

VOTING RECORD — 89th Congress, 2nd Session

Second Session of Good Congress Fails To Measure Up To First

The 89th Congress proved to be the most liberal Congress in a generation. Following the 1964 Democratic landslide, a narrow liberal majority in the House and Senate enacted into law some important domestic programs advocated by ADA year after year.

But it was the 89th Congress, *first session*, that provided the majority of liberal victories. As productive as the first session was, the *second session* was disappointing and frustrating to liberals. For the first time in a decade, no progress was made in civil rights; and there were regressive actions taken that undermine portions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Just as President Johnson deserves the lion's share of credit for 1965 legislative successes, the President must bear the responsibility for many of the failures in the second session. Blame must be placed on the Vietnam war, for it corrodes domestic reform. But our current expenditures in the Vietnam conflict are not so great that our marvelously productive economy must stagger under its burden. However, as the costs of the war increase, the Johnson Administration has failed to provide the political leadership that could both end poverty and meet fully our public service requirements. As examples; basic Federal assistance programs such as re-housing ~~of the urban dwellers, aid to elementary and secondary education, NDEA student loans, regional economic development, OEO, and manpower retraining~~ either have been retrenched or so slightly increased that we have guaranteed public squalor to continue for the immediate future.

The Johnson Administration has raised aspirations, but it has failed to make the policy commitments to assure equitable distribution of our resources.

In domestic legislation only two clear liberal victories were attained in the second session: enactment of the most comprehensive Fair Labor Standards Act since 1938 and the Demonstration Cities Program establishing a Federal commitment, though small, to social service programs in areas of urban decay. The Congress liberalized Administration FLSA proposals by extending coverage to 8 million persons, rather than the 4 million suggested by the Administration; requiring that residential urban renewal funds be substantially directed to low and middle income housing over Administration objections; and substantially increasing the Federal investment at all educational levels over Administration Budget requests.

The 89th Congress, second session, also witnessed increased articulation of criticism and serious concern about the Administration's Vietnam policy despite the obvious displeasure of the White House.

In the Senate, an institution that tolerates debate, more and more Senators in 1966 have voiced support for a Vietnam policy that emphasizes, as the means to obtain negotiations, no widening of the war, efforts at de-escalation, and a political solution. The unprecedented televised Vietnam hearings conducted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee focused attention on our Vietnam involvement. Defense authorization and appropriation bills, as well as foreign aid legislation, also served as points of departure for Senate debate on Vietnam policy.

In the House of Representatives, an institution that frowns on free-wheeling debate,

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 legislator'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 judgments cannot be made in statistics or percentages; they require the use of other yardsticks and careful scrutiny on an individual basis of the capability and performance of legislators.

In addition, an undue number of absences may provide a basis for further inquiry into the legislator's attention to his duties.

the issuance of the joint statements of individuals served as a vehicle for expressing concern over Vietnam. House members on three different occasions either urged peaceful initiatives or opposed escalation. During the peace offensive last December-January, over 75 Congressmen urged the President to continue that peace offensive; when the 1966 fiscal Supplemental Defense Appropriation was considered by the House, 75 Congressmen in a joint statement indicated that their support for the Defense Appropriation was not to be interpreted as support for escalation. And in July, 50 Congressmen urged all parties be permitted to participate in elections in South Vietnam.

To date, all Administration efforts at escalation have been met by vocal and increased protests and concern in Congress.

In civil rights Congress regressed. The failure to enact the 1966 Civil Rights bill represents the first defeat for significant civil rights legislation since the 84th Congress. The 89th Congress has adjourned without making any start toward ending housing discrimination, segregated Southern "justice," or terrorism aimed at Negroes and civil rights workers.

Indeed, the Southern assault on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has begun to succeed. Title VI expressed a clear Congressional commandment: Federal money shall not be spent on programs that racially discriminate. Southern legislators, with the help of nearly all Republicans and some Northern Democrats, have undermined Title VI. The Senate's effort to prohibit the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) from examining discrimination practices where doctor and hospital certify that association with Negroes is not in the best interest of the white patient, and House passage of an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act prohibiting HEW from deferring Title VI funds in school assistance both represent regressive steps of major proportions. House-Senate conferences eliminated the Senate restriction, and substantially modified the House restriction. Nevertheless, the net effect of House and Senate actions will be to make HEW even more timid and vacillating in its enforcement of Title VI.

