

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1341 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, D. C.

V O T I N G R E C O R D

88th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

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

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 on the specific issue.
- (-p) indicates a "pair" contrary to what ADA considers the liberal position on the specific issue.
- (+a) means the member was absent but was officially announced as favoring the liberal position on the specific issue.
- (-a) means the member was absent but was officially announced as opposed to the liberal position on the specific issue.
- (A) indicates the member was officially recorded as absent.

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 in the House are listed first in alphabetical order.
Republicans are underlined.

[illegible]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
<u>CALIFORNIA</u>													
3-Moss	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	92
26-Roosevelt	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	100
30-Roybal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	100
5-Shelley	+	+	+p	A	+p	+	A	+p	A	+	+p	A	100
33-Sheppard	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	82
16-Sisk	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+p	92
37-Van Deerlin	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	83
31-Wilson	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+p	+	+	+	+	91
14-Baldwin	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	25
28-Bell	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	17
1-Clausen	vac.	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
23-Clawson	v.	v	v	v	v	v	+	-	-	-	-	-	14
10-Gubser	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	A	-	-	0
32-Hosmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	0
24-Lipscomb	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
6-Maillard	-	-p	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	25
38-Martin	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
20-Smith	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
12-Talcott	-	-	-p	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
13-Teague	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
35-Utt	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	0
36-Wilson, R.	-	-	-	-	-	-	+p	-p	-	-	-	-p	8
11-Younger	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-p	17
<u>COLORADO</u>													
4-Aspinall	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-p	+	+	-	+	75
1-Rogers	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
2-Brotzman	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
3-Chenoweth	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
<u>CONNECTICUT</u>													
1-Daddario	+	A	+	-	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	91
3-Giaimo	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	91
AL-Grabowski	+	+	+	A	+	+	A	+p	+	+	+p	+	100
5-Monagan	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2-St. Onge	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+p	+	A	+p	+	91
4-Sibal	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+p	-	+	+	-	50
<u>DELAWARE</u>													
AL-McDowell	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	92

<u>FLORIDA</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
2-Bennett	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	58
4-Fascell	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	A	+	+	-	+	82
9-Fuqua	-	-p	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-p	-	33
10-Gibbons	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	58
7-Haley	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
5-Herlong	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	+	-p	-	9
8-Matthews	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	A	+	-	-	36
3-Pepper	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	91
6-Rogers	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	50
1-Sikes	+	-p	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-p	-	33
12-Cramer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	0
11-Gurney	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	0
<u>GEORGIA</u>													
7-Davis	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	50
4-Flynt	+	+	+	-	-	-	A	-p	-	+	-	+	45
3-Forrester	+	+	A	A	A	A	A	-	-	-	-p	-	29
1-Hagan	+	+	+	A	-	+	+	-	-	+	A	-p	60
9-Landrum	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	A	55
2-Pilcher	+	+	+	A	-	-	+	-p	-p	-	-p	-p	36
10-Stephens	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-p	-	+	-	-	50
8-Tuten	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	50
6-Vinson	+	+	A	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	73
5-Weltner	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	75
<u>HAWAII</u>													
AL-Gill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
AL-Matsunaga	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
<u>IDAHO</u>													
2-Harding	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-p	+	83
1-White	A+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	82
<u>ILLINOIS</u>													
1-Dawson	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+	+	+	A	+	90
9-Finnegan	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
21-Gray	+	+	+	-	+p	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	83
5-Kluczynski	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+p	+	+	+p	+	91
7-Libonati	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
3-Murphy	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
6-O'Brien	+	+	+	-	+	+p	A	+p	A	A	A	+p	88

ILLINOIS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
2-O'Hara	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
24-Price	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
11-Pucinski	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
8-Rostenkowski	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	92
23-Shipley	+	+	+	-	+	+p	+	+	+	+	+p	+	92
16-Anderson	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
17-Arends	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	0
10-Collier	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
4-Derwinski	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	0
20-Findley	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
14-Hoffman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-p	-p	0
12-McClory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	8
19-McLoskey	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
18-Michel	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-	-	+	-	10
15-Reid	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	0
13-Rumsfeld	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
22-Springer	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	17
INDIANA													
3-Brademas	+	+p	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
8-Denton	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	91
1-Madden	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+p	+	+	+	+	91
5-Roush	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+p	83
4-Adair	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-p	-	8
7-Bray	-	+p	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-p	25
11-Bruce	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	0
2-Halleck	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
10-Harvey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
6-Roudebush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	8
9-Wilson	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	A	-	18
IOWA													
5-Smith	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	83
2-Bromwell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
3-Gross	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
6-Hoeven	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
7-Jensen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
4-Kyl	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	A	-	+	+	-	20

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
1-Schwengel	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	A	-	-	-	18
<u>KANSAS</u>													
2-Avery	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	A	0
1-Dole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
3-Ellsworth	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-p	8
4-Shriver	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	0
5-Skubitz	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	0
<u>KENTUCKY</u>													
4-Chelf	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-p	-	+	-	+	67
2-Natcher	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	67
7-Perkins	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	75
1-Stubblefield	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	67
6-Watts	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-p	+	67
3-Siler	-	+	-	-p	-	+	A	-	-	+	+p	-	36
5-Snyder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+p	-	8
<u>LOUISIANA</u>													
2-Boggs	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	91
1-Hebert	-	-p	+p	-	-	-	A	-	+	+	+p	+p	45
8-Long	+	+	+	-	-	+	A	-p	+	+	-p	-	55
6-Morrison	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-p	+	+	+	+	83
5-Passman	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	17
7-Thompson	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-p	-p	+	+p	+	67
4-Waggoner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	8
3-Willis	+	+	+	-	-	+	A	-p	-p	+	-	+	55
<u>MAINE</u>													
2-McIntire	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-p	-	-	-	-	17
1-Tupper	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	A	64
<u>MARYLAND</u>													
4-Fallon	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	-	+	+	+p	-	73
7-Friedel	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	83
3-Garmatz	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	-	+	+	+p	+	82
5-Lankford	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	100
2-Long	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	+	-	+	92
AL-Sickles	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
6-Mathias	+	+	+	+p	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	75
1-Morton	-	-	-	-	A	+	-	A	-	-	-	-	10

[illegible]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
25-Barry	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	A	+	+	-	-	27
5- Becker	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	+p	-p	9
3-Derounian	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-	-	-p	-	0
24-Fino	+	A	+	A	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	-	90
38-Goodell	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	A	-	+	-	-	18
2-Grover	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	25
6-Halpern	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	-	73
36-Horton	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	42
31-Kilburn	-	-p	-	-	-	-	A	-p	-	-	-p	-	0
30-King	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
17-Lindsay	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+p	+	+	+	+	83
40-Miller	-	-	-	A	-	A	A	-p	-	-	+p	-	11
37-Ostertag	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	25
39-Pillion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	0
32-Pirnie	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+p	-	25
26-Reid	+	-	-	A	-	-	+	+p	+	+	+	-	55
34-Riehlman	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+p	-p	25
33-Robison	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	33
27-St. George	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	A	-	-	+	-	10
28-Wharton	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	18
4-Wydler	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+p	-	33
NO. CAROLINA													
1-Bonner	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-p	+	75
4-Cooley	+	+	+p	A	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	64
2-Fountain	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	25
3-Henderson	+	+	+p	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	50
6-Kornegay	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	A	-	36
7-Lennon	-	-	A	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	A	-	10
5-Scott	-	+	-	A	A	A	A	-	-	+	-p	-	25
11-Taylor	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-p	-	42
10-Whitener	-	A	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	A	-	-	10
9-Broyhill	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
8-Jonas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
NORTHDAKOTA													
1-Andrew											-	-	0
2-Short	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-p	0

PENNSYLVANIA

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
1-Barrett	+	+	+	A	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	100
3-Byrne	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
25-Clark	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	92
21-Dent	+	+	+	A	+	+	A	+p	+	+	+	+	100
11-Flood	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	83
5-Green	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+p	91
20-Holland	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	91
14-Moorhead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
26-Morgan	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
2-Nix	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	91
6-Rhodes	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	91
15-Rooney	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	+	+	+	+	+p	100
4-Toll	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
18-Corbett	+	+p	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	50
8-Curtin	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	25
9-Dague	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
27-Fulton	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	50
23 VACANCY													
19-Goodling	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
16-Kunkel	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	17
10-McDade	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+p	+	-	-	67
7-Milliken	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	A	27
22-Saylor	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	A	-	+	+	-	55
17-Schneebeli	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
13-Schweiker	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	33
24-Weaver	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	25
12-Whalley	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	33

RHODE ISLAND

2-Fogarty	+	+	+	A	+p	+	A	+p	+	+	+	+	100
1-St. Germain	+	+	+	-	+p	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92

SOUTH CAROLINA

4-Ashmore	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-p	-	8
3-Dorn	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	9
5-Hemphill	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	67
6-McMillan	-	A	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	27
1-Rivers	-	+	+	-	-	A	+	-p	-	+	-	-	36

[illegible]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
16- <u>Forman</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
<u>UTAH</u>													
1- <u>Burton</u>	-	A	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	0
2- <u>Lloyd</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
<u>VERMONT</u>													
AL- <u>Stafford</u>	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+p	-	33
<u>VIRGINIA</u>													
4- <u>Abbitt</u>	-	-	-p	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
1- <u>Downing</u>	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	25
3- <u>Gacy</u>	-	-	+	A	+	-	+	-p	+	-	-	-	36
2- <u>Hardy</u>	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	42
9- <u>Jennings</u>	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	67
7- <u>Marsh</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
8- <u>Smith</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
5- <u>Tuck</u>	-	-	-p	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
10- <u>Broyhill</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
6- <u>Poff</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
<u>WASHINGTON</u>													
3- <u>Hansen</u>	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	91
5- <u>Horan</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	0
4- <u>May</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	0
1- <u>Pelly</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+p	-	8
7- <u>Stinson</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	0
6- <u>Tollefson</u>	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	+	A	-	10
2- <u>Westland</u>	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	0
<u>WEST VIRGINIA</u>													
4- <u>Hechler</u>	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
5- <u>Kee</u>	+	+	+	A	+	+	A	+p	+	+	+	+	100
3- <u>Slack</u>	+	+	+	A	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91
2- <u>Staggers</u>	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	92
1- <u>Moore</u>	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	33
<u>WISCONSIN</u>													
9- <u>Johnson</u>	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	83
2- <u>Kastenmeier</u>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
5- <u>Reuss</u>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4- <u>Zablocki</u>	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	83
8- <u>Byrnes</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+p	-	17

[illegible]

U. S. SENATE
88TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

- 16 -

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Liberal Quotient
<u>ALABAMA</u>																		
Hill	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	A	-	44
Sparkman	-	-	-	+	+p	-	+	A	+	A	+	+	+	+	-	+	-a	60
<u>ALASKA</u>																		
Bartlett	-	-a	-	+	-p	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	59
Gruening	-	-	-a	+	+	+	+	+	+	+a	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	71
<u>ARIZONA</u>																		
Hayden	-	-	-	+	-	+p	+	-	+	+	+	+	+a	+a	-	+	-	59
Goldwater	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-a	-	-	-	-	0
<u>ARKANSAS</u>																		
Fulbright	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	A	+	A	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	53
McClellan	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	6
<u>CALIFORNIA</u>																		
Engle	+	+p	+	+	+	+	+	+	-p	+a	+a	+a	A	+a	+a	+p	-a	88
Kuchel	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+p	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	65
<u>COLORADO</u>																		
Allott	+	+	-	-	-p	-p	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	18
Dominick	-	+	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-p	-p	-	-	-	12
<u>CONNECTICUT</u>																		
Dodd	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	-	+	-a	+	76

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	- 17 - Liberal Quotient
Ribicoff	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	88
<u>DELAWARE</u>																		
Boags	+	+	-a	-	-	-	-	-	-	+p	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	47
Williams	-	+	-a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
<u>FLORIDA</u>																		
Holland	-	-	-	-	+	+p	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-p	-	-	35
Smathers	-	-	-	-a	+	+	+	-	-p	-	+	+	+	+	A	-a	-p	44
<u>GEORGIA</u>																		
Russell	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	6
Talmadge	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
<u>HAWAII</u>																		
Inouye	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	+	82
Fong	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	65
<u>IDAHO</u>																		
Church	+	+	A	+	+	+	+a	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+p	+	A	93
Jordan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-a	-	-	-	-	6
<u>ILLINOIS</u>																		
Douglas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+a	+	+	+	+	+p	-p	+	94
Dirksen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	+	+	+	+	-p	-	-	24

INDIANA

Bayh

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
+	+	-	-	+	+	+	tp	tp	tp	+	+	+	+	tp	+	+	88

Hartke

+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	ta	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	82
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IOWA

Hickenlooper

-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-p	-	+	+	+	-	-	-a	24
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Miller

-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	13
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KANSAS

Carlson

-	-	-	-a	-	-	-	-	-	-p	+	+	+	+	-	-	-p	29
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Pearson

-a	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	13
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KENTUCKY

Cooper

+	+	-	-	-p	+	+	-	-p	+	+	+	+	tp	=	-	-	59
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Morton

-	+	-	-	-	-a	+	-	-	A	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	38
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LOUISIANA

Ellender

-	-	-	-	+	A	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-p	+	-	19
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Long

-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-p	-p	-	+	-p	-p	-	-p	24
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MAINE

Maskie

+	+	A	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

Smith

+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	51
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MARYLAND

Brewster

+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	tp	+	tp	82
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[illegible]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
<u>NEBRASKA</u>																		
<u>Curtis</u>	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
<u>Hruska</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-a	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
<u>NEVADA</u>																		
<u>Bible</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	53
<u>Cannon</u>	-	-	-a	-	-p	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	53
<u>NEW HAMPSHIRE</u>																		
<u>McIntyre</u>	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-a	-a	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	32
<u>Cotton</u>	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	7
<u>NEW JERSEY</u>																		
<u>Williams</u>	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
<u>Case</u>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	38
<u>NEW MEXICO</u>																		
<u>Anderson</u>	+	+	+	+	tp	+	A	-	+	A	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	80
<u>Mechem</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	9
<u>NEW YORK</u>																		
<u>Javits</u>	+	+	+	+	tp	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	94
<u>Keating</u>	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	tp	+	+	83
<u>NO. CAROLINA</u>																		
<u>Ervin</u>	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	18

[illegible]

[illegible]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	- 23 - Liberal Quotient
Robertson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	6
<u>WASHINGTON</u>																		
Jackson	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+a	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	65
Magnuson	-	+	-a	+	+	+	+	+a	+	+	+	+	-	+	+a	+	A	38
<u>WEST VIRGINIA</u>																		
Byrd	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+a	+	+	+	-	-	a	-	+	+	59
Randolph	-	+	-a	-	-	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	71
<u>WISCONSIN</u>																		
Nelson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Proxmire	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	71
<u>WYOMING</u>																		
McGee	-	-	-a	-	+	+	+a	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	-p	-	-	65
Simpson	-	-	-	-	-p	-a	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Losing the Whip

Democratic Liberals May Fumble Away Senate's No. 2 Job

By DAN CORDTZ

WASHINGTON—Liberal Democrats, who for years have complained they aren't adequately represented in the Senate's top councils, seem nonetheless bent on fumbling away the chamber's second-ranking post.

Not only are they unable to agree on another one of their own to replace Vice President-elect Hubert Humphrey as Assistant Majority Leader, some are actually lining up behind the candidacy of Sen. Russell Long—Louisiana defender of segregation and opponent of medicare.

With six weeks to go before the Senate's 68 Democrats hold their organizational caucus, the choice of the new majority whip is by no means settled. Americans for Democratic Action is about to mount a counter-attack on Sen. Long, for one thing. And Joseph Rauh, Washington attorney and liberal leader, adds that "civil rights groups are unalterably opposed to Long. They'll certainly make their views known."

But opposition or no, the outlook is increasingly—and surprisingly—for a Long victory when the secret ballot takes place early in January. Neither of his avowed rivals, Sens. John O. Pastore (R.I.) and Mike Monroney (Okla.), is conceding anything yet. But both appear to regard Sen. Long as the front-runner.

If in fact Sen. Long does become whip, it will be an ironic result—and, for the liberals, perhaps a serious self-inflicted defeat as well. Ironic because, until only a few days ago, it was widely assumed that the election was in the bag for Sen. Pastore, a man whose liberal credentials are impeccable.

By any standard, the short, dapper Rhode Islander appeared the natural choice to succeed Sen. Humphrey after the Minnesotan was tapped for greater things. Not only does the ADA vouch for Sen. Pastore's liberal persuasion by branding his voting record 90% "right," but the Senator also is on good terms with the Senate's conservative Southern bloc. He is liked and respected by Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, with and for whom he would have to work as whip. He is a personal favorite of President Johnson and an enthusiastic supporter of the LBJ legislative program—a mutual admiration that was dramatized by the selection of Sen. Pastore as keynote speaker for the Democratic national convention that nominated Mr. Johnson.

Yet today the 57-year-old Senate veteran and former Rhode Island governor must be described as lagging in the whip race. There are, of course, a number of reasons. Sen. Long is being aided by regional solidarity, personal friendships, a determined campaign and his position as heir apparent to Chairman Harry Byrd of the powerful Finance Committee. The popular and experienced Sen. Monroney stands to benefit from his middle-ground image and the assurances he is giving the liberal camp that he is ready to move out of the shadow of the late Sen. Robert Kerr and to cast off the restraints of his conservative Oklahoma constituency.

Too Much Taken for Granted

Sen. Pastore has also clearly been hurt by the fact too many people took too much for granted in the whip contest. Until Nov. 5, for example, he made no effort to line up support, then sent his colleagues a form letter announcing his candidacy. By that time Sen. Long had nailed down a number of commitments. Sen. Pastore explains he could not properly seek the whip's job before the voters had given him another term in the Senate, but this seems a less than compelling consideration in view of his almost five-to-one victory. The evidence suggests rather that Sen. Pastore expected to be elected—as most whips in the past have been—without a real contest. Indeed, he now declares that "I'm not sure I want the job if we're going to have a big fight beforehand. I certainly don't want to see the party split and fighting over this."

It's also at least conceivable that President Johnson may have assumed too much. He could hardly be expected to intervene directly in the race and thus offend Sen. Long and his fellow Southerners. He has, in fact, assured Sen. Monroney that he will keep hands off. But the President is nevertheless popularly regarded as preferring Sen. Pastore. There are those who believe that, had he not assumed the Senate would come to this same conclusion, the President might have quietly suggested to Sen. Mansfield that the Majority Leader endorse Sen. Pastore as the best man to assist him. Mr. Mansfield now vows to stand clear of the affair.

But more than anything else, the development that has hurt Sen. Pastore—personally as well as politically—is the surprising defection of his liberal ideological brothers. He regards as inexplicable the fact that men such as Sens. Paul Douglas (Ill.) and Abe Ribicoff (Conn.) are leaning away from him. Certainly the reasons advanced by some reluctant liberals are unimpressive. A few

legislation. (The ADA rates him only 42% "right" in his 16-year Senate career.)

