	_	_	_	_	_	_	+	23	20 0	6—Bass 9—Davis		+ :-P		A A	+	A +	A +	+	+P +		+	A	+	54 69	60
OHIO :																8—Everett		_	+	_	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	77	60 68
9—Ashley	+	. +	+	+F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	96	4—Evius		-			+	+	+	A	+P		+		À	54	84
20—Feigham			+	+	+:	-	-	+	+	+	+	.+	· -	77	80	5—Fulton		+	+ .	_	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+P	92	88
18— Hays 19— Kirwan		+	+	— А	+	+5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+P	92 92	92 92	†2-Baker	+	_	. –	,-	Α	+,	A 	_	+	_	+		+	38 0	32 0
15—Secrest			_	_	+	_	+	+	_	+	+	Ξ	_	54	84	3—Brock		-	+	-	_	. —	-	_	_	_	<u> </u>	+	_	15	8
21 Vasik			+	Α	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92	92	1—Quillen	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	4
10—Abele		+	_	_	_	_	Ξ	_ A	-	_	-	-	_	8	4	TEXAS										2					
14—Ayres			_	_	_	_	+	_	_	_	_	+	_	0 23	0 24	3—Beckworth			+	-	+	+	+	+		+P			+	77	72
8Betts	-	+	_	-	_	_	_	_	_	-	_	_	_	8	4	2 Brooks		+.	+ A	– –Р	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	_	+	85 16	88 16
22—Bolton, F. P		+	_	-	-	A	+	-	−P	-		Α	-	15	16	22-Casey		_	_	_	+	_	_		_	_	_	+		15	16
11—Bolton, O. P 16—Bow			+	. –	 	_	A —	_	_	_	-	_	_	15	16 12	7—Dowdy			A	A	+P		-P	-	-	-	_		-	8	. 12
7—Brown		+	_F		_	_	_	_	_	_	Ξ	_	_	:	4	21—Fisher		-	+	-	+	-	-	· -	-	-	-		-	0	0
2Clancy			-	-	_	_	-	_	-	-	_	_	-	8	8	15—Kilgore		+	+	_	+	+ -P	+	+ A	+	+	+	+	+ A	92 15	96 16
12—Devine			_	. А	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	_	-	8	8	19 Mahon			+	_	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	_	+	69	48
6—Harsha 5—Latta		+	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	-	-	-	, 8 8	8 4	1—Patman		-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	77	72
4—McCulloch				_	_	_	_	_	_	Ξ.	_	_	_P	8		10—Pickie		+	-	_	+		+	-	+	+	+	-	+	62	62
23-Minshall	-	+	_		-	_	_	-	-	-		+	-	15	12	11—Poage		_	A 	_	+	+ A	+	+	+	+	+	_	+	62 23	52 18
13—Mosher			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	P		-	15	24	13—Purceil	+	_	+	_	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	_	A	69	60
1—Rich		+	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_ `	_	8 8	12	4— Roberts		-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+.		+	69	52
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OKLAHOMA															•	8—Thomas			A	_	P	++	+	+	+	+	- +	+	+	46 77	44 80
3—Albert		+	+	_	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	_	+	85	80	9—Thompson		A.	+	_	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	_	+	77	72
2-Edmondson		+	+	-	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	77	72	12-Wright			A	−P		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	77	72
5—Jarman		+	+	_	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	15	20	14-Young		_	+	_	+	+	+*		+	+	+ .		+_	77	84
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25— Clark		+	+	_	+	+	+	+	+P	+	+	+	+	92 92	92 88		_r	_	_	_	_	+	+.	_	+	_	+	+	+	46	44
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15—Roossy		+	+	_	+	+ +P	+ +P	+	+	+	+	+	+ +₽	92 92	95 92	3—Hanson	+	+	+	_	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+P	92	88
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27—Fulton			_	_	+	_	_	+		+	+	+	_	46 8	48	6—Tollefson	+	+	-	_	-	-	-	+	A	-	-	-P	_	23	16
23—Johnson				_		_		_	_	_	_	_	_		7	2—Westland	A	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	8	4
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