SENATE COALITION POLITICS

Rules determine the substantive output of Congress.

In the Senate, the Dixiecrat-conservative Republican coalition operated as a minority to frustrate the majority. More than any other obstacle, the filibuster, or threat of it, prevented the Senate in 1966 from adopting the

1966 Civil Rights bill, Home Rule for the District of Columbia, and repeal of Section 14(b) ("right-to-work" laws) of the National Labor Relations Act. In 1966, the filibuster rule was more abused than ever. More than ever it frustrated the will of the majority.

At the beginning of the 90th Congress, a major issue must be faced by the Senate and Vice-President Humphrey, the Senate's presiding officer: will a majority of the Senate determine by *majority* vote what rule will govern the ending of Senate filibusters?

Failure to modify Rule 22 will continue to jeopardize vital social and economic reforms in the 90th Congress, and extend the power of the conservative coalition.

HOUSE COALITION POLITICS

In the House, the power of the Dixiecrat-conservative Republican coalition has been substantially weakened because the obstructionist power of the Rules Committee was broken by rules reform.

The Rules reforms granted the Speaker discretionary power to bring to the House floor for a vote any bill passed by a House committee that is bottled up in the Rules Committee for more than 21 days. This power also applies to bills specifically voted down by the Rules Committee which otherwise would not reach the floor.

In addition, the House may immediately send to a Senate-House conference committee any bill passed in different form by the House and Senate, as most bills usually are. (Under the old rules, such bills were required to go to the Rules Committee if any House member objected to sending them to conference.) Significant social legislation which previously would have been locked in the Rules Committee or watered down to be acceptable can now reach the House floor without compromise.

In the House, in addition to overwhelming support from freshman Democrats, liberal legislative gains consistently required support from the small corps of liberal and moderate Republicans. But while important legislation can now reach the floor, the Dixiecrat-conservative Republican coalition has had a majority whenever it could find some support among non-Southern Democrats or solid support among Republicans. This led to weakening amendments on fair housing, rent supplements, school bussing, and enforcement of integration in schools.

HOUSE CAUCUS REFORM

Defeat of Judge Smith in the Virginia Democratic primary means that the House Dixiecrat-conservative Republican coalition has lost its most effective road-blocker and the House has lost a Chairman of the all-powerful Rules Committee.

Full House reform requires more than limiting the Rules Committee's power to obstruct. It requires modifying the seniority system. As long as the Democratic Party remains the majority party in the House, the most practical way to break the rigidity of the seniority system is through caucus reform. The Democratic caucus should prevent members from becoming Chairman of standing committees if they are hostile to their party's program.

The need to modify the seniority system stems from the procedure the House Democratic Party uses to allocate committee assignments. The majority of the House Democratic Party is liberal. But committee assignments are based on geographical representation rather than viewpoint—liberal or conservative, pro-Administration or anti-Administration. Geographical representation, combined with sen-

iority, means that Congressman Colmer (D-Miss.), a total reactionary, will be the new Chairman of the Rules Committee under present House practices. Although modified slightly in recent years, geographical representation is used for assignment on the three most powerful House committees: Appropriations, Ways and Means, and Rules.

In contrast, Republicans insist that conservatives and reactionaries, reflecting the majority of the House Republican Party, dominate the Republican make-up of the power committees. There is not a single liberal Republican on the Rules or Ways and Means Committees, and only two Republican liberals on the Appropriations Committee.

The system of geographical representation means that a sufficient number of Democratic conservatives and reactionaries on each of the power committees can often effectively combine with conservative and reactionary Republicans to defeat liberal legislation.

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

The 1966 Fair Labor Standards Act provides the most comprehensive improvements in minimum wage and maximum hour protection since 1938, when FLSA legislation was first adopted.

Increasing the minimum wage and providing maximum hour protection helps wage a more effective war on poverty. The strong FLSA legislation adopted by the Congress represents the effective campaign of the liberal-labor coalition inside and outside of the Congress. Apart from providing a significant increase in the minimum, the Congress has more than doubled the extended coverage recommended by the Johnson Administration, including for the first time employees in agriculture, hospitals, nursing homes, restaurants, hotels and motels, laundries, retailing, and many other fields.