"The fact is," asserts the disgusted aide of one liberal Senator, "that all this just proves how perverse a bunch we are. If we had to fight like hell to get Pastore elected, we'd all be delighted with him. But the whole thing would be too easy, too cut and dried. So we start finding things wrong with him and go out hunting up half a dozen new candidates. We'll end up giving it to the other side."

It's true that, in the past week or so, the field of proposed liberal candidates has been swelled. Maine's Sen. Ed Muskie has softly acknowledged his availability and tiny draft movements have been hesitantly initiated for Sens. Philip Hart of Michigan and Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin. But with Sen. Long firmly grasping 20-odd votes, the liberals will have to settle soon on a consensus choice. They may yet be forced to turn back to Sen. Pastore as the man with the best chance of gaining votes outside their ranks.

Some Second Thoughts

An occasional remark suggests some are already having just such second thoughts. "Maybe we've been selling the whole thing short," muses a Senatorial assistant. "The idea has been that the job really wasn't all that important and that all the candidates were nice fellows. But if Long wants it badly enough to fight for it, there must be a reason. It ought to be just as important to us as to the Southerners."

Whatever the reason, this is the first real battle for the job of whip in many years. Under the leadership of then Sen. Lyndon Johnson, the job was hardly attractive for a man of forceful views and personal ambition. But the present leader, Sen. Mansfield, has neither the temperament nor the desire to run the Senate as did LBJ. He views himself as a healer, the man who tries to keep the disparate elements of the Democratic Party at least on speaking terms. Thus, to the whip has fallen most of the cajoling, persuading, bargaining and arm-twisting needed to put through the Administration's legislative program. The sentiments and abilities of the whip can play an important part in determining what emerges from the Senate legislative assembly line.

Retention of an advocate in the whip's post is also of considerable consequence to the liberals, who are not well represented in committee chairmanships and other positions of power and influence. They view Sen. Humphrey's departure with melancholy and can hardly expect Sen. Long to perform the job to their satisfaction.

Finally, in almost every mind is the unacknowledged consideration which ultimately may be most important of all: The line of succession in the Senate leadership. For, in spite of his repeated denials he is weary of his burdens, rumors persist that Sen. Mansfield will move on to other things. Whatever its validity, such speculation can only make more attractive—and more vitally important to the body's factions—the job as No. 2 man in the Senate.

affair.

But more than anything else, the development that has hurt Sen. Pastore—personally as well as politically—is the surprising defection of his liberal ideological brothers. He regards as inexplicable the fact that men such as Sens. Paul Douglas (Ill.) and Abe Ribicoff (Conn.) are leaning away from him. Certainly the reasons advanced by some reluctant liberals are unimpressive. A few complain that Sen. Pastore is a captive of the Senate “Establishment” or, inconsistently, would be the errand boy of LBJ. Others charge that the Pastore staff is not close enough to their own. A few weave an elaborate proof that Sen. Long is also a liberal, despite his past votes against aid to education, the test-ban treaty and civil rights

Additional Remarks by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey on the
Legislative Record of the 88th Congress

Right on schedule--beginning in early Spring--critics of the Administration and other self-appointed watchdogs of the public interest begin the perennial chant, "What about this 'Do Nothing Congress'?" The annual commotion about Congress not meeting its responsibilities has once again begun and the cry resounds from Capitol Hill to the National Press Building and back again.

I do not say that certain improvements and modernization in the procedures and rules of Congress are not required by current demands on the legislative process. On many occasions I have called for such changes and I will continue to do so. But I also believe that the American people should recognize that the 88th Congress has been working hard and, I predict, will compile a legislative record that will rival any of the past generation.

What are the three principal issues now confronting the Nation? In my opinion they include: (1) civil rights, (2) national security and arms control, and (3) the state of the economy. These are matters so fundamental to the well-being and security of our American society that they assume a position of high priority on the national agenda. It is essential to realize that these are the very three issues also receiving priority attention in the 88th Congress. In other words, Congress is now attempting to hammer out decisions and solutions precisely in those areas which present the Nation with the gravest and most crucial challenges. We cannot expect that decisions and solutions of this magnitude can be reached quickly or frivolously. In fact, Congress would be open to justifiable criticism if it failed to consider such vital questions in a careful and thorough fashion.

The time of thoughtful deliberation on civil rights, the test ban treaty, and the tax bill is rapidly ending.

The time for action is here. I predict that the next two months will see truly historic accomplishment in each of these critical areas. Seldom has any Congress in recent history been so intimately involved in issues relating so directly to the future welfare and security of the United States.

We must also consider the many other measures on which Congress will act before final adjournment of the 88th Congress. I predict that the first session of the 88th Congress will be remembered principally for forthright action on the test ban treaty, civil rights and the tax bill. But while these top priority matters have dominated the headlines, impressive progress has been made in other areas, although final action may not be completed in some of these areas until the second session.

For example, the Senate has passed the Youth Employment Act to establish a Youth Conservation Corps and a Hometown Youth Corps. The House Education and Labor Committee

has reported favorably on this bill and we are now awaiting action by the Rules Committee. Other important bills already passed by the Senate include President Kennedy's massive program of Federal aid for public and private mental health and retardation facilities, a comprehensive program to assist metropolitan areas in providing adequate mass transportation facilities, an expansion of the Area Redevelopment Administration, the long-overdue Wilderness Bill to preserve for posterity the untouched wilderness resources of this Nation, a National Service Corps to enable Americans to volunteer for domestic social service similar to the types undertaken overseas by the Peace Corps, and important amendments to improve the operation of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Each of these bills that has already passed the Senate stands an excellent chance of also passing the House and becoming Law before the 88th Congress adjourns next Fall. Each bill contains solid and constructive proposals designed to meet

specific national needs. As Assistant Majority Leader of the Senate, I recite this record of accomplishment with pride and with no sense of apology.

The House of Representatives recently has completed action on a number of important measure, particularly in the area of education. A much needed program of Federal assistance to medical schools has been approved by the House; Senate hearings are currently underway. The House has also completed work on the President's five year program to provide \$1.2 billion of Federal grants and loans for construction or improvement of public and private higher education academic facilities. Included in this long-sought and long-overdue bill are funds for construction of classrooms, laboratories, libraries, and related instructional, research, or administrative facilities. The importance of this House action in the area of Federal aid to higher education cannot be overestimated.

The House has also authorized a new program of matching grants to the states to expand vocational education programs

and to make current programs more effective. The changing nature of the job market, the elimination of many manual labor occupations, the demands for technological and industrial education are factors which make a massive expansion of vocational education in this country urgent and essential. The Senate will take prompt action on this measure.

Hospital insurance for the elderly represents the only principal area of legislation where no action has been taken to date. Primarily this is due to the priority attention accorded to the President's tax bill by the House Ways and Means Committee. Once the tax bill passes the House, I look for prompt consideration of hospital insurance proposals ~~by~~ ~~the Committee~~. in the House and Senate.

In short, this record demonstrates that much has been done and much still remains to do. In particular, measures that have passed one body must now be passed by the other House.

But I predict that almost every bill I have enumerated this evening will reach President Kennedy's desk before the 88th Congress finally adjourns. And I predict that this final record will be one that the Democratic Party can take to the people with pride and confidence in 1964.

October 2, 1964

SUBJECT REPORT OF PRESIDENTIAL LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

Senate Democratic Policy Committee

88th-2nd

AGRICULTURE

Status

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Cotton-Wheat programs
(1963, B, E, SPM 1/31/64) | PL 88-297. |
| 2. Dairy program.
(1963, B, SPM 1/31/64) | S. 1915: P/S 10/10/63.
H. Agri. killed 8/5. |
| 3. Food for Peace program,
extension. (E) | S. 2687: PL 88- |
| 4. Food Marketing Commission,
establish. (SPM 1/31/64) | PL 88-354. |
| 5. Food stamp program, expand and
make permanent. (1963, S, B) | PL 88-525. |
| 6. Futures trading on commodity
exchanges. (SPM 1/31/64) | S. 2859: S. Agri.
HR 11278: H. Agri. |
| 7. Land use adjustments.
(1963, B) | S. 1588: P/S 10/11/63.
HR 6491: H. Agri. hears. 6/24-27/63. |
| 8. Meat and poultry inspection.
(B, SPM 2/5/64) | S. 2176: S. Agri. |
| 9. Pesticide registration
(B, SPM 2/10/64) | PL 88-305. |
| 10. Sugar program. (SPM 1/31/64) | HR 12253: In conf. |
| 11. Watershed protection & flood
prevention act, amdt.
(1963, SPM 1/31/64) | S. 566: S. Agri. hear. 6/3/63.
HR 9938: P/H 5/18. |

ATOMIC ENERGY

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------|
| 12. AEC authorization. (B) | PL 88-332. |
|----------------------------|------------|

CIVIL RIGHTS

- | | |
|--|---|
| 13. Federal Public defenders. (1963) | PL 88-455. |
| 14. Immigration law revision.
(1963, S) | S. 1932: S. Jud. subcte. hears. recessed 7/30.
HR 7700: H. Jud. hears. recessed. |
| 15. Omnibus bill. (1963, S, E) | PL 88-352. |

COMMERCE AND TRANSPORTATION

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| 16. Airport Act extension.
(1963, B) | PL 88-280. |
| 17. Coast Guard authorization. (*) | PL 88-281. |
| 18. Forest Roads and Trails. (*) | S. 1147: H. Cal. |

(Continued)

- 19. Highway authorization. (*) PL 88-423.
- 20. International air rates. (*) S. 1540: P/S 11/26/63.
H. Interst. hears. 5/19-21/64.
- 21. Mass Transit. (1963, S, E, B) PL 88-365.
- 22. Transportation policy reform.
(1963, S, E, B) S. 2796: S. Commerce recessed hears.
10/24/63.
HR 9903: Rule denied 4/28.

DEFENSE AND MILITARY

- 23. Fallout shelter program
(1963, B) HR 8200: P/H 9/17/63.
S. Armed Serv. subcte. deferred action 3/2.
- 24. Military construction. (*) PL 88-390.
- 25. Military procurement. (*) PL 88-288.
- 26. Pay increase. (B) PL 88-422.
- 27. Stockpile disposal. (1963, B) S. 2272: S. Cal.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

- 28. Home Rule. (1963, B) S. 1650: S. DC Cte.
HR 5794: H. DC Cte. 11/18-20/63, 2/24/64.
- 29. Mass transit system. (1963, B)
- 30. Relocation assistance. (B) S. 1024: PL 88-
- 31. Revitalize downtown area. (B) S. 628: H. Cal.

EDUCATION

- 32. Adult education. (1963, B) PL 88-452.
- 33. Higher Education Student Loans
(1963) S. 3140: S. Cal.
- 34. Juvenile Delinquency Act,
continue. (1963, B) PL 88-368.
- 35. Library services & construction.
(1963, S, E) PL 88-269.
- 36. NDEA - loan forgiveness extension.
(1963) S. 3060: PL 88-
- 37. NDEA amendment - 3 year extension;
2 year extension of impacted areas. S. 3060: PL 88-
- 38. Teacher quality - cooperative
research. (1963, S, E, B) S. 3060: PL 88-
- 39. Vocational rehabilitation act amdts.
(1963, B) S. 968: S. Labor.
HR 5194: H. Labor subcte. exec. underway.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT

- 40. FTC cease & desist orders (SPM 2/5/64) HR 9941: H. Interst.

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| 41. Kennedy Art Center. (1963) | PL 88-260. |
| 42. National Council on the Arts. (1963) | PL 88-579. |
| 43. National Historic Documents. (*) | PL 88-383. |
| 44. Truth in Lending
(SPM 2/5/64) | S. 750: S. Banking Stabilization subcte.
exec. 7/8, 22, 29.
HR 4070: H. Banking. |
| 45. Truth in Packaging.
(SPM 2/5/64) | S. 287: S. Jud. exec. 10/29/63.
HR 2382: H. Jud. hears. 1963. |

HEALTH

- | | |
|---|--|
| 46. Food and Drug amendments.
(1963, SPM 1/31 & 2/10/64) | S. 2580: S. Labor
HR 6788: H. Interst. |
| 47. Group practice facilities (medical,
dentistry, or both) (1963) | S. 1426: S. Labor.
HR 4534: H. Interst. |
| 48. Health Care for Aged.
(SPM 2/10/64) | HR 11865: In conference. |
| 49. Hill-Burton Act - Extension, expansion
(1963, S, B, SPM 2/10/64) | PL 88-443. |
| 50. Nurses training - expansion
(S, B) | PL 88-581. |
| 51. Public Health Traineeship program -
extend & expand. (SPM 2/10/64) | PL 88-497. |
| 52. Water pollution control.
(1963, SPM 2/10/64) | S. 649: H. Cal. |

HOUSING

- | | |
|--|--|
| 53. FNMA - broaden scope of private in-
vesting in federally insured or
guaranteed mortgage loans. (B) | PL 88-560. |
| 54. Housing Act of 1964. (S, E, B) | PL 88-560. |
| 55. V.A. aid on defective property.
(S, E, B) | S. 2470: P/S 7/29.
H. Veterans Affairs. |

INTERNATIONAL

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| 56. Chamizal Convention Act (*) | PL 88-300. |
| 57. Foreign aid authorization.
(S, SPM 3/19, 5/18) | HR 11380: In Conf. |
| 58. Inter-American Development Bank -
increase U. S. share of Fund for
Special Operations. (1963, B) | PL 88-259. |
| 59. International Coffee Agreement -
implement. (*) | HR 8864: In Conf. |

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| 60. | International Development Association
enlarge resources. (1963, B) | PL 88-310. |
| 61. | Peace Corps authorization. (B) | PL 88-285. |
| 62. | Sea Level Canal Study. (*) | PL 88-609. |
| 63. | Vietnam Resolution. | PL 88-408. |

TREATIES:

- | | | |
|-----|---|-------------------|
| 64. | Austrian Property Convention. | Ratified 2/25/64. |
| 65. | Belgium Extradition Convention. | Ratified 8/6/64. |
| 66. | International Sugar Agreement -
protocol amending. | Ratified 1/30/64. |
| 67. | Japanese protocol of 1960 modifying
tax convention. | Ratified 7/29/64. |
| 68. | Japanese protocol of 1962 modifying
tax convention. | Ratified 7/29/64. |
| 69. | Luxembourg-U.S. tax convention. | Ratified 7/29/64. |
| 70. | Netherlands Antilles protocol
to tax convention. | Ratified 7/29/64. |
| 71. | North Pacific Fur Seal Convention -
protocol amending. | Ratified 1/30/64. |
| 72. | Northwest Atlantic Fisheries
Convention. | Ratified 6/23/64. |
| 73. | Prevention of Pollution of Sea by Oil
amendments. | Ratified 2/25/64. |
| 74. | Radio Regulations Convention -
partial revision. | Ratified 2/25/64. |
| 75. | Red Sea Lights Convention. | Ratified 2/25/64. |
| 76. | Sweden supplementary tax convention. | Ratified 7/29/64. |
| 77. | Tax protocol with Greece. | Ratified 6/23/64. |

NATURAL RESOURCES

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|--------------------|
| 78. | Federal Water Project Recreation
Act. (*) | HR 9032: H. Cal. |
| 79. | Land Conservation Fund.
(1963, B) | PL 88-578. |
| (Recreational Shoreline Areas: | | |
| (| (1963, B) | |
| (80. | Canyonlands. | PL 88-590. |
| (| | |
| (81. | Indiana Dunes. | S. 2249: P/S 9/29. |
| (| | |
| (82. | Lake Mead National Recreational Area,
Arizona | S. 653: PL 88- |
| (| | |

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| 83. Ozark National Rivers. | PL 88-492. |
| 84. Pacific Northwest Power. (*) | PL 88-552. |
| 85. Water Resources planning.
(1963, B) | S. 1111: H. Cal. |
| 86. Water resources research. (1963, B) | PL 88-379. |
| 87. Wilderness preserves. (1963, B) | PL 88-577. |

POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------|
| 88. Presidential transition act. (*) | PL 88-277. |
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POVERTY-UNEMPLOYMENT-WELFARE

- | | |
|---|--|
| 89. Aid to Appalachia.
(SPM 4/28/64) | S. 2782: H. Cal. |
| 90. Alaska Reconstruction. (E/C 5/27) | PL 88-451. |
| 91. Antipoverty. (SPM 3/16) | PL 88-452. |
| 92. Area redevelopment - expand.
(1963, S, E, B) | S. 1163: H. Cal. |
| 93. Commission on Automation -
establish. (1963, S, E) | PL 88-444. |
| 94. Community work-training program.
(1963, B) | S. 1803: S. Finance.
HR 7262: H. Ways & Means. |
| 95. Emergency aid to Alaska
(\$23.5 million) (*) | PL 88-311. |
| 96. Establish 5-year community action
program for elderly. (1963, B) | S. 1357: S. Finance.
HR 10088: H. Cal. |
| 97. Migrant Farm Labor Contracts. (*) | PL 88-582. |
| 98. Minimum Wage coverage.
(1963, S, E) | S. 2487: S. Labor.
HR 11838: H. Labor subcte. approved. |
| 99. National Service Corps. (1963, S, B) | PL 88-452. |
| 100. Overtime penalty rates. (E) | S. 2486: S. Labor.
HR 9802: H. Labor subcte. approved. |
| 101. Social Security amendments. | HR 11865: In conf. |
| 102. Unemployment insurance - extend.
(1963, S, E) | S. 1542: S. Finance.
HR 6339: H. Ways & Means. |
| 103. Youth Employment Act. (1963, S, E, B) | PL 88-452. |

PUBLIC DEBT

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| 104. Permanent flexible increase. (B) | PL 88-327. |
|---------------------------------------|------------|

REORGANIZATION

- | | |
|---|--|
| 105. Dept. of Housing & Community
Development. (1963, B) | S. 2475: S. Gov. Oprs.
HR 9983: H. Gov. Oprs. |
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106. Extend Pres. authority to transmit plans to Congress. (1963, B) PL 88-351.
107. SEC amendments. (1963, SPM 2/5/64) PL 88-467.

SALARY ADJUSTMENT AND REFORM

108. Pay legislation (Exec., Cong., Jud.) (1963, B, E/C 1964) PL 88-426.

SPACE

109. Space authorization. (B) PL 88-369.

TAXES

110. Excise tax extension. (B) PL 88-348.
111. Interest equalization tax. (1963, S, E) PL 88-563.
112. Tax cut & reform (1963, S, E, B) PL 88-272.

USER CHARGES

113. Motorboat fuel and entrance fees. (1963, B) PL 88-578.
114. Patent fee increase. (1963, B) HR 8190: P/H 1/22/64.
S. Jud. hears. concluded 2/28.

APPROPRIATIONSAction Completed:

1964:

115. Alaskan Emergency Supplemental. PL 88-296.
116. Deficiency. PL 88-317.
117. Labor Supplemental. PL 88-295.
118. Supplemental. PL 88-268.

