

Chapter 18 – Bipartisanship? The 83rd Congress

The Republican Party took back the 83rd House of Representatives. Joseph Martin was reelected Speaker, and Sam Rayburn moved back to Minority Leader. Both Houses were closely divided. With a President who only recently discovered he was a Republican and even less a politician, and a congressional party divided between conservatives and moderates and isolationists and internationalists, the Republican leadership found itself struggling to support an Administration program that often lacked definition as well as Party support. Martin complained of Administration ineptness and lack of partisanship. Rayburn complained that he had to save the Eisenhower program. The President's chief of staff, Sherman Adams, wrote that the "influential Republicans in Congress" gave Pres. Dwight Eisenhower "only intermittent support and considerable opposition and personal aggravation. ... [T]he President had to seek Democratic backing for his legislative programs..."¹

Near the end of the 83rd Congress, *Life* magazine reported that Class of '46 member Wint Smith of Kansas "frets about his nonsupport of Ike."

Last year his effective support was 47 per cent, this year it is down to 23. In his private conversations, Smith sometimes appears to gloat about his rejection of Eisenhower's program. But he is basically a disturbed and worried man: "I recognize my obligation as a Republican, but when you find yourself in disagreement what's the representative to do? Vote his own convictions or follow along blindly? In strict analysis, there isn't any use to electing a Congress if they're going to follow the leadership.... [O]ne of the things we campaigned against was usurpation of power by the executive.... If I voted against things when Truman was president, I can't in good conscience change overnight.... I'm uncomfortable," he complains softly in between puffs of his ever-present cigarette. "After all, I've got to live with myself and I'm not going to follow along on some issues that I think are detrimental to the country's welfare and the people of my district.... I have nothing but admiration for General Eisenhower ... but in my opinion there are a lot of people who've been giving him advice who are sympathetic to social progress ideas...."²

Eisenhower from the beginning recognized he would have a problem with his own party in Congress. At a meeting with his incoming cabinet and aides eight days before inauguration, he observed that the congressional party included no one who had served with a Republican President and they needed to learn they were no longer the opposition party.³

The change from Democratic to Republican control of the House resulted in the usual shift in committee memberships. Democrats Carl Albert of Oklahoma and Don Wheeler of Georgia lost their seats on House Administration. John Blatnik of Minnesota, Porter Hardy of Virginia, and Henderson Lanham of Georgia lost theirs on Government Operations, formerly called Expenditures in the Executive Departments. Frank Karsten of Missouri lost his seat on Post Office and Civil Service. Most significantly, Burr Harrison of Virginia lost his on Ways and Means, being partly compensated by a seat on Foreign Affairs.

Meanwhile, Republican Katherine St. George of New York was placed on Government Operations in addition to her Post Office and Civil Service membership, and Republican Russell Mack of Washington

¹ Remini, 359. Martin as told to Donovan, 222-6, 229. Hardeman & Bacon, 378-9. Sherman Adams, 9. But see Greenstein, who contends that Eisenhower was an astute politician, hiding behind a façade of amateurishness.

² *Life*, June 21, 1954.

³ Greenstein, 112.

gained a seat on Veterans' Affairs in addition to his Public Works one. Republican William McCulloch of Ohio added the (increasingly permanent) temporary Committee on Small Business to his position on Judiciary.

Among the three exclusive committees, the six members of the Class of '46 on Appropriations kept their seats – Republicans Norris Cotton of New Hampshire, Frederic Coudert of New York, Glenn Davis of Wisconsin, and Edward Miller of Maryland, as well as Democrats Otto Passman of Louisiana and Prince Preston of Georgia. Democrat Harrison was forced off Ways and Means, while Republican Antoni Sadlak of Connecticut was added (giving up Post Office and Civil Service). For the first time, one of the members of the Class, Republican Donald Nicholson of Massachusetts, was given a seat on the Rules Committee, surrendering Banking and Currency.

Thomas Stanley of Virginia retained his first position among Democrats on House Administration, though now he was ranking minority member and not chair. Another new ranking minority member appeared among the Class, Olin Teague of Texas on Veterans' Affairs. Thanks to his special election on August 24, 1946, which started him out fifth among eleven Democrats on the Committee, the departure of a Democrat for Armed Services in January 1948, the defeat of another for reelection in 1950, the retirement of another in 1952, and the failure of renomination of the previous chair in that last year, Teague became ranking member in his fourth term.