For employees presently covered, the minimum will be increased to \$1.40 per hour effective February 1, 1967, and to \$1.60 per hour effective February 1, 1968. For newly covered employees, the minimum will start at \$1.00 per hour effective February 1, 1967, and will increase 15c per hour annually until \$1.60 per hour is reached. Farm employees will start at \$1.00 per hour and will receive two 15c per hour annual increases.

Expanding and modernizing the Fair Labor Standards Act is the one single step that will result in prompt tangible benefits and improvements for millions of Americans who comprise the working poor.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The Congress has once again passed legislation to improve our city environment. The Demonstration Cities Program proposes to coordinate social services with physical renewal. The legislation, while a step forward, still lacks boldness, partly because it does not assure the breaking down of ghetto walls in rebuilding environments. Apart from the fact that the legislation is inadequately funded, the significance of its adoption is political. In the House, the vote was another race vote, debated in an atmosphere of fear.

The Administration fought intensely to adopt the legislation. It must now administer it as boldly.

In funding the rent supplement program, the Johnson Administration won a major victory by defeating the Republican attempt to delete rent supplement funds. But the legislation included a rider that limits the program to only those communities which include rent supplement housing as "part of a workable program" or have such housing "officially approved by the local community concerned." The practical effect of the rider is to make it difficult, if not impossible, to apply rent supplement housing in suburban communities. Many communities do not have workable programs and would oppose rent supplement housing as a means of keeping the poor out of their community.

1966 CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

A majority of the Senate as well as a majority of the House supported the Civil Rights Act of 1966, including its provision for fair

housing. That majority was thwarted by the Senate's failure to vote cloture.

Clearly the principal responsibility falls on Senator Dirksen's intransigence. His subtle appeals to fear stopped the bill temporarily.

But other factors contributed to the bill's defeat. The Administration inordinately procrastinated in not submitting its civil rights recommendations until the end of April. Civil rights legislation, under the most favorable circumstances, requires at least four to five months before it can be enacted into law. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 took nearly five months from the time it was proposed until it was signed into law, and that legislation was born in the crisis atmosphere of Selma.

In sharp contrast, too, the 1966 Civil Rights bill was weak and failed to compare with the historic advances made by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Administration bears the primary responsibility for the legislation's weakness.

To make 1966 civil rights legislation as significant as the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act would have required from the Administration proposals for comprehensive and enforceable legislation to end segregation in the administration of justice and to assure full protection for those seeking to make their civil and constitutional rights a living reality. It would have required the Administration to resist exempting housing re-sales from the ban on housing discrimination. But the Administration opposed all proposals that would fulfill these goals.

UNION PROTECTION

For 18 years Section 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) has permitted states to enact "right-to-work" legislation prohibiting the union shop and lesser forms of union security in labor-management contracts. In all, 19 states—many Southern—have such laws. The precise issue is whether management and labor should be free to negotiate an agreement that provides for a union shop or a lesser form of union security. The cloture rule again blocked the majority's desire to repeal 14(b).

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

One crucial income maintenance program reform that failed was the establishment of Federal unemployment compensation standards. State unemployment compensation systems are in shambles. The Administration proposed excellent Federal standards. The Senate accepted Federal standards that would provide 26 weeks of coverage for 39 weeks worked and would require states to set their maximum benefits at no less than 50% of their average wage. The House Ways and Means Committee, delaying and stalling as they did for seven years on Medicare, refused to accept the principle of Federal standards, and, more importantly, denied the House a chance to vote on this major issue.

HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

The end of the 89th Congress demonstrated the most vigorous opposition by House members to the House Un-American Activities Committee in nearly 20 years. Opponents of the ill-conceived Pool Bill, an effort to extend the Internal Security Act of 1950, challenged HUAC directly and demonstrated that the legislation was unworkable and unwise. Also, House opponents of the contempt citations of three Chicago residents challenged the validity of HUAC's contempt citations by winning the support of more House members than ever previously won. The reason for this support was that the HUAC contempt citations violated that Committee's own rules.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA HOME RULE

The defeat of Home Rule in the Senate added another notch to Congress' long record of abusing and disregarding the needs of the District of Columbia. The threat of a filibuster on the Morse Home Rule amendment to the Higher Education bill resulted in the amendment's defeat, although a majority supported it. Ironically, if the Morse amendment

KEY TO SYMBOLS FOR HOUSE AND SENATE VOTES

- (+) 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.
- (+p) Indicates a pair in favor of what ADA considers the liberal position.
- (-p) Indicates a pair contrary to what ADA considers the liberal position.
- (+a) Means the member was absent but was officially announced as favoring the liberal position.
- (-a) Means a member was absent but was officially announced as opposed to the liberal position.
- (A) Indicates the member was officially recorded as absent.
- (P) Means a member was present but was unannounced as supporting or opposing the liberal 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."

Democrats as the majority party are listed in boldface type, Republicans in light face.

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.

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 89th Congress, 1965-1966. For Senate Members it refers to their liberal quotient during their current 6-year term. For those Senators elected in 1960, TLQ refers to the years 1961-1966; for those Senators elected in 1962, TLQ refers to the years 1963-1966; for those Senators elected in 1964, TLQ refers to the years 1965-1966.

had passed the Senate, it would have had a strong chance of passing the House.

Unfortunately the Morse Home Rule amendment lacked the support of President Johnson. The President's support for Home Rule was strong in 1965, but the President was absent in the fight for the Morse amendment in 1966.

The only workable strategy for achieving Home Rule in 1966 required attaching a non-germane amendment in the Senate to a House-passed bill. The House-passed bill had to be sufficiently popular and important to pass the Congress.

The perfect bill for the Morse Home Rule amendment was the one providing aid to higher education. This legislation had to be enacted before Congress adjourned since its authorization had expired on June 30 and obviously it would have to be funded again. So popular was aid to higher education that it had passed the House under the suspension procedure, which required 2/3 support of the House. Therefore Home Rule advocates were not running the risk of attaching the amendment to legislation that would be either buried or defeated, nor were they jeopardizing a bill they favored.

To build additional support for Home Rule, Senator Morse revised a Senate-passed bill to permit Congress to appropriate Federal funds annually and to provide for non-partisan elections. The Morse amendment met every Republican criticism previously levelled at the Administration bill.

Aid to higher education reached the Senate floor late in the session. The White House, fully aware of the pitfalls legislation faces at the end of the session, nevertheless did not request that aid to higher education be made an immediate priority. Since adjournment fever had set in, the mere threat of a filibuster could defeat any legislation—and the Senate failed to nullify the threat when it defeated a motion for cloture.

But clearly the Southern Bourbons and reactionary Republicans were not opposed to non-germane amendments on principle. They accepted, without a dissent, a rider to the investment credit suspension legislation that exempted the NFL-AFL football merger from the anti-trust laws.

In short, the Southern Senators threatened to filibuster on D.C. Home Rule solely because they knew that Home Rule had a real chance of being enacted.

SENATE ISSUES

1. Union Protection—Cloture on repeal of "right to work" laws. Cloture failed: by a vote of 50 for, and 49 against, February 10, 1966.

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

Majority Leader Mansfield (D-Mont.) moved to invoke cloture on repeal of "right to work" laws. Had cloture been invoked the Senate would have approved legislation to repeal "right to work" laws. A majority favored ending debate, but to invoke cloture a two-thirds majority of those present and voting is required.

2. One Man-One Vote—Final vote on the Dirksen "rotten borough" amendment. Amendment failed: 55-38 (7 votes short of the necessary two-thirds), April 20, 1966.

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

Minority Leader Dirksen (R-Ill.) brought his "rotten borough" constitutional amendment to the Senate floor for the second time in the 89th Congress. The amendment would have permitted states to apportion their legislatures on factors other than population. If adopted, the amendment could have resulted in malapportioned state legislatures. Approval of a constitutional amendment requires support of two-thirds of those Senators present and voting.

3. Rent Supplements—Amendment to eliminate rent supplement appropriation. Amendment defeated: 46-45, April 27, 1966.

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

Senator Allott (R-Colo.) moved to delete the \$12 million rent supplement appropriation from the fiscal 1966 budget. The rent supplement program would have died for lack of funds had the amendment been adopted. Rent supplements aid low income families by supplementing their rent if the cost of minimum decent housing amounts to more than 25 per cent of their income.