1965

119. Agriculture. PL 88-573.
120. Defense. PL 88-446.
121. District of Columbia. PL 88-479.
122. Foreign Aid. PL 88-
123. Independent Offices. PL 88-507.
124. Interior. PL 88-356.
125. Labor-HEW. PL 88-605.
126. Legislative. PL 88-454.
127. Military Construction. PL 88-576.
128. Public Works. PL 88-511.
129. State-Justice-Commerce. PL 88-527.
130. Supplemental. PL 88-
131. Treasury-PO. PL 88-392.

SYMBOLS: S - State of Union
B - Budget Message
E - Economic Message
E/C - Executive Communication

SPM - Special Message
* - In accord with President's program
1963 - Recommended in 1963

October 2, 1964

ACTION STATUS OF PRESIDENTIAL LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS
Senate Democratic Policy Committee
88th-2nd

Recap:

Action Completed (92)	House Calendar (3)
In Conference (4)	Committee Action (9)
Passed Senate (11)	No Action (8)
Senate Calendar (2)	No Legislation (1)
Passed House (1)	

ACTION COMPLETED (92)

1. Adult Education. PL 88-452.
2. AEC Authorization. PL 88-332.
3. Airport Act extension. PL 88-280.
4. Alaska Earthquake Grants. PL 88-311.
5. Alaska Reconstruction. PL 88-451.
6. Antipoverty. PL 88-452.
- 7-23. Appropriations: Alaska Emergency Relief Fund - PL 88-296; Deficiency for 1964 - PL 88-317; Labor Supplemental for 1964 - PL 88-295; Supplemental for 1964 - PL 88-268.
Fiscal 1965: Agriculture - PL 88-573; Defense - PL 88-446; D.C. - PL 88-479; Foreign Aid - PL 88 - ; Independent Offices - PL 88-507; Interior - PL 88-356; Labor-HEW - PL 88-605; Legislative - PL 88-454; Military Construction - PL 88-576; Public Works - PL 88-511; State-Justice-Commerce - PL 88-527; Supplemental - PL 88 -; Treasury-PO - PL 88-392.
24. Canyonlands. PL 88-590.
25. Chamizal Convention Act. PL 88-300.
26. Civil Rights Act of 1964. PL 88-352.
27. Coast Guard authorization. PL 88-281.
28. Commission on Automation. PL 88-444.
29. Cotton-Wheat programs. PL 88-297.
30. D. C. Relocation Assistance. S. 1024. PL 88 -
31. Domestic Peace Corps. PL 88-452.
32. Excise Tax Extension. PL 88-348.
33. Federal Pay Reform. PL 88-426.
34. FNMA - Broaden Scope of Private Investing. PL 88-560.
35. Food for Peace. PL 88 -
36. Food Marketing Commission. PL 88-354.
37. Food Stamp Plan. PL 88-525.

(Cont'd.)

38. Foreign Aid Authorization. PL 88 -
39. Highway authorization. PL 88-423.
40. Hill-Burton extension. PL 88-443.
41. Housing Act of 1964. PL 88-560.
42. Inter-American Development Bank - increase U.S. share of Fund for Special Operations. PL 88-259.
43. Interest Equalization Tax. PL 88-563.
44. International Development Assn. - enlarge resources. PL 88-310.
45. Juvenile Delinquency Act extension. PL 88-368.
46. Kennedy Art Center. PL 88-260.
47. Lake Mead Recreation Area. PL 88 -
48. Land Conservation Fund. PL 88-578.
49. Library Services & Construction. PL 88-269.
50. Military Construction. PL 88-390.
51. Military Pay Increase. PL 88-422.
52. Military Procurement. PL 88-288.
53. Mass Transit. PL 88-365.
54. Migrant Farm Labor Contracts. PL 88-582.
55. National Council on the Arts. PL 88-579.
- 56-58. NDEA Amendments. Extended the existing program for 3 years including the loan forgiveness provision; extended the impacted areas program for 1 year; and provided for a teacher quality improvement program in such subjects as history, English, geography, foreign languages, and remedial reading. S. 3060. PL 88 -
59. National Historical Documents. PL 88-383.
60. Nurses Training Program. PL 88-581.
61. Ozark National Rivers. PL 88-492.
62. Pacific Northwest Power. PL 88-552.
63. Peace Corps authorization. PL 88-285.
64. Pesticide Registration. PL 88-305.
65. President's Transition Act. PL 88-277.
66. Public Debt. PL 88-327.
67. Public Defenders. PL 88-455.
68. Public Health Trainee Program. PL 88-497.
69. Reorganization Act extension. PL 88-351.

- 70. Sea Level Canal Study. PL 88-609.
- 71. SEC Reforms. PL 88-467.
- 72. Space authorization. PL 88-369.
- 73. Tax Reduction. PL 88-272.
- 74. User Fees. PL 88-578.
- 75. Vietnam Resolution. PL 88-408.
- 76. Water Resources Research. PL 88-379.
- 77. Wilderness Preservation System. PL 88-577.
- 78. Youth Employment Corps. PL 88-452.

TREATIES:

- 79. Austrian Property Convention. Ratified 2/25/64.
- 80. Belgium Extradition Treaty. Ratified 8/7/64.
- 81. International Sugar Agreement protocol. Ratified 1/30/64.
- 82. Japanese 1960 protocol modifying the 1954 income tax convention.
Ratified 7/29/64.
- 83. Japanese 1962 protocol modifying the 1954 income tax convention.
Ratified 7/29/64.
- 84. Luxembourg tax convention. Ratified 7/29/64.
- 85. Netherlands Antilles protocol modifying tax convention. Ratified
7/29/64.
- 86. North Pacific Fur Seal Convention - protocol. Ratified 1/30/64.
- 87. Northwest Fisheries Convention. Ratified 6/23/64.
- 88. Prevention of Pollution of Sea by Oil - amendments. Ratified 2/25/64.
- 89. Radio Regulations Convention - partial revision. Ratified 2/25/64.
- 90. Red Sea Lights Convention. Ratified 2/25/64.
- 91. Sweden supplementary tax convention. Ratified 7/29/64.
- 92. Tax protocol with Greece. Ratified 6/23/64.

IN CONFERENCE (4)

- 93. International Coffee Agreement. HR 8864.
- 94, 95. Social Security - Health Care. HR 11865.
- 96. Sugar - extended foreign quota provisions 6 months. HR 12253.

PASSED SENATE (11)

- 97. Aid to Appalachia. S. 2782 (9/25). H. Cal.

98. Area Redevelopment - expand. S. 1163 (6/26/63). H. Cal. - Rule granted 8/6.
99. Dairy program. S. 1915 (10/10/63). HR 7261: H. Agri. killed 8/5.
100. Forest Roads and Trails. S. 1147 (7/21/64). H. Cal.
101. Indiana Dunes. S. 2249 (9/29).
102. International Air Rates. S. 1540 (11/26/63). H. Interst. hears. 5/19-21.
103. Land-Use Adjustments. S. 1588 (10/11/63). HR 6491: H. Agri. hears. 6/24-27/63.
104. Revitalize D.C. Downtown Area. S. 628 (7/16/63). H. Cal.
105. Veterans' Housing. S. 2470 (7/29/64). H. Veterans Affairs.
106. Water Pollution Control. S. 649 (10/16/63). H. Cal.
107. Water Resources Planning. S. 1111 (12/4/63). H. Cal.

SENATE CALENDAR (2)

108. Higher Education Student Loans. S. 3140.
109. Stockpile Disposal. S. 2272.

PASSED HOUSE (1)

110. Watershed Act amendments. HR 9938 (5/18). S. Agri. hears. 1963.

Fallout shelter program) see COMMITTEE ACTION
Patent fee increase)

HOUSE CALENDAR (3)

111. Establish 5-year Community Program for Elderly. HR 10088.
112. Federal Water Project Recreation Act. HR 9032.
113. Transportation Policy. HR 9903: Rule denied 4/28.

Appalachia Aid)
ARA)
Forest Roads & Trails)
Revitalize D.C. Downtown Area) see PASSED SENATE
Water Pollution Control)
Water Resources Planning)

COMMITTEE ACTION (9)

114. D.C. Home Rule. S. 1650: S. DC Cte. HR 5794: H. DC Cte. hears. 11/18-20/63, 2/24/64.
115. Fallout shelter program. HR 8200: P/H 9/17/63. S. Armed Serv. subcte. deferred action 3/2/64.
116. Immigration Law Revision. S. 1932: S. Jud. subcte. hears. underway. HR 7700: H. Jud. hears. underway.
117. Minimum Wage. S. 2487: S. Labor. HR 11838: H. Ed. subcte. approved; full Cte. deferred action 7/1/64.

118. Overtime Pay & Tripartite Committees. S. 2486: S. Labor.
HR 9802: H. Labor subcte. approved 7/21/64.
119. Patent fee increase. HR 8190: P/H 1/22. S. Jud. hears. concluded
2/28/64.
120. Truth in Lending. S. 750: S. Banking Stabilization subcte. exec.
7/8, 22, 29.
121. Truth in Packaging. S. 387: S. Jud. exec. 10/29/63. HR 2382:
H. Jud. hears. in 1963.
122. Vocational Rehabilitation Amdts. HR 5194: H. Labor subcte. execs.
underway.

NO ACTION (8)

123. Community Work-Training Program. S. 1803: S. Finance.
HR 7262: H. Ways & Means.
124. Food & Drug Amdts. S. 2580: S. Labor. HR 6788: H. Interst.
125. FTC - cease & desist orders. HR 9941: H. Interst.
126. Futures Trading on Commodity Exchanges. S. 2859: S. Agri.
HR 11278: H. Agri.
127. Group Practice Facilities. S. 1426: S. Labor. HR 4534: H. Interst.
128. Housing & Community Development Dept. S. 2475. S. Gov. Oprs.
HR 9982: H. Gov. Oprs.
129. Meat & Poultry Inspection. S. 2176: S. Agri.
130. Unemployment Insurance. S. 1542: S. Finance. HR 6339: H. Ways &
Means.

NO LEGISLATION (1)

131. D.C. Mass Transit. Killed in the first session by the House; no
revised legislation received.

(OVER)

APPROPRIATIONS

Action Completed:

1964

Alaskan Emergency Supplemental. PL 88-296.
 Deficiency. PL 88-317.
 Labor Supplemental. PL 88-295.
 Supplemental. PL 88-268.

1965

Agriculture. PL 88-573.
 Defense. PL 88-446.
 D.C. PL 88-479.
 Foreign Aid. PL 88 -
 Independent Offices. PL 88-507.
 Interior. PL 88-356.
 Labor-HEW. PL 88-605.
 Legislative. PL 88-454.
 Military Construction. PL 88-576.
 Public Works. PL 88-511.
 State-Justice-Commerce. PL 88-527.
 Treasury-PO. PL 88-392.

In Conference:

Supplemental

SENATE LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY THROUGH OCTOBER 1, 1964

The tally sheet so far--

Senate activity.....2nd Session of 88th Congress

Days in session.....	185
Hours in session.....	1,341:59
Total measures passed.....	820
Confirmations.....	51,894
Treaties ratified.....	14
Public Laws.....	352

Following is a brief review, by subject, of some of the measures acted on, including Presidential recommendations (PR).

AEC

AEC amendments: First major revision of the AEC Act since 1954, which would give the atomic energy industry, including utilities using nuclear energy for electric power, the right to own fissionable material. PL 88-489.

AEC authorization: Authorizes a total appropriation of \$2,636,577,000 of which \$2,298,467,000 is for operating expenses and \$338,110,000 is for plant and capital equipment. PL 88-332. (PR)

AEC changes: Extends for an additional 5 years AEC's authority to require licensing of atomic energy patents. PL 88-394.

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture Act of 1964: Enacted a new 2-year cotton program with producers receiving three different price supports (24, 30, up to 34.5¢ a lb) and domestic textile mills receiving an 8.5¢ subsidy on purchase of domestic cotton, and a 2-year wheat certificate program with price supports at about \$2 a bushel for domestic consumption and \$1.55 for export. PL 88-297. (PR)

County Committeemen: Provides a 3-year staggered term for agricultural stabilization and conservation county committeemen. PL 88-534.

Crop Insurance: Expansion of Federal crop insurance coverage. PL 88-589.

Federal Agricultural Services for Guam: Authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to establish and maintain a 5-year program of agricultural aid to Guam but limits the cost of the program to \$60,000 a year. PL 88-584.

Food for Peace: Extends food for peace program, PL 480, to December 31, 1966, and authorizes \$2.7 billion for title I and \$400 million plus carryover for each year for title II. S. 2687 - PL 88- (PR)

Food Marketing Commission: Established a 15 member bipartisan Commission on Food Marketing - 5 members from the Senate, 5 from the House, and 5 appointed by the President from outside the Federal Government. Authorizes the Commission to investigate and document the changing structure of the marketing system for farm and food products, make recommendations and submit a final report to Congress and the President by July 1, 1965. Authorizes \$1.5 million for operational expenses. PL 88-354. (PR)

Food Stamp Act: Authorizes expansion of the 3-year-old food stamp pilot programs under the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture, and provides \$75 million for fiscal 1965, \$100 million for fiscal 1966, and \$200 million for fiscal 1967. PL 88-525. (PR)

Grain Gifts: Permits the Commodity Credit Corporation to buy processed food grain products for donation under the foreign assistance and domestic welfare program. PL 88-550.

Meat Imports: Provides that import quotas can be proclaimed by the President for a calendar year if the Secretary of Agriculture estimates that imports for that year of beef and mutton will exceed 110% of the annual average imports of these products in the period 1959-1963 (plus an additional amount representing growth). This will permit imported beef and mutton to retain its proportionate share of the U.S. meat market as it expands. PL 88-482.

Migrant Farm Labor Contractors: Establishes a system of Federal registration for interstate farm labor contractors, or crew leaders. PL 88-582. (PR)

Misuse of Relief Feeds: Established civil and criminal penalties for misuse of feed made available for relieving distress or preservation and maintenance of foundation herds. PL 88-585.

Potato Futures: Bans all trading on commodity exchanges in potato futures but permits trading to continue for the months in which it already has been initiated. S. 332 P/S 7/21. HR 904 - H. Cal.

Rice Transfer: Permits a rice producer permanently withdrawing from rice production to transfer his history without transferring his land. PL 88-261.

APPROPRIATIONS

Approved \$289,688,000 to combat mental retardation, impacted school districts, NDEA scholarships, and operation of Mexican farm labor program. PL 88-268. (PR)

Approved \$42 million for Department of Labor to pay to States for unemployment compensation for Federal employees and ex-servicemen. PL 88-295. (PR)

Approved \$50 million to replenish relief fund for Alaskan earthquake disaster. PL 88-296. (PR)

Approved \$1,336,687,143 in deficiency funds for 1964. PL 88-317. (PR)

Agriculture: Appropriated a total of \$5,137,162,200 for fiscal 1965. PL 88-573. (PR)

Defense: Appropriated a total of \$46,752,051,000 for 1965. PL 88-446. (PR)

D.C.: Appropriated a total of \$341,242,200 for fiscal 1965, and \$37,500,000 for the Federal payments. PL 88-479. (PR)

Foreign Aid: Appropriated a total of \$3,712,077,000 for fiscal 1965. HR 11812. PL 88-481. (PR)

Independent Offices: Appropriated a total of \$13.5 billion for 1965. PL 88-507. (PR)

Interior and Related Agencies: Appropriated \$1,028,277,200 for fiscal 1965. PL 88-356. (PR)

Labor-HEW: Appropriated a total of \$7,074,187,000 for fiscal 1965. HR 10809. PL 88-605. (PR)

Legislative: Appropriated \$210,300,885 for the Legislative Branch for fiscal 1965. PL 88-454. (PR)

Military Construction: Appropriated \$1,570,968,000 for fiscal 1965. PL 88-576. (PR)

Public Works: Appropriated a total of \$4,430,794,700 for fiscal 1965. PL 88-511. (PR)

State-Justice-Commerce: Appropriated a total of \$1,717,157,800 for fiscal 1965. PL 88-527. (PR)

Supplemental: Appropriated a total of \$1,208,213,068 for fiscal 1965. HR 12633. In conf. (PR)

Treasury-Post Office: Appropriated \$6,233,273,000 for fiscal 1965. PL 88-392. (PR)

CIVIL RIGHTS

Civil Rights Act of 1964: Enforces the constitutional right to vote, confers a jurisdiction on the U. S. district courts to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, authorizes the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in public facilities and public education, extends the Commission on Civil Rights for 4 years, prevents discrimination in federally assisted programs, establishes a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and guarantees the right to a jury trial in all criminal contempt cases arising under the bill except voting rights cases which are covered under the 1957 act. PL 88-352. (PR)

Public Defenders: Provides legal assistance for indigent defendants in criminal cases in U. S. Courts. PL 88-455. (PR)

COMMERCE AND TRANSPORTATION

Coast and Geodetic Survey: Authorizes the appointment of the Director and Deputy Director of the Coast and Geodetic Survey from civilian life, with the restriction that both positions not to be filled simultaneously by either officers or civilians. S. 1004 P/S 6/1.

Coast Guard Authorization: Authorizes \$93,299,000 for Coast Guard for new ships, helicopters and construction for fiscal 1965. PL 88-281. (PR)

Delaware River Port Authority Compact: Extends the powers of the present Delaware River Port Authority compact to include additional bridges and ferries within the provisions of the compact. PL 88-320.

Disaster Road Program: Increases Federal participation in the costs of reconstruction of Federal-aid highways brought about by a disaster in the area where over 5% of the lands are nontaxable Indian lands and other public domain lands. S. 2968. H. Cal.

Federal Airport Extension: Extends the Federal aid to airport program for 3 years, from June 30, 1964, to June 30, 1967. PL 88-280. (PR)

Fishing Subsidies: Increases to 50% the subsidy for construction of fishing vessels, and extends the program to July 1, 1969. PL 88-498.

Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Seaway: Authorizes a study to determine if there are means and economic justification for providing year-round navigation on the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Seaway. S. 530. H. Cal.

Great River Road: Authorizes an additional \$250,000 (to \$500,000) from general administrative funds for Federal assistance to the States in planning the Great River Road. S. 1593. P/S 7/2. H. Cal.

Highway authorization: Authorizes for fiscal 1966 and 1967 as follows: \$2 billion from the Highway Trust Fund for ABC highways; \$358 million for all other roads and parkways. PL 88-423. (PR)

Highway Traffic Safety Compacts: Includes the District of Columbia within the provisions of the 1958 joint resolution authorizing interstate traffic safety compacts. PL 88-466.

Mass transit: Authorizes a 3-year, \$375 million program of Federal grants to aid states to develop comprehensive and coordinate mass transportation systems in metropolitan and other urban areas. PL 88-365. (PR)

Merchant Marine - Construction Differentials: Continues to June 30, 1965, the current statutory limitation for construction-differential subsidy payments under the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. PL 88-370.

Primary Highways - Mileage Increase: Permits a State to increase its Federal-aid primary system mileage when provision is made for completion and maintenance of 75%, rather than 90% as required by existing law. S. 1282 P/S 7/2.