As it turned out, Omar Burleson of Texas would also become ranking member in his fourth term - on House Administration. Stanley had finagled for the governorship of Virginia since 1941, being turned aside by the Byrd organization three times before getting the nod for the 1953 nomination.⁴ Exactly one month after being sworn in to the 83rd House, Stanley resigned to run for Governor. Burleson in second position moved up.

This advanced Charles Deane of North Carolina into second among Democrats on House Administration. Thor Tollefson of Washington moved up to second among Republicans on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Walter Riehlman of New York became second in seniority among Republicans on two committees - Government Operations and tiny Small Business. Joe Evins of Tennessee also moved up to second on Small Business, but among Democrats, as well as on Veterans' Affairs. Ken Regan of Texas took second among Democrats on Interior and Insular Affairs. Regan, joining the Class late in a special election, was 7th among 17 at the start of the 81st Congress, such a high placement due to three retirements and a departure by John Carroll of Colorado to seek a Senate seat. Two more retirements (including Monroe Redden of North Carolina), a failure of renomination (Toby Morris of Oklahoma), and an election defeat moved Regan to second.

A noteworthy posting was that of James Patterson of Connecticut, who returned to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, a seat he lost after the 80th Congress. Patterson also kept his seats on Armed Services and District of Columbia, on both of which he was ninth among Republicans.

Eisenhower felt the most prominent accomplishment of the 83rd Congress was a tax revision bill, which was enacted in the second session. The first session was notable for the extension of taxes to meet substantial budget deficits. A balanced budget, a major plank in the Republican campaign, was not achieved, due in part to Administration reluctance to cut defense expenditures and to a reduction in excise taxes, which was hugely popular with Congress though not with the Administration.⁵ Members of the

⁴ Heinemann, 271, 281, 319.

⁵ Boeckel (1953). Boeckel (1954).

Class of '46, while remaining very active in introducing tax bills (126 by the Class in the 83rd Congress⁶), which never emerged from the Ways and Means Committee, were not particularly active in tax legislation. Republicans Patterson and Sadlak of Connecticut and Tollefson of Washington, and Democrat Frank Wilson of Texas did have import tax or tariff bills succeed.⁷ Republican Coudert introduced HR 2 to limit Federal spending to Federal revenue, i.e. a balanced budget bill, the supposed Republican gold standard. The Government Operations Committee essentially gutted the bill while reporting it, and it never made it past the Rules Committee.⁸

The first session extended the Federal mortgage insurance program but reduced the number of authorized public housing starts from 35,000 to 20,000 and then only if already under contract. Pres. Truman's last budget requested 70,000. The current Administration's proposal for 35,000 new public housing units each year for the next four years ended up in the second session with approval for 35,000 for one year. As was usually the case, Democrat Abraham Multer and Republican Jacob Javits of New York City were particularly active in housing issues but without success in efforts to expand Federal programs. Democrat Wingate Lucas of Texas, on the other hand, managed to amend HR 7889, the omnibus housing bill, to give preference in housing programs to elderly pensioners. Javits did change HR 5667, a bill to amend the National Housing Act, to give tenants insured by the Federal government the right to examine applications for rent increases and to respond.⁹

The New Deal system of farm production restrictions and commodity support purchases survived the Republican ascendancy, though with reductions in support, i.e. parity percentage. Production was so superfluous that the Administration was forced to increase restrictions, despite Republican libertarian inclinations. Cuts in parity were limited by the Administration's gaming of a time-delayed law by the Republican 80th Congress that would have reduced them even more. The Administration also introduced a means to reduce the large agricultural stockpile held by the government by selling and giving about two-fifths of it to foreigners. Javits, no fan of agricultural supports, contending they raised grocery prices for his constituents, successfully amended the foreign surplus bill (S 2475) to require a specific accounting of losses from such sales. Republican Paul Dague of Pennsylvania was noteworthy for being one of the losers in the 26-2 vote in the Agriculture Committee to report the Administration omnibus agriculture bill. Dague opposed the bill's rigid 90% parity provision. Javits, Multer, and Republican Kenneth Keating of New York unsuccessfully fought by amendment on the floor to reduce the farm program. But Republican Cotton amended HR 8779 to increase funds for agricultural extension work in fiscal 1955.¹⁰