4. Truth-in-Packaging—Amendment to delete standards to protect the consumer. Amendment defeated: 53-32, June 8, 1966.

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

Senator Cotton (R-N.H.) moved to delete from truth-in-packaging legislation the crucial section authorizing Federal officials to establish standard weights and quantities for packaged household goods.

5. CIA—Point of order objecting to resolution adding Senate Foreign Relations Committee Members to the CIA Oversight Committee. Point of order sustained: 61-28, July 14, 1966.

A vote against point of order is plus; a vote for, minus.

Senator Russell (D-Ga.) made a point of order objecting to the resolution to add three Senate Foreign Relations Committee members to the CIA Oversight Committee. The Senate upheld the point of order, referring the resolution to the Armed Services Committee, thereby preventing the Senate from voting on the resolution.

6. Foreign Aid—Amendment against increasing interest rates on development loans. Amendment defeated: 50-36, July 25, 1966.

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

Senator McCarthy (D-Minn.) moved to retain existing 2½% interest charges on development loans, instead of raising rates to 3% after a 10-year grace period. A higher interest rate increases the foreign exchange burden on newly developed countries.

7. Military aid—Amendment to reduce military aid funds by \$250 million. Amendment defeated: 71-23, July 27, 1966.

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

Senator McGovern (D-S.D.) moved to reduce military aid funds by \$250 million for fiscal 1967. Except for Vietnam, military aid would have been reduced in areas where assistance is given.

8. Airline Strike—Joint Resolution requiring striking airline machinists to return to work. Joint Resolution adopted: 54-33, August 4, 1966.

A vote against the resolution is plus; a vote for, minus.

The Senate adopted a Joint Resolution requiring striking machinists to return to work for 30 days and establishing other procedures to bring the airline dispute to an end. The resolution would have broken the airline strike although no national emergency existed. (The strike was settled before the House could vote on the resolution.)

9. Unemployment Compensation—Amendment to establish comprehensive Federal standards. Amendment defeated: 44-38, August 5, 1966.

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

Senator Long (D-La.) moved to require states to meet Federal standards for unemployment compensation benefits, providing a minimum of 26 weeks' coverage for workers employed 20 weeks and setting the state maximum benefit at no less than 50 per cent of the state-wide average wage. (Although the Long amendment was defeated, the Senate did ultimately adopt Federal standards for the first time, providing 26 weeks of coverage for 39 weeks worked and requiring states to set their maximum benefit at no less than 50 per cent of their average wage.)

10. Unemployment Compensation—Amendment to eliminate all Federal standards. Amendment defeated: 51-36, August 8, 1966.

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

Senator Morton (R-Ky.) moved to substitute a weak House-passed bill for the Senate bill. The House bill contained no Federal standards.

11. Demonstration Cities—Amendment to delete funds for Demonstration City projects. Amendment defeated: 53-27, August 19, 1966.

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

Senator Tower (R-Tex.) moved to delete authorization of \$900 million in grants for Demonstration Cities projects for fiscal 1968 and 1969 combined. If adopted, the amendment would have killed the Demonstration Cities Program.

12. Minimum Wage—Amendment to postpone until February 1, 1969, an increase to \$1.60 per hour for presently covered employees. Amendment defeated: 42-40, August 25, 1966.

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

Senator Fannin (R-Ariz.) moved an amendment to delay from February 1, 1968, until February 1, 1969, adoption of a minimum wage of \$1.60 per hour for those presently protected by FLSA coverage. The House bill had delayed the \$1.60 increase until February 1, 1969. If the Fannin amendment had been adopted, the later date would have been locked into the minimum wage law, delaying increases for many workers employed at the minimum wage level or just above it.

13. Minimum Wage—Amendment to continue to exempt farm workers from minimum wage protections. Amendment defeated: 51-37, August 25, 1966.

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

Senator Holland (D-Fla.) moved to exempt agricultural workers from minimum wage protection.

14. Minimum Wage—Amendment to continue to exempt over 500,000 retail store employees from minimum wage protections. Amendment defeated: 41-41, August 26, 1966.