Vessel Construction: Authorized reimbursement for certain vessel construction expenses. PL 88-410.

Vessel Construction Reserve Fund: Extends to December 31, 1965, the period during which construction reserve funds must be expended or committed for new vessel construction. PL 88-595.

War Risk Insurance: Permits U.S. citizen-owners of vessels built in U.S. shipyards with construction subsidies to obtain war risk insurance coverage by eliminating provision of existing law requiring vessel valuation reductions in the cases of vessels constructed under Government subsidies. PL 88-478.

Withhold Tax - Salaries: Exempts the wages and salary of certain employees of regulated interstate transportation carriers from withholding tax requirements of States and local subdivisions, unless it is the employee's residence. S. 1719 P/S 6/19.

COMMUNICATIONS

Alien Radio Operators: Amends provisions of the Federal Communications Act of 1934 dealing with operators and station licenses to permit the FCC to authorize alien amateur radio operators to operate their amateur radio stations in the U.S., its possessions, and Puerto Rico, provided there is in effect a bilateral agreement between the U.S. and the alien's government on a reciprocal basis. PL 88-313.

Nonbroadcast Operations: Authorizes the Federal Communications Commission to grant special temporary authorizations for 60 days in those cases where an application for a special temporary authorization is filed pending filing an application for regular operation. PL 88-307.

Petitions: Requires that petitions for intervention in hearings for a broadcasting license be filed with the Federal Communications Commission within 30 days after publication of the issues in the Federal Register. PL 88-306.

Public Information Disclosure: Amends section 3 of the Administrative Procedure Act to establish a general philosophy of full agency disclosure unless information is exempted under clearly delineated statutory language and to provide a court procedure by which citizens and the press may obtain information wrongfully withheld. S. 1666 P/S 7/31.

DEFENSE AND MILITARY

Academy Cadets: Raises authorized strength of cadet corps of U.S. Military and Air Force Academies. PL 88-276.

Armed Forces: Authorized crediting certain military service for purposes of Reserve retired pay. HR 9718, PL 88-

Armed Forces Milk Program Extension: Extends for 3 years, to December 31, 1967, the special milk programs for the Armed Forces and veterans' hospitals. PL 88-529.

Civil Defense Authorities Extension: Extends through June 30, 1968, three civil defense authorities which provide for 50% contributions to State and local governments toward the cost of personnel and administrative expenses for federally approved civil defense programs; provides payments for travel and per diem expenses of trainees at civil defense schools; and permits procurement and maintenance of radiological equipment and granting or lending of this equipment to States. PL 88-335.

Defense Production Act Extension: Extended through June 30, 1966, the remaining powers of the President under the Defense Production Act of 1950 which established priorities for defense contracts, allocates scarce materials and guarantees defense loans. PL 88-343.

Draft: Exempts from induction a sole-surviving son of a family whose father died as a result of military service. PL 88-360.

Military Construction: Authorizes a total of \$1,534,994,000 for military construction both within and outside the U.S. \$1,492,684,000 is new authority; \$3,310,000 is an increase in prior years' authorizations; and \$39 million for Reserve components. PL 88-390. (PR)

Military Pay Increase: Provides for an annual increase of \$207 million for a total of 2,762,000 persons in the military service as follows: 2.5% increase for all military personnel, enlisted and commissioned, with more than 2 years' service; for commissioned and warrant officers with less than 2 years' service, the bill provides for an 8.5% increase in basic pay. PL 88-422. (PR)

Military Procurement: Authorizes a total of \$16,976,620,000 for the procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels, and for research, development, test, and evaluation for the Armed Forces for fiscal 1965. PL 88-288. (PR)

Missing Persons Act: Amends the act to permit continued crediting of pay and allowances to a person who is detained in a foreign country against his will, and restores to the law a provision for filing and paying income tax on the 15th day of the 3rd month after termination of a missing status or after the executor or administrator of the estate of a missing person has been appointed. PL 88-428.

National Guard: Provided protection for members of the National Guard who incurred disability while performing duties in addition to regularly scheduled drills. HR 2512. PL 88-

Naval Air Station, Pensacola: Approved a resolution commemorating the golden anniversary of the Naval Air Station, Pensacola, Florida, and authorizing the design and manufacture of a galvano in commemoration of this significant event. PL 88-318.

Naval Promotions: Extends from June 30, 1965, to June 30, 1970, the so-called Navy and Marine Corps hump authority enacted in 1959, which permits mandatory retirement under certain prescribed conditions in the grades of commander and captain prior to the normal point of retirement. PL 88-393.

Pearl Harbor Day: Authorizes the President to designate December 7, 1966, as Pearl Harbor Day in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor. PL 88-366.

Prisoners of War: Precludes payment of pay and allowances to a prisoner of war who, while in the custody of the enemy, voluntarily renders aid, comfort, assistance, or cooperation to the enemy. S. 3062 P/S 8/1.

Renegotiation Act Extension: Extends to June 30, 1966, the Government's authority to recapture excessive profits on certain Government contracts and related subcontracts; and makes the provisions of the Act applicable to contracts with the Federal Aviation Agency. PL 88-339.

Reserve Officer Promotion: Extends to July 1, 1965, the authority for the Army and Air Force to exceed present statutory ceilings for the authorized number of Reserve officers in each grade below lieutenant colonel for the purpose of promoting Reserve officers to fill unit vacancies and to appoint Reserve officers to fill mobilization requirements. HR 2501. PL 88-

Reserve Officers: Authorized Reserve officers to combine service in more than one Reserve component in computing service necessary to qualify for uniform maintenance allowance. HR 2509. PL 88-

Reserve Officers' Training Corps: Makes permanent the authority for flight instruction for members of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps. S. 3063 P/S 8/1.

ROTC: Improved and expanded the Reserve Officers' Training Corps program in an effort to provide a steady flow of high quality junior officers to the Armed Forces. HR 9124. PL 88-

Surplus Cadmium: Authorizes defense stockpile officials to sell 5 million pounds of surplus cadmium, a soft metal needed by the domestic electroplating industry. PL 88-319.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Commercial Code: Establishes a uniform commercial code for D.C. PL 88-509.

Commercial Redevelopment: Provides authority for the use of the urban renewal process in redevelopment of commercial areas within the District of Columbia. S. 628 - H. Cal. (PR)

Constitutional Rights of the Mentally Ill: Revises the procedures for hospitalization of the mentally ill in the District of Columbia and guarantees to those hospitalized certain civil rights. PL 88-597.

Correctional Industries: Creates a correctional industries revolving fund for the District of Columbia government with a net limitation of \$2,500,000 to be used for performance and production of services which will contribute to the rehabilitation of the inmates of institutions in the Department of Corrections of the District of Columbia. S. 1082. PL 88-

Credit Unions: Repeals the District of Columbia Credit Unions Act and permits them to become Federal credit unions. PL 88-395.

D.C. Courts: Reduced minimum service requirement for retirement of judges of the court of general sessions, the court of appeals, and the juvenile court for D.C. HR 5871. P/S amended 9/24.

Foreign Chanceries in D.C.: Prohibits the location of chanceries and other business offices of foreign governments in any residential area in D.C. S. 646; PL 88-

Freeway Tunnel: Authorizes location of a portion of a vehicle tunnel under parts of the U.S. Capitol grounds. PL 88-381.

Medical Assistance for the Aged: Permits the District of Columbia government to provide medical assistance for the aged under the provisions of the Kerr-Mills amendments to the Social Security Act of 1960. S. 763 P/S 8/15.

Minimum Wage: Brings the minimum hourly wage in the District of Columbia to \$1.25 in two steps--\$1.15 six months after passage and \$1.25 in September, 1965; also provides coverage for most male workers. S. 860. P/S 8/21.

Policemen-Firemen-Teachers: Provided for an 8.9% increase for firemen and policemen and a 7% increase for teachers. PL 88-575.

Relocation Costs: Authorizes D. C. Commissioners to pay relocation costs of individuals, families, businesses, and nonprofit organizations displaced by District government activities. S. 1024. PL 88- (PR)

Security Brokers: Provides for licensing and regulation of securities broker--dealers in the District of Columbia. PL 88-503.

Teachers: Admits temporary D. C. teachers to the Government insurance program. HR 5932. PL 88-

EDUCATION

Adult Education: Provides for adult education and training programs under the Anti-poverty bill. PL 88-452. (PR)

Canal Zone Area for Scientific Study: Removes the existing limitation of \$10,000 on annual appropriations for the administration by the Smithsonian of the biological research area in the Canal Zone. S. 808 P/S 7/23.

Higher Education Student Assistance Act of 1964: Authorizes a 4-year program of \$37.5 million a year to provide scholarships of up to \$1,000 each to students chosen by State scholarship commissions on the basis of ability and need. Authorizes a 3-year program of Federal insurance of loans made by recognized lending institutions up to 90% of the individual loan to a student attending an eligible institution. Authorizes a 4-year program of grants to institutions of higher education to pay a part of the costs of operating a work-study program for students in need of earnings to pursue or complete their studies and authorizes \$250 million a year for this purpose. S. 3140. P/S

Historical Documents: Authorizes \$2.5 million over a 5-year period for grants to State and local agencies, to colleges and universities, and to other nonprofit organizations and institutions, for collecting, describing, preserving, compiling, and publishing documents which are basic to an understanding and appreciation of U. S. history. PL 88-383. (PR)

Juvenile Delinquency Act Extension: Extends to June 30, 1966, the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act and authorizes an appropriation of \$10 million for fiscal 1965, but requires a special authorization by Congress for fiscal 1966. PL 88-368. (PR)

Library Services Act: Amends the Library Services Act to increase Federal aid for expanding public library improvements to urban as well as rural areas and to authorize matching grants for construction of public library services. PL 88-269. (PR)

NDEA - Impacted Areas Amendments: Extends for 3 years, to July 30, 1968, all titles of the National Defense Education Act of 1958; extends for 1 year, to June 30, 1966, impacted areas legislation and includes the District under the statutes (PL 815 & 874); and expands existing program of institutes for advancing teaching quality to \$30 million for each fiscal year 1965 through 1968, and broadens the scope of eligible institutes. S. 3060. PL 88- (PR)

Student Loans: Extends to students of optometry the present authority providing longterm, low-cost loans to students of medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy. S. 2180. PL 88-

Teacher Quality: Authorizes the Commissioner of Education, through universities, to provide institutes for elementary and secondary schoolteachers to improve their schools in such subjects as history, English, geography, foreign languages, and remedial reading. S. 3060. PL 88- (PR)

Dual Compensation: Clarified various laws relating to dual compensation. PL 88-448.

Federal Employees Health Benefits: Amends the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act to remove certain inequities and to improve the administration of the Act. PL 88-284.

Federal Pay Reform Act of 1964: Raises Federal pay for executives, judges, members of Congress and 1.7 million Civil Service and postal workers. PL 88-426. (PR)

Smithsonian Institution: Authorizes the Smithsonian Institution to employ aliens in a scientific or technical capacity. PL 88-549.

FINANCE

Alumina and Bauxite: Extends to July 16, 1966, the suspension of duty on alumina when imported for use in producing aluminum, and on bauxite ore and calcined bauxite. PL 88-362.

Aviation Exports: Provides that aircraft engines, propellers, and parts and accessories may be imported into the U.S. for purposes of repair duty free if they are subsequently removed as part of an aircraft departing the U.S. in international air traffic. PL 88-334.

Bankruptcy: Empowered the Supreme Court to prescribe rules of practice and procedure under the Bankruptcy Act. HR 2859. PL 88-

Coffee: Provides for free importation of soluble or instant coffee by removing the present duty requirements of 3¢ a pound. PL 88-337.

Coin Shortage: Authorizes the mint to inscribe the figure "1964" on all coins minted until adequate supplies are available. PL 88-580.

Copying Shoe Lathes: Continues to June 30, 1966, existing law suspending duty on copying lathes used for making rough or finished shoe lasts. PL 88-336.

Federal Reserve Bank Authority - Extension: Extends to June 30, 1966, the present authority of the Federal Reserve banks to purchase securities directly from the Treasury in amounts not to exceed \$5 billion outstanding at any one time. PL 88-344.

Graphite: Continues through 6/30/66 suspension of import duty on graphite. PL 88-329.

Lead: Authorizes sale of 50,000 short tons of lead from the national stockpile without regard to the 6-month waiting period. PL 88-373.

Manganese Ore: Suspends until June 30, 1967, the import duty on manganese ore, including ferruginous manganese ore, and manfaniferous ore, containing over 10% by weight of manganese. PL 88-338.

Metal Scrap: Continues to June 30, 1965, the existing ~~suspension~~ suspension of duties on metal waste and scrap, and the existing reduction of duties on copper waste and scrap. PL 88-324. PL 88-324.

Molybdenum: Authorizes disposal of 11 million pounds of molybdenum from the national stockpile without regard to the 6-month waiting period. PL 88-377.

Particleboard - Tariff Classification: Provides a uniform treatment for duty purposes of wood particleboard entered or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption after July 11, 1957, and before August 31, 1963, at the rate of 5% ad valorem if not excluded from classification by reason of any specified processing. PL 88-333.

Personal Household Effects: Extends to June 30, 1966, existing provisions of law permitting free importation of personal and household effects brought into the U.S. under Government orders. PL 88-323.

Public Debt: Clarifies the components of and assists in the managements of the national debt and the tax structure. S. 2281 P/S 8/5.

Public Debt Limit: Provides a temporary debt limitation of \$324 billion from the date of enactment to June 30, 1965. PL 88-327. (PR)

Wools: Provides for duty-free treatment of Karakul wools and certain other coarse wools imported for use in the manufacture of pressed felt for polishing plate and mirror glass. PL 88-331.

Zinc: Authorizes sales of 75,000 short tons of zinc from the national stockpile without regard to the 6-month waiting period. PL 88-374.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT:

Abraham Lincoln: Creates a joint Committee to Commemorate the 100th Anniversary of the Second Inaugural of Abraham Lincoln. PL 88-427.

Administrative Conference: Establishes a permanent Administrative Conference of the United States to provide machinery where the Federal administrative agencies can, with the active assistance of outside authorities on administrative practices, formulate recommendations to improve their own procedures. PL 88-499.

Arizona Historic Site: Established the Fort Bowie National Historic Site, Arizona. PL 88-510.

Graff House Site: Authorizes the Secretary of Interior to the site of the house, known as Graff House, in downtown Philadelphia in which Thomas Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence, and to provide for erection, with donated funds of a replica of the house. It will then become a part of the Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia. PL 88-477.

John Muir Historical Site: Authorized establishment of the John Muir National Historic Site, California. PL 88-547.

Kennedy Art Center: Renames the National Cultural Center the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and authorizes Federal participation in its financing. PL 88-260. (PR)

Leif Erikson Day: Authorizes the President to proclaim October 9 in each year as Leif Erikson Day, thus giving national recognition to the early explorations and discoveries of Leif Erikson and his men on the North American Continent. PL 88-566.

Metropolitan Planning: Provides for more effective use of Federal loans or grants for urban renewal, open-space projects, construction of hospitals, airports, water supply and distribution facilities, highways, etc., by encouraging better coordinated local review of state and local applications. S. 855 P/S 1/23.

National Arts Cultural and Development Act: Establishes in the Executive Office of the President a National Council on the Arts of 25 members appointed by the President from among private citizens widely recognized for their knowledge, experience, and interest in the arts. PL 88-579.

National Tropical Botanical Garden: Confers a Federal charter on the National Tropical Botanical Garden. PL 88-449.

Pennsylvania Historic Sites: Establishes the Allegheny Portage Railroad National Historic Site and the Johnstown Flood National Memorial, Pa. PL 88-546.

Post Office Leases: Extends to 12/31/66 the authority of the Postmaster General to enter into negotiated leases of real property for periods not exceeding thirty years. PL 88-480.

Presidential Succession: Proposed an amendment to the Constitution of the U.S. to provide for continuity in the office of the Chief Executive in the event the President becomes unable to exercise the powers and duties of the Office, and to provide for filling vacancies in the Office of the Vice President whenever such occurs. S. J. Res. 139. P/S 9/28.

Public Lands: Authorizes the heads of Federal departments and agencies for whom land or an interest is acquired, to reimburse the owners or tenants for any expense, loss, or damage incurred by persons in moving themselves, their families, and possessions to another residence or location. S. 1509 P/S 6/30.

Puerto Rico: Establishes a Commission to recommend procedures for settlement of political status of Puerto Rico. PL 88-271.

Smithsonian Police Force: Authorizes the expansion and arming of the Smithsonian Police Force to include new buildings such as the Museum of History and Technology Building, the Civil Service Commission and others. The number of police could go from 181 to 287 at a cost of \$456,573. PL 88-391.

Wool Products Labeling Act: Authorizes the Federal Trade Commission to exclude any headwear from the labeling requirements of the Wool Products Labeling Act if labeling is not necessary for the protection of the consumer. S. 1778 P/S 7/31.

HEALTH

Drug Controls: Regulates the manufacture, distribution, and possession of habit-forming barbiturate drugs, amphetamine, and other habit-forming central nervous system stimulant drugs to protect the public's health. S. 2628 P/S 8/15.

Fishermen's Medical Care: Restores to self-employed U.S. fishermen eligibility which existed from 1798 to 1954 for medical care in hospitals, out-patient clinics, and other medical facilities of the Public Health Service in the event of illness or injury incurred while engaged in their hazardous and essential occupation. PL 88-424.

Food Additives: Extends the final effective date of the Food Additives Amendments of 1958 from June 30, 1964, to December 31, 1965, authorizing the Secretary of HEW to permit the continued use of certain food additives pending the completion of testing to ascertain their safety. HR 12033. PL 88-

Hill-Burton Hospital Construction: Extends for 5 years the Hill Burton hospital construction act and authorizes a total of \$840 million over the 5-year period 1965-69 for construction and modernization of health facilities. Authorizes \$350 million over the 5-year period for construction of nursing homes and chronic disease hospitals; \$100 million for the construction of diagnostic or treatment centers over the 5 years; \$50 million for construction of rehabilitation facilities over the 5-year period; authorizes grants for areawide health facility planning in metropolitan and other areas - \$2.5 million in fiscal 1965 and \$5 million in each of the next 4 fiscal years, with 50-50 Federal-State matching and permits States to use 2% of their allotments, not to exceed \$50,000 a year, to improve and strengthen the State administration of the construction program on a 50-50 matching basis. PL 88-443. (PR)

Medical Student Loans: Permits cancellation of up to 10% of student loans to physicians and dentists if they practice in a shortage area. S. 2220. H. Cal.

Medicare: See Social Security - Welfare.

Nurses Training: Authorized funds to expand and improve nurses training programs. PL 88-581. (PR)

Pesticide Registration: Requires registration and Department of Agriculture approval of pesticides before they can be sold to the public. PL 88-305. (PR)

Physically Handicapped: Increases the authorization for appropriations for the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped from \$300,000 a year to \$400,000 in order to finance the expanding work of the committee in behalf of job opportunities for the mentally restored, the mentally retarded, and the increasing numbers of physically handicapped being rehabilitated for employment. PL 88-321.