While political scientist V.O. Key Jr observed that "a goodly proportion of the crowd brought to power with the General seemed to interpret the election as a mandate to repeal the New Deal," that which was effected was largely a frittering around the edges of twenty years of Democratic rule. Eisenhower, himself, in his first State of the Union message called for only two significant breaks in policy: Removing the Seventh Fleet from the Formosa Strait and ending wage and price controls. The authority for such controls would end April 30, and Administration directives ending the controls were issued beginning February 6.¹¹

⁶ Plus one other, HR 9430, which had 83 cosponsors, six from the Class of '46.

⁷ HR 5148, HR 6465, HR 2763, and HJR 545, respectively.

⁸ *CQ Almanac 1953*, 409.

⁹ Boeckel (1953). Boeckel (1954). *CQ Almanac 1953*, 143-5, 191-3, 405. *CQ Almanac 1954*, 198, 200.

¹⁰ Boeckel (1953). Boeckel (1954). Alexander, 39. *CQ Almanac 1954*, 106, 123-4, 131, 148-9. *CQ Almanac 1953*, 93-5.

¹¹ Key (1964), 224. Alexander, 37. Boeckel (1953).

The fleet reassignment played much more to Eisenhower's interests. Political scientist Charles Alexander noted, "Eisenhower brought to the office an expansive, forceful conception of his role as maker and executor of foreign policy, but ... he largely left domestic initiatives to his cabinet." "Eisenhower's main attentions were rarely on farm prices, aid to education, or housing. His overriding concern was foreign and military policy, and here he often had trouble bringing his own party around to his way of thinking."¹²

A major area of intra-Republican conflict was in foreign aid. Eisenhower's first foreign aid bill asked \$5.1 billion for fiscal 1954, which was \$2.5 billion below Truman's estimated need, and which Congress cut even further to \$4.5 billion. For fiscal 1955, Eisenhower's request for \$3.4 billion was cut to \$2.8 billion by Congress. Republicans Coudert and Glenn Davis, and Democrats Burleson, Bryan Dorn of South Carolina, and John Bell Williams of Mississippi sought to reduce the amounts even further. Democrat Passman began in this Congress an effort that would mark the rest of his congressional career as a premier opponent of foreign aid, moving to recommit HR 6391 Mutual Security appropriations for fiscal 1954, opposing the conference report, and then moving to recommit the report, all to no avail. Southern Democrats as well as many Republicans were not fans of foreign aid. Republican Javits was also unsuccessful but in his case to restore funding to the level of the Administration's request. He was successful in amending HR 5710, the Mutual Security Act, to provide stimuli for private enterprise in foreign aid.¹³

Foreign trade was another point of intra-Republican angst. Traditionally a protectionist party, the Administration's request to extend the Trade Agreements Act of 1934 until June 1954 (HR 4594 introduced by Keating) barely made it through the first session, though replaced by a bill that also included an expansion of the Tariff Commission (which was removed by the Senate). Eisenhower had secured a Commission on Foreign Economic Policy to recommend how "to achieve the highest possible levels of international trade without subjecting parts of our economy to sudden or serious strain." As he hoped, the Commission recommended a number of ways to increase trade, but when the President asked the second session for implementation, he once again received only a one-year extension of existing policy. Congressional Quarterly thought this was the President's greatest disappointment of this Congress. Democrat Laurie Battle of Alabama, a member of the Commission, dissented on four points from its report, but the more significant opponents were the Republican Chair of Ways and Means and another Republican member of that committee who prepared a minority report.¹⁴

Despite Republican campaign efforts to project a more aggressive policy against communist nations, Eisenhower in his inaugural address endorsed the existing Truman policy of containment through collective security. The Seventh Fleet, which Truman placed in the Formosa Strait to deter Nationalist China in Taiwan from attempting to intervene on the mainland while Communist China was involved in the Korean War, was removed by Eisenhower as a sop to campaign aggressiveness and in a realization that the Nationalists had no longer a realistic ability to carry out such a threat. The Administration also sent to Congress a Captive Peoples Resolution which deplored "the subjugation of free peoples" by "totalitarian imperialism" in eastern Europe, but contrary to Republican campaign bullets did not accuse the Roosevelt Administration of treason at Yalta. It rather said that the Yalta agreements had "been perverted" by the Soviet Union. Democrats were pleased, but not all Republicans were. The Senate

¹² Alexander, 33, 42.