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

Senator Dirksen (R-Ill.) moved to delete from FLSA coverage those retail business establishments with annual gross sales or volume under \$500,000. If the amendment had carried, over 500,000 retail store employees would have been left without FLSA protection.

15. Civil Rights—Cloture on 1966 Civil Rights bill. Cloture failed: by a vote of 54 for, and 42 against, September 14, 1966.

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

Majority Leader Mansfield (D-Mont.) moved to invoke cloture on civil rights legislation. If cloture had been invoked the Civil Rights bill would have become the Senate's pending business. Debate over this procedural motion demonstrated that a majority supported the Civil Rights bill; however, a successful cloture motion requires support of two-thirds of those Senators present and voting.

16. Prayer Amendment—Final vote on a constitutional amendment to permit prayer in public schools. Amendment defeated: 49-37 (9 votes short of the necessary two-thirds), September 21, 1966.

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

Senator Dirksen (R-Ill.) offered a constitutional amendment to permit voluntary prayer in public schools. A constitutional amendment requires support of two-thirds of those present and voting.

17. Civil Rights—Amendment to increase funds to enforce HEW activities on Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Amendment defeated: 40-25, September 27, 1966.

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

Senator Javits (R-N.Y.) moved to increase by \$570,000 funds for the Secretary of HEW to enforce Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Title VI bars Federal expenditures for racially discriminatory projects.

18. War on Poverty—Amendment to reduce War on Poverty funds by nearly \$750 million. Amendment adopted: 45-27, October 4, 1966.

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

Senator Dirksen (R-Ill.) moved to reduce Office of Economic Opportunity Funds by \$750 million. The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee had recommended \$2,496,000,000 for OEO programs. President Johnson in his budget message had recommended \$1,750,000,000. The Dirksen amendment reduced funds to the Administration's initial request.

19. Aid to Education—Amendment to reduce elementary and secondary education funds by over \$950 million. Amendment defeated: 48-23, October 6, 1966.

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

Senator Dirksen (R-Ill.) moved to reduce elementary and secondary education funds by over \$950 million. The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee had recommended an authorization of \$2,716,509,000. President Johnson's budget recommendation was \$1,754,958,000. Senator Dirksen sought to reduce education aid funds to the President's initial request.

20. D. C. Home Rule—Cloture on District of Columbia Home Rule. Cloture failed: by a vote of 41 for, and 37 against, October 10, 1966.

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

Majority Leader Mansfield (D-Mont.) moved to invoke cloture on the Morse D. C. Home Rule amendment to the Higher Education bill. If cloture had been invoked the Senate would have approved the Home Rule amendment. A majority favored voting on the Home Rule amendment, but to invoke cloture a two-thirds majority of those present and voting is required.

1966 SENATE VOTING RECORD

Table with columns 1-20 and 1966 L.Q. Term L.Q. for states including ALABAMA, ALASKA, ARIZONA, ARKANSAS, CALIFORNIA, COLORADO, CONNECTICUT, DELAWARE, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, HAWAII, IDAHO, ILLINOIS, INDIANA, IOWA, KANSAS, KENTUCKY, LOUISIANA, MAINE, MARYLAND, MASSACHUSETTS, MICHIGAN, MINNESOTA, MISSISSIPPI, MISSOURI.

Table with columns 1-20 and 1966 L.Q. Term L.Q. for states including MONTANA, NEBRASKA, NEVADA, NEW HAMPSHIRE, NEW JERSEY, NEW MEXICO, NEW YORK, NO. CAROLINA, NORTH DAKOTA, OHIO, OKLAHOMA, OREGON, PENNSYLVANIA, RHODE ISLAND, S.C. CAROLINA, S.D. DAKOTA, TENNESSEE, TEXAS, UTAH, VERMONT, VIRGINIA, WASHINGTON, WEST VIRGINIA, WISCONSIN, WYOMING.

HOUSE ISSUES

1. House Un-American Activities Committee—Recommit HUAC contempt citations of Klan members to special committee appointed by Speaker McCormack for more careful review. Recommittal defeated: 307-57, February 2, 1966.