Protection of Fish and Wildlife from Pesticides: Increases the authorized annual appropriation for pesticide research by the Department of Interior from \$2,565,000 to \$3.2 million for fiscal year 1965 and thereafter \$5 million annually. HR 4487. PL 88-

Public Health Training: Expanded and improved public health training programs. PL 88-497. (PR)

HOUSING

Elderly Housing in Rural Areas: Approved a 90-day extension (through September 30, 1964) of the Farmers' Home Administration authority to insure loans on rental housing for the elderly in rural areas. PL 88-340.

Housing Act of 1964: Omnibus Housing bill authorizing a \$1.1 billion extension and improvement of existing housing programs for 15 months. PL 88-560. (PR)

Veterans' Housing: Authorizes the Veterans' Administration to extend aid on account of defects in certain veterans' housing. S. 2470 P/S 7/29. (PR)

INDIANS

Confederated Tribes: Authorizes a per capita distribution of \$350 million from funds arising from judgments in favor of any of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation. PL 88-551.

Displaced Senecas: Authorized \$12,128,917 in compensation for New York's Seneca Indians as damages and rehabilitation funds for construction of the Allegheny River dam and reservoir which will flood much of their Allegany reservation. The dam is located at Kinzua, Pa. PL 88-533.

Northern Cheyenne Tribe: Provides for disposition of judgment funds to the Northern Cheyenne Tribe of the Tongue River Reservation, Montana. PL 88-559.

INTERNATIONAL

Bridge Construction: Authorizes the construction of certain international bridges. S. 3074 P/S 8/5.

Canadian Exhibition: Authorizes the President to appoint a Commissioner General to plan and arrange for U.S. participation in the Canadian Universal and International Exhibition to be held in Montreal in 1967. PL 88-586.

Chamizal Treaty - Implementation: Authorizes \$44.9 million to implement the Convention on the Chamizal for the acquisition of lands to be transferred to Mexico and to make possible the relocation of the channel of the Rio Grande and other required relocations. PL 88-300. (PR)

Claims against Cuba: Authorizes the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission to receive and determine the amount and validity of claims of American nationals against the Government of Cuba which have arisen since January 1, 1959, for the nationalization or expropriation of their property and for disability or death arising out of violations of international law by the Government of Cuba. HR 12259 P/S amended 9/8.

Coffee Implementing Bill: Implements the ratification of the 1963 International Coffee Agreement by authorizing the President to require certificates of origin on coffee entering the U.S. and to control imports from non-members, if necessary. HR 8864 - in conference. (PR)

Foreign Agents Registration Act Amendments: Strengthened existing law by revising definitions, by providing injunctive remedy, by stricter requirements for disclosing political activities and expenditures, by prohibiting campaign contributions, by prohibiting contingent fee contracts between agents and foreign principals, by requiring full identity disclosure of agent and principal and by prohibiting officers and employees of the U.S. Government from acting as agents of foreign principals. S. 2136 P/S 7/6.

Foreign Aid Authorization: Authorized \$3.5 billion for foreign aid fiscal 1965. PL 88- (PR)

Foreign Chiefs Guard: Provides broad new authority to protect the heads of foreign states and other designated officials. PL 88-493.

Foreign Fishing: Prohibits fishing in territorial waters of the U.S. and certain other areas by persons other than U.S. nationals or inhabitants. PL 88-308.

Foreign Service Annuities: Provides reduced annuities under the Foreign Service retirement program for service which terminated prior to October 16, 1960, to provide an annuity for a surviving widow. Sets the annuity at not less than \$2,400. S. 745, PL 88-

Foreign Service Buildings Act Amendments: Authorizes appropriation of \$12.2 million and \$12.4 million, respectively, for fiscal years 1966 and 1967 for maintenance, repairs, and other operating expenses of Foreign Service buildings; and authorizes, beginning in fiscal year 1966, the transfer between areas and departments of not to exceed 10% of funds previously authorized for purchase, construction, major alteration, and long-term leasing of buildings overseas. PL 88-414.

Inter-American Development Bank: Authorizes \$461,760,000 in additional U.S. contributions to the Inter-American Development Bank; \$50 million of this amount is a cash outlay for the Special Operations Fund which makes loans with more flexible interest and repayment terms. Balance of \$411,760,000 is to increase the capital stock of the bank. PL 88-259. (PR)

International Development Association: Authorized the U.S. Governor of International Development Association to vote for an overall increase in the resources of the Association. PL 88-310. (PR)

Laos: Authorized the U.S. to contribute its share of expenses of the International Commission for Supervision and control in Laos. PL 88-468.

Mexican Independence: Provided for presentation by the U.S. of a statue of Lincoln to Mexico commemorating the anniversary of its independence. PL 88-399.

Naval Vessel Loan Extension: Authorizes the extension of existing loans of 40 ships to 12 friendly foreign countries. PL 88-437.

Oil Pollution: Expresses the sense of Congress that the Administrator of the St. Lawrence Seaway Corporation should seek to enter into and carry out cooperative arrangements with government authorities, both in the U.S. and Canada to reduce oil pollution in the St. Lawrence Seaway and adjacent waters. H. Con. Res. 45: P/H 5/4; P/S 7/29.

Peace Corps authorization: Authorizes a fiscal 1965 appropriation of \$115 million for Peace Corps activities, thus making it possible for the Corps to finance 14,000 volunteers through the summer of 1965. PL 88-285. (PR)

Roosevelt Campobello International Park: To implement the International Agreement between the United States and Canada relating to Roosevelt Campobello International Park, this bill provides for establishing a joint U.S.-Canadian Commission to be called the Roosevelt Campobello International Park Commission, with the functions of accepting title to the former Roosevelt estate, restoring the home, and administering the site as an international park. PL 88-363.

Sea Level Canal Study: Authorized the President to appoint a 5-member Commission from private life to make an investigation and study to determine the feasibility of, and the most suitable site for, construction of a sea level canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and the best means to effect its construction, whether by conventional or nuclear means. Findings to be reported to Congress by 7/31/65. PL 88-609. (PR)

South Pacific Commission: Increases U.S. contribution to operations of the South Pacific Commission, whose jurisdiction includes American Samoa, Guam, and the Trust Territories. PL 88-263.

UN Dues: Expresses the sense of Congress that the President should direct the permanent U.S. delegate to the UN to continue efforts toward securing payment by members of the UN for assessments which are overdue. H. Con. Res. 343: P/H 8/17; P/S 8/20.

Vietnam: Enacted a joint resolution supporting President Johnson's actions in repelling any armed attack against U.S. forces in southeast Asia by the Communist regime in North Vietnam. PL 88-408. (PR)

TREATIES:

Austrian Assets Convention: Ratified an agreement providing for the return of certain Austrian property located in the U.S. and vested during World War II by the Alien Property Custodian under the Trading with the Enemy Act, amounting to approximately \$450,000. 2/25/64. (PR)

Belgium Extradition: Ratified extradition treaty with Belgium. 8/6/64. (PR)

Greece-Tax Protocol: Ratified a tax protocol to bring the Estate Tax Convention of 1950 between the U.S. and Greece into conformity with the 1962 Revenue Act. 6/23/64. (PR)

International Sugar Agreement - Protocol: Ratified a 2-year extension (to 12/31/65) of the organizational provisions of the International Sugar Agreement of 1958. 1/30/64. (PR)

Japan Tax Convention: Ratified the 1960 protocol between the U.S. and Japan modifying and supplementing the 1954 income tax convention. 7/29. (PR)

Japan Tax Convention: Ratified the 1962 protocol between the U.S. and Japan modifying and supplementing the 1954 income tax convention. 7/29. (PR)

Lights in the Red Sea Treaty: Ratified an agreement to share the expenses of maintaining two lighthouses on the Red Sea Islands of Abu Ail and Jabal at Tair. 2/25/64. (PR)

Luxembourg Tax Convention: Ratified the convention between the U.S. and Luxembourg to avoid double taxation of income. 7/29. (PR)

(Cont'd.)

Netherlands Tax Protocol: Ratified the protocol between the U.S. and the Netherlands, modifying and supplementing the 1955 extension to the Netherlands Antilles of the 1948 income tax convention. 7/29. (PR)

North Pacific Fur Seals Convention - Protocol: Ratified the protocol amending the interim convention on conservation of North Pacific fur seals. 1/30/64. (PR)

Northwest Atlantic Fisheries: Ratified a protocol to bring harp and hood seals under the provisions of the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Convention of 1949 in order to make it possible to study and make recommendations for the conservation of these seal herds. 6/23/64. (PR)

Pollution of Sea Treaty: Ratified amendments to the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil, to add new categories of ships, both large and small, extended the prohibited zones from 50 to 100 miles, and strengthened the penalty provisions. 2/25/64. (PR)

Radio Regulations: Ratified a partial revision of the radio regulations designed to allocate frequencies in the radio spectrum for satellite communications, space research, navigational satellites, meteorological satellites, telecommand, telemetry, tracking of space vehicles, and amateur radio operations. 2/25/64. (PR)

Sweden Tax Convention: Ratified the supplementary convention between the U.S. and Sweden modifying and supplementing the 1939 income tax convention. 7/29/64. (PR)

JUDICIAL

Court of Claims: Authorizes five additional Commissioners for the U.S. Court of Claims. S. 102 - H. Cal.

Annuities: Increases the annuities of widows of Supreme Court Justices from \$5,000 to \$10,000 a year, payable monthly. S. 1686 - H. Cal.

Retirement: Reduces minimum service requirement for retiring judges of the court of general session, the court of appeals, and the juvenile court for D.C. H.R. 5871. PL 88 -

Sports Bribes: Prohibits any bribery scheme in commerce to influence the outcome of any sporting contest and provides, on conviction, for a \$10,000 fine and/or imprisonment up to 5 years. PL 88-316.

LABOR

Commission on Automation: Establishes a 14-member National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress. PL 88-444. (PR)

Davis-Bacon Act Amendments: Modernizes the Davis-Bacon Act to bring its standards into conformity with modern wage payment practices, by including health and welfare fringe benefits, and any other bona fide fringe benefit, or contributions to funds, plans or programs, in determining prevailing wages required to be paid on construction jobs subject to the Davis-Bacon Act. PL 88-349.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

Antipoverty Program: Enacted as the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 authorizing a \$947 million program to combat poverty through youth training, education, vocational and work experience programs; community action programs which mobilize community resources to combat poverty; special programs to combat poverty in rural areas; aids to small businesses; and establishment of a domestic peace corps to aid in problems of migrant farm workers, Indians, and to aid in the job camps. PL 88-452. (PR)

Appalachia: Authorized a total of \$1,060,000,000 for the economic development of the 11-state Appalachian region. S. 2782. P/S 9/25. (PR)

Dependent Children - Care: Extends to June 30, 1967 existing law permitting the responsibility for placement and foster care of dependent children under the program of aid and services to needy families with children to be exercised by a public agency other than the agency which regularly administers this program. PL 88-345.

National Bank Loans: Amends section 24 of the Federal Reserve Act to liberalize the conditions of loans by national banks on forest tracts. PL 88-341.

National Services Corps: Enacted as a part of the antipoverty bill to aid migrant farm workers, Indians, mental hospital patients, and to help out in the job camps. PL 88-452. (PR)

Small Business Act Amendments: Broadened the causal basis of SBA's authority to make loans from its disaster fund to cover all natural disasters. PL 88-264.

Small Business Investment Act Amendments: Increases to \$700,000 (from \$400,000) the amount the Small Business Administration may purchase in capital stock and debentures of small business investment corporations. PL 88-273.

Youth Conservation Corps: Enacted as a part of the antipoverty program to provide useful work and basic education to youths aged 16 through 21. PL 88-452. (PR)

REORGANIZATION

Internal Security: Strengthens security provisions of the National Security Agency. PL 88-290.

Presidential Transition: Authorizes \$900,000 for the orderly transition of Executive power between election and inauguration of new President. PL 88-277. (PR)

Reorganization Act: Reinstated the President's authority to submit reorganization plans to Congress through June 30, 1965. PL 88-352. (PR)

SEC: Omnibus reform bill extending to approximately 3,000 industrial concerns whose stock is traded over the counter the same financial reporting, proxy solicitation, and insider trading requirements that currently apply to companies listed on a stock exchange. PL 88-467. (PR)

RESOURCE BUILDUP

Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area: Authorizes \$320,000 to provide for establishing the Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area in Montana and Wyoming. S. 2048 P/S 8/5.

Canyonlands National Park: Authorizes the establishment of Canyonlands National Park in Utah as a shoreline recreation area. PL 88-590. (PR)

Cochiti Reservoir: Authorizes approximately 50,000 acre-feet of water from the San Juan-Chama unit of the Colorado River storage project for filling a permanent pool for recreational purposes at Cochiti Reservoir of the Rio Grande Basin. PL 88-293.

Crooked River Project Extension, Oregon: Authorizes \$1,132,000 to expand existing facilities of the Crooked River Federal reclamation project, central Oregon, to provide water for irrigation of an additional 2850 acres of land. PL 88-598.

Dixie Project, Utah: Authorizes Federal construction of a \$42,700,000 Dixie multipurpose project in Utah. PL 88-565.

Fire Island National Seashore: Authorizes \$16 million to establish Fire Island National Seashore as a national recreation area covering about 23 miles of shoreline and approximately 43 acres of land within Suffolk County, New York. PL 88-587.

Fisheries Research: Promotes State commercial fisheries research and development activities. PL 88-309.

Flathead Indian Irrigation Project, Montana. Increases the appropriation authorization from \$1 million to \$6.2 million for continuing the construction of the irrigation and power systems of the Flathead Indian Irrigation Project in Montana. S. 1531 P/S 7/31.

Garrison Diversion Unit: Reduces the proposed irrigated acreage to 250,000 acres for the Garrison Diversion Unit of the Missouri River Basin. S. 178 P/S 2/18.

Hydroelectric projects on the Colorado River: Preserves the jurisdiction of Congress over construction of hydroelectric projects on the Colorado River below Glen Canyon Dam and provides no licenses or permits be issued under the Federal Power Act for the reach of the Colorado River between Glen Canyon Dam and Lake Mead during the period ending December 31, 1966. PL 88-491.

Indiana Dunes: Establishes the Indiana Dunes, lying along the southern shore of Lake Michigan as a shoreline recreation area. S 2249. P/S 9/29.

Kennewick Irrigation Division Extension: Authorizes construction, operation, and maintenance of the Kennewick division extension, Yakima project, Washington, in order to bring an additional 6300 acres of land under irrigation in the Columbia River Valley. S. 2630 P/S 6/25.

Lake Mead National Recreation Area: Grants statutory authority for the official operation of Lake Mead National Recreation Area in Arizona and Nevada, established by an interbureau agreement in 1936. Authorizes additional lands to be acquired to build up the shoreline area at an estimated cost of \$1,200,000. S. 653. PL 88- (PR).

Land Conservation: Establishes a Land and Water Conservation Fund to assist the States in the improvement of outdoor recreation facilities. PL 88-578. (PR)

Lower Colorado River Flood Control: Authorizes conclusion of agreements with Mexico for construction of flood control works on the lower Colorado River. PL 88-411.

Manson Irrigation Unit, Washington: Authorizes construction, operation, and maintenance of the Manson unit, Cheland Division Chief Joseph Dam Project, Washington, to irrigate an additional 5770 acres of orchard lands. S. 2533 P/S 6/25.

Meteorology: Authorizes Secretary of Commerce to use funds received from State and local governments for special meteorological services. S. 970 P/S 8/1.

Mineral Leasing: Liberalizes the requirements for timely payment of rentals on Federal oil and gas leases. S. 1984 P/S 9/1.

Missouri River Basin: Increases the authorizations by \$120 million for continuing work in the Missouri River Basin. PL 88-442.

(Cont'd.)

Nebraska Mid-State Division: Authorized construction of an \$84,202,000 Mid-State reclamation project in Nebraska to be integrated physically and financially with the other Federal works of the Missouri River Basin project. S. 388 P/S 6/29.

Oceanographic Research: Facilitates oceanographic research by removing impediments which have been hampering the operation of research vessels, and particularly the large, new, modern scientific ships which have been and are being made available under the expanded national oceanographic program. S. 2552 P/S 8/1.

Ozark National Rivers: Provides for the establishment of the Ozark National Rivers in Missouri as a part of the outdoor recreation program. PL 88-492. (PR)

Pacific Northwest Power Sales: Guarantees electric consumers in the Pacific Northwest first call on electric energy generated at Federal hydroelectric plants of that region and guarantees electric consumers in other regions reciprocal priority. PL 88-552. (PR)

Pecos River Basin: Authorizes continuing program to reduce nonbeneficial consumptive use of water in the Pecos River Basin, New Mexico and Texas. PL 88-594.

Public Land Review Commission: Establishes a 19-member bipartisan Commission to conduct a review of existing public land laws and regulations and to recommend necessary revisions. PL 88-606.

Rio Grande Canalization Project: Authorizes the U.S. to pay up to \$23,000 a year on the maintenance costs of watershed project works needed to protect the Rio Grande canalization project from siltation. PL 88-600.

Riverton Reclamation Project, Wyoming: Reauthorizes the Riverton extension unit, Missouri River Basin Project, to include all the Riverton reclamation project except the Muddy Ridge Area. PL 88-278.

Riverton Project, Wyoming: Authorizes an additional \$1.2 million for the third division of the Riverton reclamation project in Wyoming. PL 88-569.

Roads and Trails: Authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to construct and maintain an adequate system of roads and trails for the national forests. S. 1147 H. Cal. (PR)

Robert S. Kerr Research Center: Designates the Southwest Regional Water Laboratory of HEW at Ada, Oklahoma as the Robert S. Kerr Water Research Center. H. Con. Res. 189 P/H 3/16; P/S 6/19.

St. Louis River Dam: Authorizes the Eveleth Taconith Co. of Minnesota to construct a dam on the St. Louis River, Minnesota; authority to terminate if actual construction is not commenced within 5 years and completed within 10 years from date of passage. PL 88-322.

Sanford Reservoir: Provides for the establishment and administration of public recreational facilities in the Sanford Reservoir area, Canadian River project, Texas. PL 88-536.

Savery-Pot Hook: Authorizes \$47 million for Federal construction of the Savery-Pot Hook, Bostwick Park, and Fruitland Mesa projects as participating projects in the comprehensive development of the water resources of the Upper Colorado River Basin Act. PL 88-568.

Teton Basin Project: Authorizes construction of the Lower Teton Division of the Teton Basin reclamation project, Idaho. PL 88-583.

(Cont'd.)

Water Resources Research: Authorizes 10-year, \$82.5 million program of Federal aid to land-grant colleges and universities to stimulate and expand water resources research and scientific training programs. PL 88-379. (PR)

Whitestone Coulee Unit: Authorizes Federal construction of the Whitestone Coulee Unit of the Okanogan-Similkameen division, Chief Joseph Dam project, Washington, to irrigate some 2550 acres at a cost of \$5,312,000 with \$4,338,000 of this amount reimbursable. PL 88-599.