¹³ Boeckel (1953). Boeckel (1954). *CQ Almanac 1953*, 157-9, 221-4. *CQ Almanac 1954*, 167-8, 275, 278.

¹⁴ Boeckel (1953). *CQ Almanac 1953*, 211, 214-7. Boeckel (1954). *CQ Almanac 1954*, 266-8.

Foreign Relations Committee under Chair Robert Taft of Ohio added red meat, but that effectively ended the Resolution.¹⁵

Republican Charles Kersten of Wisconsin was not so easily side-tracked, however. His action in the 82nd Congress to create military units of Soviet exiles did not meet with approval by the Joint Chiefs, although the Eisenhower National Security Council endorsed it. But when rioting broke out in East Germany in July 1953, there was fear that the endorsement might have encouraged it. The Administration's lack of response other than by verbiage to the Soviet suppression of the rioting put paid to delusions of Republican aggressiveness. Kersten's response was HRes 346 to create a Select Committee to Investigate Incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia into the USSR. The House approved and voted \$30,000 to fund it. The Committee was broadened in 1954 to a Select Committee on Communist Aggression. In October the Committee report recommended withdrawal of diplomatic recognition from communist countries, ending all trade with them, offering asylum to refugees, and implementing Kersten's exile forces. With the exception of limited asylum, none of this was done.¹⁶

Eisenhower did accomplish an armistice in Korea by abandoning Truman's refusal to repatriate Chinese and North Korean POWs who did not want to go (although Pres. Syngman Rhee of South Korea released many of them anyway to stay in the South) and by secretly raising the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons. The timely death of Stalin helped as well.¹⁷

As Korea receded to a decades long stand-off that would absorb American wealth but few deaths, Vietnam came to the fore. France had been fighting a colonial war there since the end of the Second World War against a communist guerilla force, the Viet Minh. Despite a commitment underwritten by \$1 billion in American aid by the end of 1953, the French were failing. The Eisenhower Administration, wishing to avoid the ignominy of losing a country to communism but also trying to avoid a military commitment after getting to some level of peace in Korea, kept sending money to the French, \$2.6 billion by the end, while publicly asking the United Kingdom for an assistance that would not come but which, along with the French, provided a scapegoat for the loss.¹⁸

Two members of the Class of '46 attempted to restrict the funds. Coudert offered an amendment on April 29, 1954, to the Defense Appropriation bill (HR 8873) to prevent an administration from using funds for armed American intervention abroad without congressional approval. He stated that it was to prevent intervention in Vietnam as well as elsewhere. The amendment was rejected 37-214 on a standing vote. In the Foreign Affairs Committee on June 10, Harrison lost on a proposal like Coudert's as well as a motion to delete \$800 million in foreign aid funds intended for the French effort. Harrison then took both of these efforts to the floor on June 29 in two amendments to the Mutual Security Authorization bill (HR 9678) that were rejected by voice votes.¹⁹

Internal communists remained an issue, though Republicans having been the pressing party when out of power had fewer concerns with the Republican Administration. Nevertheless, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) increased its activities under Republican Chair Harold Velde of Illinois. When the Chair off-handedly mentioned on the radio an interest in churches, a conservative Christian association of fourteen denominations took a public interest. Committee and Class member Republican

¹⁵ Alexander, 43-4. Boeckel (1953).

¹⁶ Hixson, 69-70. Alexander, 45. *CQ Almanac 1953*, 229. *CQ Almanac 1954*, 286-7. *Time*, August 16, 1954.

¹⁷ Alexander, 46-7.

¹⁸ Halberstam (1993), 398-410. Jean Smith, 607-15.

¹⁹ *CQ Almanac 1954*, 153-5, 275, 278.