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

Congressman Conte (R-Mass.) moved to recommit HUAC's contempt citations of Ku Klux Klan members, permitting Speaker McCormack to appoint a special committee to review the citations in the light of existing law and judicial decisions. If the motion had been adopted it would have established a precedent: that before Congress can cite individuals for contempt of Congress, such citations would be screened by a committee other than the one requesting the contempt citation. (Toward the end of the 89th Congress, on a Chicago contempt citation, the Conte motion received 90 votes.)

2. Rent Supplements—Recommit fiscal 1966 supplemental appropriation, and prevent funding of rent supplements. Recommittal defeated: 198-190, March 29, 1966.

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

Congressman Bow (R-Ohio) moved to recommit the fiscal 1966 supplemental appropriation by deleting the \$12 million rent supplement appropriation. If the motion had carried, the rent supplement program would have died for lack of funds.

3. Food for Peace—Recommit fiscal 1967 agricultural appropriation, prohibiting use of Food for Peace funds for nations trading with North Vietnam. Recommittal adopted: 290-98, April 26, 1966.

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

Congressman Findley (R-Ill.) moved to recommit the agricultural appropriation with a motion to prohibit the sale of agricultural commodities under the Food for Peace Program to countries trading with North Vietnam as long as North Vietnam is under Communist rule.

4. Rent Supplements—Amendment to restore rent supplement funds for fiscal 1967, thereby permitting the program to be funded for a full year. Amendment adopted: 192-188, May 10, 1966.

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

Congressman Boland (D-Mass.) moved to amend the Housing and Urban Development Department's fiscal 1967 appropriation by restoring the \$20 million rent supplement appropriation. The House Appropriations Committee had deleted the rent supplement appropriation. This amendment restored rent supplement funds, allowing the program to get started for fiscal 1967.

5. Minimum Wage—Amendment to continue to exempt over 500,000 retail store employees from minimum wage protections. Amendment defeated: 200-195, May 26, 1966.

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

Congressman Anderson (R-Ill.) moved to delete from FLSA coverage those retail business establishments with annual gross sales or volume under \$500,000. If the amendment had carried, over 500,000 retail store employees would have been left without FLSA protection.

6. Minimum Wage—Amendment to postpone until February 1, 1969, an increase to \$1.60 per hour for employees presently protected by FLSA. Amendment adopted: 205-194, May 26, 1966.

A vote against the amendment is plus, a vote for, minus.

Congressmen Ayres (R-Ohio) and Morris (D-N.M.) moved to delay until February 1, 1969, adoption of a minimum wage of \$1.60 per hour for those presently protected by FLSA coverage. The bill under consideration increased the minimum wage to \$1.60 per hour effective February 1, 1968. If this provision had become law, it would have delayed a wage increase for many workers employed at the minimum wage level or slightly above it. (Although the amendment carried, it was later removed in conference.)

7. Minimum Wage—Recommit FLSA legislation, thereby removing minimum wage protection for agricultural workers, and maintaining excessive overtime exemptions for employees in canneries and food processing industries. Recommittal defeated: 231-168, May 26, 1966.

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

Congressman Martin (R-Neb.) moved to recommit FLSA legislation, in order to eliminate minimum wage protection for agricultural workers and to provide overtime exemptions—beyond the usual 40-hour standard—for employees in canneries, food processing and other seasonal industries.

8. Foreign Aid—Recommit foreign aid legislation, thereby slashing Development Loan Funds by \$250 million and reducing the authorization from two years to one. Recommittal defeated: 193-191, July 14, 1966.

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

Congressman Adair (R-Ind.) moved to recommit the foreign aid bill, thereby reducing the foreign aid authorization from two years to one year and reducing Development Loan Funds by \$250 million. (The Senate opposed the two-year authorization, and the one-year authorization was retained in conference.)

9. Civil Rights—Motion to bring the 1966 Civil Rights bill to the House and bypass the House Rules Committee. Motion adopted: 200-180, July 25, 1966.

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

Congressman Celler (D-N.Y.) brought to the House floor a motion to debate the Civil Rights bill under the 21-day rule procedure, bypassing the House Rules Committee. The Celler motion permitted the House to debate the Civil Rights bill rather than allowing the Rules Committee to delay or prevent its consideration.

10. Civil Rights—Recommit civil rights bill and delete fair housing provision. Recommittal defeated: 222-190, August 9, 1966.