Wilderness Bill: Sets aside a 9.2 million acre wilderness preservation system, which may be expanded to 14.7 million acres, of federally owned land as a wilderness unavailable for commercial use. PL 88-577. (PR)

Wildlife Conservation in Oregon and California: Provides a permanent basis for administration of the Tule Lake, Lower Klamath, and Upper Klamath National Wildlife Refuges in Oregon and California to promote wildlife resources conservation on the Pacific flyway. PL 88-567.

SPACE

Space authorization: Authorizes a total appropriation of \$5,227,506,000 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for fiscal 1965. PL 88-369. (PR)

Space and Air Museum: Authorizes construction of a \$40 million National Air and Space Museum as a branch of Smithsonian Institution. S. 2602 P/S 7/23.

TAXATION

Collapsible Corporations; Personal Holding Companies: Amends the collapsible corporation provisions of the tax laws so they will not apply to the sale of stock in a corporation which consents to a special tax treatment on any later disposition by it of its assets; also provides that in certain circumstances, royalties received for the privilege of using a patent, invention, or similar property are to be treated as rent if the patent, etc., is used by the corporation in the manufacture of personal property which it leases to customers. PL 88-484.

Excise Taxes: Extends to July 1, 1965 the present rates of excise tax on distilled spirits, beer, wine, cigarettes, passenger cars, auto parts and accessories, general telephone service, and transportation of persons by air. PL 88-348. (PR)

Fruit-Flavor Concentrates: Authorizes the use of certain volatile fruit-flavor concentrates in the cellar treatment of wine; repeals the 8% manufacturers' excise tax on rebuilt automotive parts; makes the 10% manufacturers' excise tax on radio and television components inapplicable to as much of the price of rebuilt television picture tubes as is represented by the fair market value of the used picture tube traded in. HR 4649 - in conference.

Interest Equalization Tax: Provides an interest equalization tax designed to bring the cost of capital raised in the U.S. market by foreign persons more closely into alignment with the costs prevailing in markets in other industrial countries, and will aid our balance-of-payments position by restraining the heavy and accelerated demand on our capital market from other industrialized countries; effective from July 19, 1963 (August 17 for listed securities) through December 31, 1965. PL 88-563. (PR)

Motor Fuels Taxes: Grants consent of Congress for the States and the District of Columbia to enter into a compact on apportioning motor fuels taxes consumed by inter-state buses, and to enter into a bus taxation and reciprocity agreement. S. 2208 P/S 8/15.

(Cont'd.)

(TAXATION - Cont'd.)

19.

Payments in Lieu of Taxes: Extends to 6/30/66 period for which payment in lieu of taxes may be made with respect to certain land transferred by the RFC to other Government departments. PL 88-330.

Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act of 1964: Amends the Tariff Schedules of the U.S. to correct certain errors brought about by the adoption of these schedules. Closes so-called tariff loopholes such as where an importer or foreign producer discovers a way to avoid the protective incidence of a particular duty-rate description, generally by a manipulation of his goods. Provides for the free entry of mass spectrometers for the use of certain educational institutions, polyethyleneimine, and certain types of limestone. Extended the sugar program for 6 months and increased the domestic allotment by 500,000 tons. Changes the rates of duty on certain dictating machines, continuous cast aluminum brooms made of broom corn, and certain plastic or rubber-coated textile luggage and handbags imported prior to 9/1/64. HR 12253 in Conference.

Tax Amendments: Narrows the application of personal holding company provisions and makes provision for small business investment companies to establish reserves for losses on their holdings of convertible debentures of small business concerns. In the case of recoveries of foreign expropriation losses it develops a new set of rules limiting the tax on the recovery to the benefit previously received in deducting the loss, but applying current tax rates. Existing law provides for deduction of soil and water conservation expenditures; this bill provides that where these expenditures are made by an assessment district, the related assessments are to be deductible to the members of the district even though the funds are expended by the district to acquire land, easements, or to relocate roads or powerlines, or other obstructions, to the extent that these expenditures are in connection with soil or water conservation or drainage purposes. Removes the limitation on the authorization of expenditures for the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures. HR 8050. PL 88-

Tax Exemption: Provides an exemption from the tax on unrelated business taxable income in case of labor union and agricultural organizations where certain conditions are met. PL 88-380.

Tax Reduction: Enacted an \$11.5 billion tax-reduction for individuals by an average of 20% and from 52% to 48% for corporations when fully effective in 1965. PL 88-272. (PR)

Tobacco Products - Tariff Regulations: Prevents double taxation of certain tobacco products exported and returned unchanged to the U.S. for delivery to a manufacturer's bonded factory. PL 88-342.

VETERANS

Disability: Preserves disability ratings under laws administered by the V.A. where such ratings have been in effect for 20 years. PL 88-445.

Educational Assistance: Provides educational assistance to the children of veterans who are permanently and totally disabled as a result of a service-connected disability arising out of active military, naval, or air service during a period of war or the induction period. PL 88-361.

Home Loans: Authorizes the Veterans Administration to guarantee home loans on a newly constructed dwelling or construction of a dwelling having maturities extending up to 35 years if agreed on between private lenders and borrowers. S. 385 P/S 1/16.

Medical Benefits for Medal of Honor Recipients: Provides hospital, domiciliary, and medical care for non-service-connected disabilities to recipients of the Medal of Honor. PL 88-481.

(Cont'd.)

NSLI: Raised age limit to 65 for total disability income provisions on national service life insurance policies. PL 88-355.

NSLI: Provides for waiver of premiums for certain veterans holding national service life insurance policies who are totally disabled before age 65. PL 88-364.

Nursing Home Care for Veterans: Provides veterans with urgently needed nursing home care and nursing care facilities while reducing the cost to the U.S. for caring for these veterans. PL 88-450.

Outpatient Dental Services: Authorizes dental services and treatment in cases where discharges were corrected by competent authority from dishonorable to conditions other than dishonorable. PL 88-430.

Paraplegic Housing Program: Expands the paraplegic housing program to include blind veterans who have lost the use of a leg but not confined to a wheelchair. PL 88-401.

Pensions: Amends the veterans law relating to the payment of non-service-connected pensions, disability and death, by adding new exclusions of income used in determining eligibility, increase the pension rate for the veterans, widow and/or child in the low-income bracket and provides additional allowances for those veterans requiring aid and attendance, those permanently housebound, as well as for those who are so helpless or blind as to require the regular aid and attendance of another person. HR 1927. In conference.

Research Contractors: Authorizes the U.S. to indemnify a contractor engaged in a medical research or development project for the Veterans' Administration against certain risks of an unusually hazardous nature. PL 88-433.

Reserves: Authorized veterans' benefits for disability or death resulting from injuries sustained prior to January 1, 1957, by reservists traveling in connection with training duty. HR 11332. PL 88-

Veterans' Loans: Authorizes the Administrator of Veterans Affairs to sell direct loans made to veterans and to guarantee the loans. PL 88-402.

WELFARE

Alaska Earthquake Grants: Authorized grants of up to \$23.5 million to provide emergency assistance to the State Government of Alaska and its local government entities as a result of the Alaskan quake on March 27. PL 88-311. (PR)

Alaska Reconstruction: Authorizes an additional \$55,650,000 in obligational authority to provide special aid for highways, urban renewal, harbors, housing and State finances to aid Alaska in its reconstruction due to the March 27 earthquake. PL 88-451. (PR)

Congressional Review of Federal Grants in Aid: Established a uniform policy and procedure for periodic congressional review of grant-in-aid programs which are designed to assist States and their political subdivisions in meeting recognized national needs. S. 2114 P/S 6/19.

Disability - Social Security: Permits a disabled worker to establish the beginning of his disability, for purposes of social security protection, as of the date he actually became disabled, regardless of when he files his application. Extends through April 15, 1965, the time within which ministers, including Christian Science practitioners, can elect to be covered under Social Security. Allows the States to extend the duration of the income exemption for certain needy blind who have State-approved rehabilitation plans. HE 9393. P/S amended 8/31.

Foster Care for Dependent Children: Extends to June 30, 1967, existing law which permits Federal participation in payments under the program of aid and services to needy families with children for certain children requiring foster care who are in non-profit private child-care institutions. HR 10473 P/S amended 8/31.

Medal of Honor Pension: Provides for payment of \$100 a month pension for holders of the Medal of Honor by including within the eligibility of existing law 17 individuals who received the Medal of Honor based on non-combatant service. HR 2434 - in conference.

Rongelap Island Residents - Trust Territory: Provides relief of not more than \$950,000 for certain residents of Rongelap Island in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands affected by the fallout which followed the explosion of an atomic bomb at Bikini Atoll on March 1, 1954. PL 88-485.

Social Security-Health Care: Authorized a \$7 a month across-the-board increase in social security benefits and provided for a program of hospitalization and nursing home care for persons 65 or over. HR 11865 P/S amended 9/3.

Temporary Assistance for Returning U.S. Citizens: Extends to June 30, 1967 the provisions of section 1113(d) of the Social Security Act which authorize temporary assistance to citizens of the U.S. and to dependents if they are identified by the State Department because of the destitution of the U.S. citizen or the illness of such citizen or any of his dependents or because of war or threat of war, and if they are without available resources. PL 88-347.

Trust Territory of Pacific Islands: Promotes the economic and social development of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and implements the obligations of the U.S. to the U.N. under the trusteeship agreement of July 18, 1947. PL 88-487.

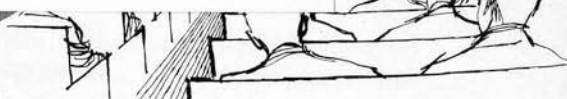
Wildlife Refuge-Revenues: Provides for increased distribution of revenues from the National Wildlife Refuge System to the counties where the lands are located. Funds must be expended solely for the benefit of public schools and roads in that county. PL 88-523.

HERMAN EDELSBERG

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH

WASHINGTON, D. C.

ADL



REVIEW OF THE 88th CONGRESS

*A Report On
Civil Rights And
Civil Liberties—1964*

By
HERMAN EDELSBERG
and
DAVID A. BRODY

THIS pamphlet is the tenth in a series of annual reports on the Congress and its role in civil rights and civil liberties.

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
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I. CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

THE PROSPECTS for civil rights action, when the 88th Congress reconvened in January, were good. True, civil rights leaders had been disappointed by the failure of the House to complete action on the bill in the first session, but they were confident that the second session—in a presidential election year—would bring victory.

President Johnson began his State of the Union message on January 8 with a stirring call to action:

Let this session of Congress be known as the session that did more for civil rights than the last hundred sessions combined.

The language was lofty but the goal was realistic. To meet the President's challenge, all Congress needed to do was pass the bipartisan bill pending in the House—a difficult task but well within the capacity of those who see politics as the “art of the possible.”

The bill fashioned by the House Judiciary Committee, stronger than the original Kennedy proposals, was languishing in the Rules Committee. Only 173 signatures of the 218 required were on the petition to discharge the Committee from further consideration of the bill. But the redoubtable chairman, Howard Smith, had publicly admitted that he could not continue to hold out and had promised a hearing in early January.

In the Senate a public accommodations bill had come from the Commerce Committee, but the bulk of the civil rights package was hopelessly buried in Senator Eastland's Judiciary Committee. Senate strategy was to await a House bill and to take it up directly without referring it to Judiciary.

Never before had there been so much support for civil rights legislation. President Johnson had put his heart and unmatched knowledge of Congress behind the bill, and because it was a Southerner in the White House, the first in 100 years who was appealing to the South, it became more possible to pass it. There was a surge of sympathy for the Kennedy program in the wake of his tragic

assassination. Church groups had rallied to the civil rights cause as if it were a new religious tenet. The enthusiasm that churchmen displayed in 1963 was buttressed by sophisticated legislative action in '64. They learned where the levers of power were in districts not ordinarily responsive to civil rights appeals, and they applied their arts of saving souls to the earthly task of winning friends and influencing people.

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, chaired in Washington by Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP and counseled by Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. of ADA, proved an effective planning and operating organization. It became the liaison between the executive agencies, the congressional leadership and the grass roots. The AFL-CIO and many of its unions gave civil rights a top priority. But the prime mover was the Negro himself: his increased determination, organization and effort—and his potentially dangerous impatience. North and South, he had taken to the streets in demonstrations that touched the national conscience. He had moved the Kennedy Administration to drop its pallid proposals of February in favor of the hard-hitting, comprehensive bill of June 19.

THE HOUSE ACTS. On January 30, the House Rules Committee voted out *H.R. 7152*, the civil rights bill, 11-4, and debate began in the House the next day. Since every observer assumed that the final congressional product would be a House bill softened by the Senate, the strategy was to give no ground in the House. After two weeks of debate the bill came through the House virtually intact.

From the first tests of strength it became clear that the newly formed civil rights coalition was going to hold. After a few days of debate Congressman F. Edward Hébert (*D-La.*) found it necessary to chide his Southern colleagues for their absence from the floor. Only half of them, he complained, were present for many of the crucial unrecorded teller votes in the Committee of the Whole where weakening amendments were voted up or down, while the supporters were present in force. Congressman James A. Haley (*D-Fla.*), apparently stung by repeated Southern failures, pointed to the galleries where representatives of civil rights organizations were making their own tally of the unrecorded teller votes and declaimed that if the "gallery vultures" were taken away there wouldn't be twenty-five votes for the civil rights bill.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

At one point the Democratic Party's Whip, Hale Boggs of Louisiana, offered a mild amendment to weaken the committee's version of Title VI, which would bar federal funds to segregated programs. He cited a most respectable authority for his version; he wanted to go back to the language of President Kennedy's original bill. But, Congressman William M. McCulloch of Ohio, who was leading the fight for the Republican side, saw in this move a threat to the bipartisan understanding and he announced that if the Democratic leadership was going to support Boggs' move he would withdraw from the coalition. Mr. Boggs' amendment was overwhelmingly defeated.

With the coalition jealous of what it had wrought in committee, only three dubious amendments were adopted by the House. Congressman Howard Smith's (*D-Va.*) proposal that discrimination because of sex be added to the prohibitions of Title VII respecting employment discrimination, was carried 168-133. At the same time, the House decided to deny to atheists the benefits of fair employment practices, 137-98. Problems of "racial imbalance" as distinguished from the other desegregation problems were denied federal funds. The heart of the bill remained unscathed, a tribute to the floor leadership of Emanuel Celler of New York on the Democratic side and McCulloch and John Lindsay of New York on the Republican side.

Final passage on February 10 was by the decisive vote of 290-130. Voting for were 152 Democrats and 138 Republicans; against, 96 Democrats and 34 Republicans. Seven Democrats from the South voted for the bill: Claude Pepper of Florida, Ross Bass and Richard Fulton of Tennessee, and Jack Brooks, Henry B. Gonzales, J. J. Pickle and Albert Thomas of Texas.

THE SENATE STALLS. The bill that went to the Senate was significant, comprehensive and capable of enforcement. There the threat of filibuster stood ominously in its way. And the press kept warning sagely that FEPC and the ban on federal funds for segregated programs (Title VI) were the likely sacrifices to propitiate the filibuster.

Everybody knew there was a comfortable majority in the Senate for the House version. (Otherwise, why the filibuster?) But even the most optimistic nose-count came to no more than fifty-nine or sixty to impose cloture when sixty-seven votes were required if

all 100 Senators voted. The alternative was a battle of attrition—bringing in the cots and keeping the Senate round-the-clock. But Majority Leader Mike Mansfield had no taste for such a battle. It might endanger the lives of some of the Senate septuagenarians, and it would bear more heavily in physical terms on civil rightsers than on filibusterers, who needed only a team of four men on the floor at any one time while the former needed to be ready for quorum calls at all hours.

The nagging question was: how much of the House bill would have to be scrapped, and how much water added to the rest to pick up the votes needed to impose cloture? Minority Leader Everett Dirksen was the man who held the answer. The seven or eight crucial Republican votes needed to end a filibuster—the votes of Senators who came from states politically insensitive to Negro aspirations or pressures—were expected to follow Dirksen's lead.

In June 1963 Dirksen had joined with Mansfield in introducing the Administration package with the exception of the public accommodations title to which he expressed grave objection. Earlier there had been talk of Republican disenchantment with the FEPC title, and there were rumors—unfounded—that Attorney General Kennedy was ready to trade off employment discrimination for the votes needed to ensure final passage.

The House bill came to the Senate on February 17 and was immediately caught up in a filibuster—sixteen days were consumed on the mere motion to take up the bill, a procedural step that is ordinarily decided in ten minutes. On a typical day of the filibuster a Southern senator would drone through his prepared speech in a voice inaudible ten feet away. He would have about four "listeners" out of the 100 members of the Senate. One presided over the Senate; the other two were assigned by their leaders to guard against a parliamentary trick; the fourth, a Southern colleague, was there to offer moral support and physical respite by asking rhetorical questions.

BACK ROOM NEGOTIATIONS. While the debate droned on in the Senate chamber, the real legislative struggle went on in the back rooms, where the Attorney General and his aides were meeting with Senators Dirksen, Mansfield, Hubert Humphrey (*D-Minn.*), Thomas Kuchel (*R-Cal.*) and their aides to work out an agreed version.

There the issues would be resolved, not by parliamentary debate, but by a form of collective bargaining. How much would the Administration give to keep Dirksen and his indispensable eight votes from going on a strike against cloture?

The conflicting forces were many and varied. The presidential election was six months away and the negotiators could not but be keenly aware that Negro voters and their millions of white allies were watching. But many Midwest and Far West Republicans appeared to be politically invulnerable on the score of civil rights. They had long nurtured the Dixie-Republican coalition; now their cloture votes were essential. In the House there was a Republican backfire; Congressman McCulloch said bluntly that if the Senate crippled the House bill, the House would simply reject it. Senate Republican liberals took an equally unyielding line in the negotiations. Conversely, there was growing talk of white backlash, a term which came to describe the dissatisfaction among northern whites over Negro advances and militancy—the catch phrase was "the Negroes are moving too far too fast." Still, opinion polls in April showed a two-to-one margin for the bill. And business leaders were saying to Dirksen they merely wanted procedural protections in the bill; they were not opposed to the bill's objectives.

Dirksen came to the meeting with forty nine amendments concerning the employment title (VII) alone. Some were regarded as strengthening amendments, e.g. the deletion of the House provision to bar atheists from the benefits of the bill. Many were innocuous. A few caused grave concern.

The thrust of the troublesome amendments was to isolate the aggrieved Negro and put the burden and cost of enforcement upon him. Only he (not his organization) could file a complaint; only he could bring suit in court in the event an employer proved recalcitrant. Further, the locale of such suits would be those districts where courts could be presumed to be less sympathetic to Negro claims. Finally, the aggrieved individual would first have to exhaust his remedies with his state or local FEP agency. In sum, the Dirksen proposals would deprive the Negro of the kind of aids government has traditionally supplied, e.g., in the labor relations and the fair labor standards acts.