Donald Jackson of California responded on the floor with an endorsement and an accusation that the Methodist Bishop of Washington, G. Bromley Oxnam, served the communist front. Oxnam demanded a hearing before the Committee and got it. According to *Time*, Oxnam won the joust, at the end of which Jackson seconded a motion to find Oxnam without “Communist Party affiliation or membership.”²⁰

Javits continued his unfruitful attempts to rein in what he considered persecutorial anti-communism. He introduced two bills (HR 2109 and HR 4123) to revise investigative rules of HUAC and the Senate’s Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, chaired by Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin. He testified before the Senate Rules and Administration Committee in favor of a joint committee to replace the two bodies. He introduced HRes 649, calling on an investigation as to whether the Select Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations should be terminated over its accusations that such foundations were subversive.²¹ Javits could hardly be accused of coddling communists. He voted on House passage and on concurrence with the conference report for S 3706, a bill to outlaw the Communist Party. Multer was one of two votes against the bill on both roll calls.²²

One carryover from earlier anti-communist events involved a member of the Class of ’46. Democrat Wheeler introduced HRes 290 for the impeachment of Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas because of his stay of the execution of convicted Soviet spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The full Court set aside the stay two days later, and the executions were carried out. Wheeler then doubled down, accusing Douglas of “moral turpitude” because he was a “co-respondent in a divorce suit.” The next day Wheeler admitted that charge was in error. A Judiciary subcommittee held a hearing on the resolution, in which Wheeler was the only witness, and then tabled the resolution unanimously.²³

One Republican member of Congress continued to press the anti-communist issue vociferously, though he was a Senator and not a member of the Class. Sen. McCarthy finally crossed a bridge too far, largely because the Administration and the Senate he was now attacking were Republican. The stated grounds for the Senate’s condemnation of McCarthy were his abuse of colleagues and other conduct that embarrassed the institution.²⁴

As a coda to the reign of McCarthyism, consider this statement of Democrat Lanham in regard to socialism, frequently conflated with communism. On November 8, 1953, the Representative was dedicating a hospital in Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, funded in part by Federal funds. He said that some functions of government are socialistic. “There are some things that private enterprise cannot or will not do, but it does not make those things less necessary or less desirable because they must be performed by government.” The Federal aid to the hospital could be described as socialistic. “Socialism has come to be a scare word, and it isn’t nearly as bad as it sounds.”²⁵

Lest, however, that it be thought that the condemnation of McCarthy brought a new age of humanistic virtue to American politics, this account must turn to equal rights for black Americans. On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court outlawed the always fictional concept of “separate but equal” in handing down its decision in a conflation of five cases under the abbreviated heading of *Brown v. Board of Education*. One

²⁰ Goodman, 322, 332-4, 337-40. *Time*, August 3, 1953.

²¹ *CQ Almanac 1954*, 238-41, 375, 378.

²² The other was Usher Burdick (R ND).

²³ *CQ Almanac 1953*, 311-2. *The Anniston Star*, June 30, 1953.

²⁴ Jean Smith, 584-95. Boeckel (1954). Class member Charles Potter of Michigan, now a Senator, wrote a book about the McCarthy matter from his perspective on McCarthy’s investigatory committee. A bit *mea culpa* and a bit self-serving, it was published as *Days of Shame* by Coward-McCann in 1954.

²⁵ *Kingsport News*, November 9, 1953.

of the cases, *Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County*, came from Democrat Watkins Abbitt's District in Virginia. Abbitt was not widely heard initially on the decision, and Stanley, who moved from the House to the governorship of Virginia the year before, said the decision called for "cool heads, calm study, and sound judgment" and promised to consult "leaders of both races." Even the more vocal Southern segregationists of the Class in the House held their initial fire. Democrats James Davis and Lanham and Wheeler, all of Georgia, focused their response on housing legislation, saying the decision made them likely to oppose it. A Javits amendment to forbid discrimination and segregation in the Omnibus Housing Act (HR 7839) had already been defeated before the decision in *Brown*. Lanham issued a statement of regret over the *Brown* decision but said that a decision by the Court should not be overruled and the country should be united rather than split over *Brown*. Wheeler was less accommodating, saying his District would ignore the decision, and blamed the whole thing on the Republican Administration.²⁶