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

Congressman Moore (R-W.Va.) moved to recommit the Civil Rights bill in order to eliminate the fair housing provision.

11. Mass Transit—Recommit mass transit legislation, killing the provision to make the program permanent and reducing the fiscal 1967 authorization by \$25 million. Recommittal adopted: 205-161, August 16, 1966.

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

Congressman Talcott (R-Calif.) moved to recommit the mass transit bill, thereby killing the provision to make the mass transit program permanent, and cutting the authorization by \$25 million for fiscal 1967.

12. Foreign Aid—Recommit foreign aid appropriation and reduce economic aid funds by \$45 million. Recommittal adopted: 186-183, September 20, 1966.

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

Congressman Bow (R-Ohio) moved to recommit the foreign aid appropriation, thereby deleting \$45 million from economic aid funds.

13. War on Poverty—Recommit Office of Economic Opportunity legislation and thereby strip OEO of all programs except Community Action and VISTA. Recommittal defeated: 203-162, September 29, 1966.

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

Congressman Quie (R-Minn.) moved to recommit the OEO authorization and thereby strip OEO of all programs under its jurisdiction except Community Action and VISTA. The effect was to propose a vote of no-confidence in OEO.

14. Civil Rights—Amendment to nullify Title VI of 1964 Civil Rights Act as applied to aid for elementary and secondary education. Amendment adopted: 220-116, October 6, 1966.

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

Congressman Fountain (D-N.C.) proposed to nullify Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as applied to aid for elementary and secondary education. Title VI bars Federal expenditures for racially discriminatory projects, and under usual administrative procedure the Commissioner of Education may cut off funds to school districts if the school districts do not comply with the non-discrimination requirements of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The Fountain amendment prohibited the Commissioner of Education from cutting off Federal funds until a hearing and finding of non-compliance is made under Title VI. The amendment would tie the Commissioner's hands and prevent the realization of non-discrimination. (A House-Senate conference dropped the amendment but required the Commissioner of Education to hold a hearing within 60 days.)

15. Aid to Education—Recommit aid to elementary and secondary education, thereby reducing funds for fiscal 1967 by nearly \$350 million and for fiscal 1968 by nearly \$1 billion. Recommittal defeated: 185-150, October 6, 1966.

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

Congressman Collier (R-Ill.) moved to recommit aid to elementary and secondary education legislation. If adopted, the Collier motion would have cut aid to disadvantaged children by \$343.5 million for fiscal 1967 and \$416.5 million for fiscal 1968. The motion also sought to eliminate \$575 million for fiscal 1968 from community-wide education centers and programs.

16. House Un-American Activities Committee—Passage of HUAC bill to broaden the Internal Security Act of 1950. Bill approved: 275-64, October 13, 1966.

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

A bill sponsored by Congressman Pool (D-Tex.) was approved by HUAC in hearings that amounted to a circus. The legislation broadened the Internal Security Act of 1950 to make it a Federal crime to aid in any way a hostile power, or its nationals or agencies, when the U.S. is engaged in undeclared or "unconventional" war or "police action." The bill also prohibited and established criminal penalties for engaging in efforts to obstruct or impede military personnel and transportation.

17. Demonstration Cities—Recommit Demonstration Cities legislation and thereby delete funds for Demonstration City projects and funds to encourage metropolitan planning. Recommittal defeated: 175-149, October 14, 1966.

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

Congressman Brock (R-Tenn.) moved to recommit the Demonstration Cities bill. If adopted, the recommitment motion would have deleted the \$900 million authorization in grants for Demonstration Cities projects for fiscal 1968 and 1969 and funds for metropolitan planning grants.

1966 HOUSE VOTING RECORD

Table listing House members by state (Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida) with columns for years 1-17 and 1966 L.Q. Term L.Q. with voting symbols (+, -, A, P).

Table listing House members by state (Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky) with columns for years 1-17 and 1966 L.Q. Term L.Q. with voting symbols (+, -, A, P).

1966 HOUSE VOTING RECORD

Table listing House members by state (North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Wyoming) with columns for 17 terms and 1966 LQ/Term LQ.

Table listing House members by state (South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming) with columns for 17 terms and 1966 LQ/Term LQ.

*Ill during 89th Congress