After several weeks of hard bargaining—and hard lobbying—Dirksen showed that his purpose was not to gut the bill. He receded

on virtually all his objectionable amendments. What emerged could be embraced wholeheartedly, and Senator Mansfield joined with Dirksen in sponsoring a bipartisan substitute bill. Civil rights groups offered a relieved Amen.

The Attorney General would be authorized to file suits in cases of discrimination in public accommodations where he found "a pattern or practice of discrimination." In other cases, he would be authorized to intervene, in the court's discretion, where an individual had initiated a suit.

In cases of employment discrimination the commission would be authorized to seek compliance through mediation. Where mediation failed, the aggrieved individual, not the commission, would have to go to court to seek enforcement. Where, however, there was a pattern or practice of employment discrimination, the Attorney General could bring the suit for enforcement. Also, the Attorney General could intervene in an action brought by an aggrieved individual. In states which have FEP agencies the local agencies would have up to sixty days (120 days for newly established FEPC's) to adjust the case before the federal commission could intervene.

CLOTURE SUCCEEDS. On May 26 the bipartisan substitute was introduced, and on June 8 a bipartisan cloture petition was confidently filed by Senator Mansfield on behalf of thirty nine Senators. Under the rules the vote on cloture was scheduled to come on noon of the 10th. One task remained before the vote. Three senators had obtained from the leadership, in return for their favorable votes on cloture, an agreement to hold a prior vote on weakening amendments.

Only one passed—Senator Thruston Morton's (*R-Ky.*) new version of the jury trial amendment. It would require a jury in all cases of criminal contempt arising under the Act except in voting cases. The vote was close, 51-48.

For: 31 DEMOCRATS; 20 REPUBLICANS
Against: 35 DEMOCRATS; 13 REPUBLICANS

Civil rights leaders at first regarded this as a serious blow to effective enforcement. Second thoughts among veteran lawyers inside the government and out led to the conclusion that vigorous and resourceful enforcement could bring stubborn violators to

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compliance through the civil contempt route.

An amendment by Senator Bourke Hickenlooper (*R-Iowa*), chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, to delete the section which provides federal aid for the training of teachers to deal with problems occasioned by school desegregation was defeated, 56-40.

By a vote of 63-34 the Senate rejected an amendment by Norris Cotton (*R-N.H.*) to limit FEP coverage to employers of 100 or more employees, in contrast to the Mansfield-Dirksen bill which would, after four years, apply to employers of twenty-five or more. By a vote of 64-33 the Senate rejected an amendment by Sam Ervin (*D-N.C.*) to strike the FEP title from the bill.

At noon on Wednesday, June 10, on the seventy-fifth day of the debate, every seat but one in the Senate chamber was occupied. Rarely in Senate history were the stakes so high, the national spotlight so bright, the tension so palpable. The gravity of the vote was dramatized when Senator Clair Engle (*D-Cal.*), wasting away from cancer, was brought into the chamber in a wheelchair to take the final seat—and to cast his vote, with his voice gone, by a faint nod of the head. The vote was 71-29—four votes more than the sixty-seven required.

It had been the longest debate in Senate history—six million words had been uttered—and for the first time cloture had been obtained on a civil rights bill.

For: 44 DEMOCRATS; 27 REPUBLICANS
Against: 23 DEMOCRATS; 6 REPUBLICANS

Senator Dirksen had brought along more than his assigned quota of Republicans.

THE FINAL VOTE. The next week the debate continued under the cloture rule—one hour maximum for each Senator. The Senate was occupied chiefly in voting down more than 100 Southern-sponsored amendments. A few innocuous clarifying amendments, accepted by the leadership, were the only ones to succeed. On June 19, eighty-third day of the filibuster, the bill was adopted, 73-27:

For: 46 DEMOCRATS; 27 REPUBLICANS
Against: 21 DEMOCRATS; 6 REPUBLICANS

Senator Goldwater, then the leading candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, voted against the bill, as he had against cloture, and questioned the constitutionality of the public accommo-

dations and FEP titles. Senator Dirksen the next day made a brilliant, conclusive reply, citing the long list of social and economic measures on the statute books that opponents had similarly called unconstitutional.

Five other senatorial comments deserve to be noted. Senator Humphrey called the bill the "greatest piece" of social legislation in our generation. Paul Douglas (*D-Ill.*) said the bill is "a substantial measure of atonement for three and a half centuries of wrongs committed by a large section of the white race against those of darker skins." Wayne Morse (*D-Ore.*) predicted that history would record President Johnson as deserving the major credit for the bill. And Mansfield paid tribute to Dirksen, saying: "The Senate and the whole country are in the debt of the Senator."

Senator Richard Russell (*D-Ga.*) called it "a second effort at Reconstruction." That might be the damning epithet for many Southerners, but others would insist that 100 years of bitter experience made a massive effort necessary. And this one was free of vindictiveness, and fashioned with wise restraint.

The bill came back to the House for the reconciliation of differences between the Senate and House versions. All civil rights leaders agreed on the strategy that the House concur in the Senate version without appointing conferees. On June 30 the Rules Committee voted 10-5 to permit this, and on July 2 the House voted 289-126 to accept the Senate bill.

For: 153 DEMOCRATS; 136 REPUBLICANS
Against: 91 DEMOCRATS; 35 REPUBLICANS

The seven Southern Democrats who had originally voted for the civil rights bill found another ally from the deep South, Representative Charles Weltner of Atlanta. The real choice, Weltner told the House, was between voting "no" with safety and futility, or joining in the moral verdict of the Nation to seek moderation and tranquility. He received a standing ovation.

President Johnson insisted on signing the bill forthwith, and it became law on July 2. He used the occasion to say to the Nation on television that the law does not restrict the rights of any Americans or give special treatment to others. "It does say that those who are equal before God shall now be equal in the polling booths, in the factories and in hotels and restaurants and movie theatres and other places that provide service to the public."

JOHNSON'S ROLE. By a margin of four to one the Republican Party in Congress had voted for the bill. But in the same month of the civil rights decision, the leaders of the Republican Party proceeded to select as their candidate for president the Senator who was the symbol of opposition to civil rights legislation, and indeed of the backlash. Inevitably the ironic contrast gave rise to speculation.

Had Senator Russell, the grand strategist of the Southern cause, miscalculated when he took the position that he would not engage in negotiating concessions in the civil rights bill and sought instead a showdown on the House version? The answer seemed to be that Russell was in favor of negotiation, but Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina (who was later to defect to the Republicans) was able to override him in the Southern bloc's caucus.

Had Russell been insufficiently resourceful in efforts to preserve the old coalition with the Republican leadership? Perhaps. But there may have been a more basic reason for the failure of the old coalition, a reason which explains why Dirksen could lead the Republican civil rights forces in the Senate and make the nominating speech for Goldwater at the Republican convention. The trump card the Southerners might have played with the Republicans was the promise of support in the presidential election. But with Lyndon Johnson in the White House it became unthinkable for moderate Southerners to trade away the Democratic candidate. In the showdown, Lyndon Johnson—a Southerner and an old friend—was more important to the Southern bloc than the civil rights bill.

Virtually all the members of the Southern bloc stayed with the Democratic standard bearer in the election—or at least were silent. Nor was it surprising that many of the leaders called for compliance. Senator Russell followed Senator Russell Long (*La.*) and Allen Ellender (*La.*) in calling for compliance with the law: "All good citizens," he said, "will learn to live with the statute . . . for as long as it is there."

The passage of the civil rights bill was followed by headlines that spoke of murder, dynamiting and beatings. Violence and controversy are the stuff of headlines; the historian may find the meaningful truth in an unspectacular trend. The salient fact—the historic fact—about the first months of the new law was compliance. Defiance continued in rural and backwoods Mississippi and Alabama, but

the general rule in larger communities was acceptance of Negroes in hotels, restaurants and movie theatres.

A basic reason for the change was succinctly expressed by a restaurant owner: "I kept them out of my restaurant when it would have been illegal to let them in; now I accept them because it would be illegal to keep them out." But credit for a transition smoother than most dared to expect goes to the Administration, which had painstakingly paved the way for acceptance by quiet negotiations with business and political leaders. And credit goes to those Southerners who, like the Mayor and members of the Chamber of Commerce of Jackson, Mississippi, recognized the inevitability of desegregation and the danger that continued defiance could lead only to the strengthening of the hoodlum Klan elements in the community.

ELECTION RESULTS. The headlines called the November election a landslide; that indeed was the size of President Johnson's victory. But a more precise and meaningful word for the results would be "earthquake": old political loyalties and patterns, deeply rooted, were caught in a vast upheaval and ruptured—some apparently for good. The American political map was changed.

The "solid South" has been split before, but never so deeply, never into so many fragments. Race, not religion, was the eruptive force this time; it set off contradictory reactions and produced a crazyquilt pattern. In Georgia, the first Deep South congressman to vote for the Civil Rights Act was re-elected with crucial Negro backing, while his state for the first time went Republican. In Texas, two Republican opponents of civil rights, darlings of the radical right, were defeated by Democrats. In Alabama, five congressmen who opposed civil rights were defeated by Republicans.

Five deep South states showed that the race issue was still the hinge on which votes turned, while the other six Southern states seemed to be moving away from the stagnating grip of racism. In California a two-to-one referendum vote repealed a fair housing law. In Maryland, where Governor Wallace of Alabama polled 43% of the vote in the spring primary, a public accommodations law was approved in referendum.

In the large metropolitan centers, observers looked for the evidence of the white backlash. That backlash, however, proved to be a feather-duster. The potent vote was the "backlash," the solid

Negro vote (about 95%) for civil rights supporters, which helped explain why apparently impregnable Republican strongholds in suburbs fell to Democratic challengers for the first time. Fourteen of the thirty five Republicans who voted against the civil rights bill were defeated, while all eight Southerners who voted for it won reelection, with Congressman Bass of Tennessee going to the Senate. The once dominant Republican-Southern Democrat coalition, which controlled Congress regardless of the nominal majority party, was now reduced to virtual impotence. The overall implications for civil rights were good.

Polling more than 61% of the popular vote, Lyndon Johnson won one of the largest mandates in American history. With better than two-to-one majorities in the House and the Senate—an increase of thirty-nine votes in the House and two in the Senate—he had impressive legislative backing to carry it out.

To a degree the mandate was negative—the American people registered themselves against nuclear bravado and against appeasing segregationists and terrorists. But President Johnson also spoke often and earnestly of the Great Society, his spacious version of the old American dream. Its goal is "to enrich and elevate our national life." For many months fifteen task forces composed of creative scholars have been working up proposals in fields ranging from business prosperity to education to preserving the beauty of natural resources.

It is no mean goal. It will be powered by the President's matchless ability to get things done, but the difficulties are formidable. At the very threshold of the Great Society looms a stubborn obstacle—the residue of prejudice left by the long years of human slavery and segregation.

THE NEXT TASKS. What law can do to outlaw discrimination, the bipartisan Civil Rights Act of 1964 has largely done. Comprehensive in substance, it is also a symbol of a great national consensus. Discrimination in housing still calls for better legal remedies. In hard core areas continued Negro disfranchisement may call for more direct federal intervention in the conduct of federal elections. But the urgent task now is to translate the law into realization. To that end it must be effectively enforced; it must be supplemented by enlightened community practices and attitudes; and it needs the wherewithal.

There is a growing awareness that the demands of equality of opportunity are not quite satisfied when law opens the door and says, "All may now enter," if some are made to carry on their backs the burden of inherited poverty and educational deprivation. Too many Negroes come from homes that depend on the relief check and the food stamp, and, more significant, too many come from homes in which there have been no books, no newspapers, no toys. Small wonder that children raised in such homes become problems in schools.

Negro political apathy is still a sizeable factor even though most of the voting bars to Negroes have disappeared and Negro registration and participation in the 1964 elections were at an all-time high. Many Southern Negroes are understandably reluctant to register in rural communities where the danger of economic or physical retaliation is real, but the Northern manifestation of apathy is more subtle and perplexing. A recent study suggests that many Negroes in slum tenements regard themselves as "human ciphers"; they see voting as a middle class experience, not for the likes of them.

In a healthy society—and surely in a Great Society—Negroes must come to believe they can have an influence in local and national affairs. It is both a tenet of the democratic ideal and a requirement of community peace. Those who feel they have no stake in society—the jobless, the aimless and the hopeless—are the raw recruits for crime and disorder.

One important counter-measure—the War on Poverty—was launched by the Kennedy-Johnson Administration and the 88th Congress through the Office of Economic Opportunity. It will combat illiteracy and undereducation. It will provide job training. It will help finance ventures into small private businesses. Paralleling the federal program will be the effort of local government and private groups—churches and civic organizations. But it is, withal, a small start against a massive problem; its effectiveness remains to be established.

Increased compliance, particularly with the new equal employment opportunity law and the school desegregation law, will depend on vigorous and resourceful administration. The Justice Department, under Robert Kennedy, Nicholas Katzenbach and Burke Marshall, has provided such leadership and may be counted on to continue it.

CARROT AND STICK. But piecemeal, case by case prosecution is not the complete, satisfying answer. Six years ago Attorney General William Rogers uttered a wise admonition to the South: "Community tensions resulting from racial prejudices are not without their economic implications . . . the Government, in determining the location of new or expanded federal facilities will have to give consideration to the availability of public schools and other public conveniences as a matter of fairness and justice to its personnel who will be on duty there."

The admonition has been given teeth. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act prohibits the use of federal funds for any local program that discriminates. The government now has both a carrot and a stick with which to strengthen the law-abiding elements in the South and to lift from Southern shoulders once and for all the sectional burden of segregation. Their wise use can speed the happy day of genuine reconciliation in the South.

Other resources in the continued fight for an America free from discrimination deserve mention. The effective organization and militancy of the Negro community were the prime movers in the passage of the 1964 Act. Disciplined Negro leadership put demonstrations in abeyance during the campaign because of concern over the much bruited white backlash, but they will return to non-violent demonstrations, voter registration drives and summer freedom projects in the Deep South with greater effectiveness in the next year.

Religious groups developed know-how in the fight to pass the 1964 Act, and they have a deserved sense of accomplishment. They are in the struggle to the end.

Professional politicians are fond of describing politics as "the art of the possible." Lyndon Johnson was frequently called the supreme exponent of such politics during his accomplishment-filled years as Senate Majority Leader. But in this campaign he assumed a more exacting responsibility. He said:

I do not accept government as just the art of the practicable.
It is the business of deciding what is right and then finding
the way to do it.

He has committed himself to work for a Great Society, and nobody in American life knows better how to find the government's way to do it.

THE ACT IN BRIEF

[Public Law 88-352]

Title I strengthens the voting rights provisions of the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts. It requires literacy tests to be in writing, makes a sixth grade education presumptive evidence of literacy and provides for the speeding up of voting rights cases.

Title II effectively forbids discrimination in virtually all places of public accommodation—hotels, motels, restaurants, gasoline stations and movies—if the operation of the establishment affects interstate commerce or if the discrimination is supported by state law. Also covered are barber shops in hotels and department stores that have lunch counters.

Title III authorizes the Attorney General to bring suit to desegregate publicly-owned or operated facilities such as parks, beaches, libraries.

Title IV provides for technical assistance and grants to help local school authorities carry out school desegregation plans and authorizes the Attorney General to bring suit to desegregate public schools.

Title V extends the life of the Civil Rights Commission until January 31, 1968 and authorizes it to serve as a clearing house on civil rights developments.

Title VI forbids federal assistance by way of grant, loan, or contract, to any program—public or private—that practices discrimination.

Title VII sets up a federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to enforce fair employment practices in firms and unions with 100 workers or more, starting July 1965. By July 1968 establishments with twenty five workers will be covered.

Title VIII provides for a census of racial registration and voting.

Title IX permits greater federal court protection of individuals who claim discrimination in state courts.

Title X sets up a Community Relations Service to assist communities through negotiation and mediation in dealing with problems arising from discrimination.

Title XI gives a jury trial in criminal contempt cases to persons accused of violating any title of the Act other than Title I (voting).

II. IMMIGRATION

FOR THE FIRST TIME since 1957 a Congress failed to enact special immigration legislation to ease some of the pressures created by existing quota restrictions. The previous congresses had passed a series of bills to accommodate political refugees and to permit immediate immigration outside the quota system. Thousands of immigrants from Italy, Greece and other countries who could show either close relatives in this country or specialized skills were admitted under temporary suspensions of quota limitations, by-passing waiting lists that stretched for years.

Congressional inaction can be attributed to the death in May 1963 of Congressman Francis Walter, "Mr. Immigration." As a co-author of the McCarran-Walter Act and chairman of the House Immigration Subcommittee, Walter was for many years the most powerful voice in Congress on immigration matters. He resisted the appeals of four Presidents of the United States and of the major religious denominations, and blocked basic revision of the Act's discriminatory national origins quota system. He took steps to conciliate the opposition, however, by sponsoring piecemeal temporary remedies. His strategy seemed to succeed with some nationality organizations; they took the increased immigration and let the principle go.

With the death of Walter, the chairmanship of the Subcommittee passed to Congressman Michael Feighan of Cleveland, the ranking Democrat on the Subcommittee. While Feighan was not regarded as a liberal on immigration legislation and had opposed any change in the basic national origins quota system, he was not bound by pride of authorship to the McCarran-Walter Act—he could be more flexible. Indeed, in one interview (*Congressional Record*, March 12, 1964, p. A1318), he portrayed himself as a longtime battler for immigration reform.

But if Feighan was not tied politically to the status quo, he seemed

circumscribed by his volatile emotions. After Walter's death, supporters of liberal immigration policy had urged Congressman Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, to take over the chairmanship of the Immigration Subcommittee himself. The proposal was dropped when it became clear that the members of the committee would not scrap the traditional rule of succession by seniority. Celler decided instead to attempt to liberalize the subcommittee by increasing its size from five to seven members.

The increase would have added New York's Lindsay to the Republican side of the committee. When the conservative Republican leadership refused to go along with the Celler proposal, it failed. Feighan, now chairman of a conservative subcommittee which he did not control, became embittered about Celler and launched a series of personal attacks that served only to prolong a legislative stalemate.

In April, Feighan sought to escape Celler's influence in the Judiciary Committee by activating the Senate-House Joint Committee, created by the McCarran-Walter Act, of which Feighan was titular chairman. Since its creation, the joint committee had never used the annual token appropriation of \$20,000 which Congress voted; now Feighan sought \$160,000 and announced that the committee would institute policy hearings and investigate alleged pay-offs in private immigration bills. After a heated floor fight, with the Democratic leadership opposing Feighan, the House, in a tie vote of 69-69, rejected the requested increase.

PRESIDENTS' CRITICISM. Congressional interest in basic revision of the Act had received renewed stimulus when the late President Kennedy attacked the national origins quota system as being "without basis in either logic or reason," and called for its repeal. The Administration bill (*S. 1932*), introduced in the Senate by a bipartisan group of twenty-seven headed by Philip Hart (*D-Mich.*) and in the House by Celler and fifty-five other Democrats, would eliminate the national origins quota over a period of five years. Immigrants would be admitted on a first come, first served basis without regard to country of origin, with skilled workers and close relatives of American citizens and residents given preference.

President Johnson, in his State of the Union message on January 8, took up the Kennedy torch. In words reminiscent of Kennedy's

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inaugural address, he declared that while America may properly ask intending immigrants "What can you do for our country?" we should not be asking "In what country were you born?" The President also found other occasions to call attention to the "outworn" quota system and to call for its repeal.

On January 14, in anticipation of the opening of Senate Judiciary Immigration Subcommittee hearings—the first Senate hearings on the subject since early 1956—the President called together at the White House leaders of organizations interested in immigration and refugee matters to urge passage of a new immigration law. Present at the White House, too, were Feighan and Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman James Eastland; but they remained politely non-committal, promising only to hold hearings expeditiously.

The Senate hearings were brief—four days in all; two in January and one in June and July. Senator Hart, who along with thirty-six other Senators early last session had introduced his own bill (*S. 747*) which used a different approach to eliminate the national origins quota system, testified that he was now supporting the Administration's bill exclusively.

In 1956 Secretary of State Dulles had testified in support of President Eisenhower's immigration reform bill. Now Secretary Rusk appeared before the committee to point out that so many immigrants have entered the United States within the last decade outside the quota system, either under existing law (e.g., Western hemisphere natives) or as a result of the various special acts passed by Congress since 1953, that the Administration's proposal would hardly do more than conform the law to actual practice. From 1953 through 1963, of the more than 2.9 million immigrants who entered the United States only slightly more than one-third entered as quota immigrants; the rest came in as non-quota either under the McCarran-Walter Act or under special enactments.

Hearings in the House did not begin until June 11. Three Cabinet officers, Rusk, Attorney General Kennedy and Secretary of Labor Wirtz, went before the subcommittee to urge the elimination of the national origins principle. The subcommittee remained unmoved.

CAMPAIGN AFTERMATH. With interruptions for the national conventions, the hearings dragged on for more than three months. Feighan announced that the Administration bill could not be enacted

in its present form, and he re-emphasized the need to activate the Senate-House Joint Committee to make an intensive study of our immigration policy. Many congressmen feel that the issue has already been overstudied and that further studies can only serve delay. They point to the extensive studies and hearings undertaken by Congressman Walter in 1962 to mark the tenth anniversary of the overriding of President Truman's veto of the McCarran-Walter Act. Those studies were conducted by Walter's knowledgeable staff director, Walter Besterman, who left the committee after Feighan took over.

On August 10 Feighan introduced *H. R. 12305* to authorize for a two-year trial period the pooling of unused quota numbers to reunite families and to bring in skilled workers and refugees. During this period the joint committee would undertake an over-all review of immigration policy. The bill never received the House subcommittee's approval.

Both parties included immigration planks in their platforms. The Democratic Party urged the elimination of the discriminatory national origins quota system. Feighan had appeared before the platform committee to urge instead a Congressional study and warned against "easy" and "cheap" attacks on the quota system.

The Republican Party merely contented itself with a call for legislation to reunite families and to continue the modest "fair share" refugee program. One Republican leader, however, injected an outworn cliché in the campaign. Vice-Presidential candidate William E. Miller, in a Labor Day address, charged that the Administration's immigration proposals would "open the floodgates for virtually any and all" and endanger the jobs of American workers.

The voters gave no comfort to Mr. Miller's gambit. The Administration will be renewing its support for its bill to discard the national origins principle. Prospects for basic revision of the law have improved with the defeat and retirement of a number of die-hard opponents of immigration reform in the House, particularly those who were members of the Judiciary Committee. But much will depend on how immigration reform legislation fits into the Administration's schedule of priorities.

The application of White House leadership and persuasion in several crucial areas is essential if the existing law is to be overhauled. A first task is to get House immigration leaders to pull together for the Administration's bill.

III. SCHOOL PRAYER AMENDMENT

"LET'S PUT GOD back into the public schools" was the catchy refrain which won millions of supporters for the Becker amendment. Opponents countered that the amendment tampered with the time-honored Bill of Rights and would open a Pandora's box of troubles. When the 88th Congress adjourned, the sober warning of the opponents had prevailed—but only after a close and spirited battle.

In the Senate, twenty-eight members proposed constitutional amendments to undo the 1962 and 1963 Supreme Court decisions outlawing officially prescribed prayers and devotional Bible reading in the public schools. Virtually all the sponsors seemed content, however, to let the record rest with the introduction of resolutions.

The real drive for the amendment was made in the House where it won the support of the Republican Policy Committee. There 115 members introduced 152 proposed amendments; two others introduced simple sense of Congress resolutions. A flood of mail largely generated by individual churches and hastily organized "pro-prayer" groups descended upon Congress. But House Judiciary Committee Chairman Celler refused to schedule hearings. A discharge petition collected 166 of the needed 218 signatures before he yielded.

There were some thirty-five different forms of resolutions, but the one which drew the greatest support was *H. J. Res. 693*, worked up by a committee of six House members headed by the man who gave the amendment its name, Representative Frank J. Becker (*R-N. Y.*), and introduced by sixty other congressmen. It would permit prayers and Bible reading in the public schools and other governmental institutions if participation is "on a voluntary basis." It would also sanction references to "God or a Supreme Being in any governmental or public document, proceeding, activity, ceremony, school, institution, or place or upon any coinage . . ." Finally, the amendment provided that the sanctioned practices should not ". . . constitute an establishment of religion."

The hearings began on April 22 and did not conclude until seven weeks later. One hundred and one Congressmen testified—all but a handful in support of the amendment. Also testifying was probably the most impressive array of church leaders ever to appear before a congressional committee.

CHURCHMEN SPEAK OUT. Nearly all the major Protestant denominations opposed the prayer amendment. They stressed the difference between genuine religion and the rote recitation of prayers and warned against the deceptively simple solution offered by the Becker amendment. Reverend Eugene Carson Blake quoted the position of the United Presbyterian Church: "Bible reading and prayers as devotional acts tend toward indoctrination or meaningless ritual and should be omitted [from the public school system] for both reasons." Dr. Edwin H. Tuller of the National Council of Churches said that "neither true religion nor good education is dependent upon the use of the Bible in the public school program." Dr. Tuller added: "Many devout Christians do not want their children to conclude that their transactions with the Most High are . . . in the same category with algebra and spelling."

Jewish leaders, lay and religious, almost without a dissenting voice, opposed the amendment. Testimony for the proposal came largely from the smaller Protestant churches, individual churchmen and the ad hoc groups.

Opposition to the amendment was also voiced by 223 constitutional lawyers, principally law school deans and professors, in a statement which stressed the precedent-setting dangers of tampering with the Bill of Rights. One of the country's most distinguished constitutional lawyers, Professor Arthur Freund of Harvard Law School, in opposing the amendment, said, "Only some overwhelming need . . . could justify a breach in what has been regarded for more than 170 years as an inviolate covenant between the people and their government."

The Roman Catholic Church took no official position and testimony from Catholics appearing before the committee was divided. But important Catholic voices came forward outside the hearings to oppose the amendment. The Catholic Press Association adopted a resolution against the amendment. In what came close to being an official Catholic statement of policy, the National Catholic Welfare

Conference called the First Amendment "of incalculable benefit." It also released a study by its legal staff advising the Bishops to exercise caution in supporting any move for a change in the First Amendment and warning that the prayer amendment raised "serious and difficult" constitutional questions. Clearly, the church leaders feared the politicians bearing gifts.

The attack of the church leaders on the prayer amendment—late as it was in coming—had its effect. A noticeable increase in Congressional mail opposing the change took place and at least one Congressman, B. F. Sisk, (*D-Cal.*) reported that his mail which had been overwhelmingly in support of the Becker amendment was now running 8 to 1 against. Yet, a Harris survey late in October, reported that 88% of the voters interviewed agreed with Senator Goldwater's stand in the campaign calling for an amendment to restore prayers in the public schools.

SECOND THOUGHTS. Some congressmen privately acknowledged having second thoughts about the amendment. Representative Robert Leggett (*D-Cal.*), who had sponsored the amendment, changed his mind and testified against it. A few congressmen who had earlier signed the discharge petition removed their names. A major share of the credit for these conversions goes to Representative James C. Corman (*D-Cal.*), an outspoken foe of the amendment.

The easy primary victory in May of Congressman Charles Mathias (*R-Md.*) over a right wing opponent who had made the prayer amendment a campaign issue also helped to slow the Becker bandwagon. It gave heart to congressmen who agreed with the Court's decisions but feared being labeled "against God" if they opposed the amendment.

When the hearings began, the House Judiciary Committee was sharply split down the middle. If a vote had been taken at the outset the Becker amendment, in the opinion of staff observers, might have carried with the help of reluctant votes. When the hearings concluded, the tide had turned. The Becker forces had lost strength. They did not call for a showdown vote—perhaps because they lacked the numbers, or, as some suggested, because their hearts were no longer in it.

There had been talk of a compromise to placate the sponsors

of the amendment as well as the public. One suggestion was that the committee approve a non-binding sense of Congress resolution in favor of a moment of silent meditation or of voluntary non-denominational prayer. But nothing came of the proposals. Committee members showed no disposition to tackle the complex task of drafting a workable amendment. Even members sympathetic to the amendment acknowledged the difficulty of writing a sound one.

Becker, undaunted, continued to push his discharge petition but he fell some forty signatures short. When Congress adjourned, he had 177 names.

The Becker amendment will of course be re-introduced in the next Congress, but the prayer drive appears to have passed its high point. The action of the Supreme Court on November 24 in refusing to review a New York State Court decision which rejected a constitutional attack on the words "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance should reduce the pressure for an amendment. Moreover, Congressman Becker has retired and will not be returning to Congress. (Some House members have been privately critical of Becker for running off and leaving them with what they describe as the "prayer mess.") Others will pick up the campaign but so far none has shown the energy and persistence which Becker displayed. While congressional polls of constituents will undoubtedly continue to show substantial majorities for the prayer amendment, the opposition of church leaders will provide congressmen who have not endorsed the amendment with some sanctuary against the charge of being anti-God.

Some members of Congress undertook to show their religious devotion in other political ways. A group of twelve senators headed by Caleb Boggs (*R-Del.*) introduced a resolution to add the words "under God" to the preamble to the Constitution and Representative Louis Wyman (*R-N. H.*) introduced a measure to require the words "In God We Trust" to be inscribed on the front of the Supreme Court Building.

IV. FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

IN SIGNING THE college aid bill in November, 1963, President Johnson declared that the first session of the 88th Congress would go down in history as the "Education Congress of 1963." It was a premature accolade since the President himself called attention to the still unfinished job of providing needed federal aid to elementary and secondary schools. But Congress showed no inclination in an election year to become embroiled in the thorny issue of aid to parochial schools which has haunted the school aid problem for almost two decades.

While taking no action on general federal aid to elementary and secondary schools, Congress extended and expanded the National Defense Education Act, and it also extended for another year the "impacted areas" legislation to give financial assistance to schools which have become overcrowded with children of federal military and civilian personnel. (*Public Law 88-665, October 16, 1964*)

Parochial schools and teachers both share in the increased benefits of the expanded NDEA. The existing program of loans to private schools (public schools get grants) for the purchase of equipment and other teaching aids such as projectors, charts, etc. used for teaching science, mathematics and modern languages was broadened to include history, geography, English, civics and reading.

The bill also extends the 50% student loan forgiveness feature, previously limited to student borrowers who go on to become public school teachers, to those who become teachers in private schools.

Since private non-profit agencies were given a role in the Administration's war on poverty program, questions were immediately raised about the extent to which church-related institutions would be included. In the hope of minimizing religious controversy, Congress provided in Title I of the Economic Opportunity Act (*Public Law 88-452, August 20, 1964*) that needy youngsters enrolled in work-training and work-study programs would be barred from working on facilities used "solely" for religious instruction or worship.

SHARED TIME CONCEPT. In the Senate an amendment by Senator Ervin to Title II (which authorizes grants to public and private agencies to conduct community action programs including special remedial education programs) to prohibit grants to any church-related schools was rejected by voice vote (July 23). The floor leaders of the bill argued that the program was designed to aid people in need and not institutions. The Senate committee report had stated that these special education programs would be open to all needy children and would in no case involve religious instruction or worship.

Brief hearings were held earlier in the year by the House Education and Labor Committee on a proposal, *H. R. 6074*, which some regard as a possible way out of the federal aid impasse. Sponsored by Chairman Adam Clayton Powell (*D-N.Y.*), the bill would authorize a three-year experimental program of federal aid to local educational agencies desiring to set up "shared time" projects in their school communities. "Shared time" describes an arrangement already in progress in a number of communities, under which parochial school children take part of their regular school day work in the public school and part in the parochial school.

While several witnesses, notably a spokesman for the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of Churches, saw in shared time a solution to the problem of federal aid, others made it plain that they would not accept shared time as a substitute for a general school aid bill. At the same time Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt, the country's leading Catholic school spokesman, commended experiments in shared time, but indicated he was not altering his earlier opposition to any school aid bill which excluded Catholic school children from its benefits. U.S. Education Commissioner Francis Keppel, while also looking with some favor on shared time experiments, emphasized that any federal program should be made part of a general school aid bill. The National Education Association, like other major education organizations, took no position on the Powell proposal. No further action was taken on the Powell bill after the hearings were concluded on March 11.

Over the years the economic factor—the financial cost—has been the root of the opposition to any school aid bill. But in the past decade when passage of some federal school aid legislation seemed imminent, either the issue of segregation or aid to parochial schools

gave opponents the swing votes needed to defeat the bill. With the passage of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, the segregation issue has now been removed; but the parochial school issue still remains.

CHURCH-SCHOOL IMPASSE. Aid to education has a top priority in the President's Great Society. The President has stated his goal to be 400,000 new public school classrooms and 800,000 additional public school teachers in the next five years, plus increased pay for teachers.

The White House is now looking for new approaches in order to break the parochial school deadlock. A special Presidential task force on education is expected to issue its recommendations early next year. Reports indicate that the task force is looking with favor on a further enlarged NDEA program in whose increased benefits parochial schools would share, as a substitute for a general aid bill. Also under consideration is an extension of the principle of impacted areas school aid legislation for substandard school districts.

A proposal of still another Presidential task force calls for the federal government to turn back to the states excess federal revenues, estimated to be about \$5 billion by 1970, to be spent on social services as the states see fit. Some see in this a possible "back-door" solution to the thorny federal aid problem. The "pay back" plan would make federal school aid legislation unnecessary since the states could use these excess revenues for education in the same way they now distribute their own education funds, thus shifting the parochial school aid issue from the Nation's Capitol to the state capitols. The NEA favors a variant of this plan, limited to education.

With the Nation's education needs growing greater each year and with a heightened Administration concern, the next Congress may be inspired to find a partial way, at least, through the church-state impasse. The reported task force measures will not satisfy the proponents of public school education and the separation of church and state who feel that the current aids to parochial schools stretch, if they do not breach, the wall of separation. Those for whom aid is the decisive, if not sole, consideration will undoubtedly be searching for a variant of the current pragmatic formulas—which go on the theory that the aid is not for the parochial school but rather for the child or a national defense purpose.

V. LEGISLATIVE REAPPORTIONMENT

ON JUNE 15, 1964 the Supreme Court handed down its "one man-one vote" decision in *Reynolds v. Sims*, holding that the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment requires that seats in both houses of state legislatures must be apportioned on a population basis. The decision would remove the disparities—sometimes glaring—in representation between cities and rural areas. In Vermont, where districts for the lower house were first laid out in 1793 and have not been changed since, a town of 36 people has the same representation in the lower house as does a city of 35,531. In ten states 19% or fewer of the voters can elect a majority of the upper house.

The Court's decision was hailed by civil rights adherents because big city legislators, regardless of party, have traditionally been more sympathetic to civil rights, increased education aid, etc., than rural legislators. Opponents of the decision, whose domination of state capitols was threatened, were quick to react.

In the House, rural and small-town congressmen introduced a variety of constitutional amendments to undo the Court's decision and to permit one house of a state legislature to be set up without regard to population. Rallying to their support were members of Congress who have been trying unsuccessfully for nearly a decade to punish the Supreme Court for its school desegregation decision, its decisions upholding individual rights in cases involving Communists, or its school prayer decisions. In 1958, the court-curbing forces had come within one vote of passing the rather vague Smith bill, *H. R. 3*, which would bar federal courts from ruling that an act of Congress superseded a state law unless the federal act specifically so stated or unless there was an irreconcilable conflict between the two.

ANTI-COURT MEASURES. The pro-amendment forces were joined by the Republican Party convention, which adopted a plank calling for a constitutional amendment to allow one House to be apportioned on a basis other than population. In the House, the Rules Committee gave them a rare assist. They voted 10-4 to take away from the House Judiciary Committee and bring directly to the floor a bill introduced by William Tuck (*D-Va.*) to strip the federal courts of all jurisdiction over state reapportionment cases. With the support of Majority Leader Carl Albert and Minority Leader Charles Halleck, the bill passed the House on August 19 by a vote of 218-175.

As if the Tuck bill were not enough, the Rules Committee on September 17, repeated its earlier maneuver; it took a proposed constitutional amendment to overturn the Court's decision away from the Judiciary Committee and voted 8-3 to send it to the floor. The amendment, however, never came to a vote.

In the Senate, the apportionment issue dominated the closing days of the Congress while the foreign aid bill was on the floor. An amendment, offered by Senator Dirksen and accepted by Senator Mansfield and the Justice Department, directed the federal courts to stay all reapportionment proceedings and to give state legislatures at least until January 1, 1966, to reapportion. That amendment kept the Senate tied up for some six weeks beyond its anticipated adjournment date because a small band of Senate liberals headed by Douglas (*D-Ill.*) and Proxmire (*D-Wisc.*) were determined to speak long enough to keep it from becoming law. A cloture motion by Dirksen after ten days of debate failed to get the support of even a majority of the Senate—only thirty Senators voted to cut off debate while sixty-three said "no." The Tuck bill, offered as a substitute by Senator Thurmond of South Carolina was quickly and decisively voted down 56-21. Senators Dirksen and Mansfield voted against Thurmond.

Under pressure of adjournment, the Senate finally broke the impasse by voting 44-38 to accept a non-binding "sense of Congress" substitute resolution offered by Mansfield but opposed by Dirksen. The resolution recommends that federal district courts "could properly" give state legislatures up to six months to reapportion themselves before issuing reapportionment decrees—an

approach consistent with the Supreme Court's own decision. But even this mild declaration died when it was stricken from the foreign aid bill in conference because House critics of the Court decision felt the main effect of the Senate resolution was to give approval to the Court's ruling.

The reapportionment fight is not over. It will be renewed next Congress when proposed constitutional amendments to permit at least one house to be apportioned on factors other than population will be introduced. But even if the amendment should get the required two-thirds Congressional approval (not likely in view of the election results) the chances of getting three-fourths of the state legislatures to ratify the amendment will diminish as state legislatures are in the meantime reapportioned to reflect more truly the population shift from the rural areas to the cities and suburbs.

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