Specialization by members of the Class of '46 included:

- Vocational education by Abbitt, who successfully amended the appropriations for the new Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in each session to add more funding. He was also on the Agriculture Committee and introduced over his tenure thus far ten public bills referred to that committee, 38% of all his public bills.²⁷
- Albert, also on Agriculture, introduced 12 Agriculture bills, 33% of his public output. The Representative, noted as a public speaker, was appointed head of the House side of the Democratic speakers' bureau, whose job was to deploy Democratic members of the House to support the Party and the Party's candidates around the country.²⁸
- Maritime issues interested Republican John Allen of California, who sponsored a law to amend the Ship Mortgage Act of 1920 (HR 6276). Merchant Marine and Fisheries was his committee, represented by 15 of his public bills, 38% of that total over his first four terms
- Tollefson sponsored four laws relating to maritime issues (HR 9584, HR 9868, HR 9987, HJRes 534). He also successfully amended four bills with respect to maritime matters.²⁹ Merchant Marine and Fisheries was his committee. Of the 100 public bills he introduced in his first four terms, 24 were maritime bills.
- Republican Horace Seely-Brown of Connecticut also served on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and bills sent to that committee were 47% of his public introductions over his first three interrupted terms, though they constituted only nine bills.
- Miller introduced 17 public bills destined for Public Works over four terms, 47% of his public bills. The Committee on Public Works never saw his membership.
- Battle sponsored a law to remove the limit on long distance phone calls and telegrams by members of Congress (HR 2230). He spread his bills widely, veterans issues being preeminent but representing only a small proportion of his contribution of public bills.

²⁶ Kluger, vol. 2, 897. *The Atlanta Constitution*, May 18 & 28, 1954. *CQ Almanac 1954*, 201-2.

²⁷ *CQ Almanac 1953*, 152-4. *CQ Almanac 1954*, 163-4.

²⁸ *Lubbock Evening Journal*, August 27, 1954.

²⁹ *CQ Almanac 1954*, 275, 278.

- Blatnik also scattered his bills, but in the 83rd Congress it was his supposed intervention in the Trieste crisis that gained publicity.³⁰ Blatnik's involvement with European issues was not reflected in his introduction of bills. The Foreign Affairs Committee received two of them over his first four terms, both in the first two of those. His largest contribution was to Veterans' Affairs with six bills.
- The ratio of officers to men in the military ensnared Glenn Davis, whose intervention turned from success to failure. Davis had amended the Defense Appropriation Bill in 1952 to limit the number of officers by barring funds for pay, compensation or allowances for commissioned officers in excess of certain percentages of total average military personnel. The provision was repealed in 1953 with Davis charging that the Navy had misled him and committed "fraud" by refusing to admit that they had.³¹ Davis introduced four Armed Services bills in his first four terms. Veterans Affairs got the larger share, eight bills. Davis was successful in being the prime mover on cutting \$1.7 billion from the Corps of Engineers Civil Functions bill, thereby likely making many members into enemies as flood control and pork barrel projects were excised.³²
- Public lands, unsurprisingly, were a particular concern of Republican William Dawson of Utah, who sponsored a law to provide that such lands allocated for schools would vest in the individual states (HR 7110). He also amended S 1397 to protect uranium miners from trespassing charges when they worked on public lands leased for oil and gas. His ten bills sent to the Public Lands/Interior and Insular Affairs Committee were 43% of his public bill output in his two interrupted terms. As a side note, he was the only witness to testify against a pay raise before the Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries.³³
- Public lands also attracted the interest of Regan of Texas, who served on the Committee and introduced 16 bills on the matter over four terms, 59% of all his public bills.
- Public power was a passion for Democrat Robert Jones of Alabama, though not a particularly successful one. Three amendments of his to safeguard public interests in proposed power production on the Niagara River were defeated, as was another amendment to add funds for Tennessee Valley Authority expansion. Jones had one success in amending the Atomic Energy bill (HR 9757) to give preference to public entities in sales of power.³⁴ His service on the Public Works Committee would be more fruitful in a Democratic congress. The largest share of his public bill introductions over four terms went to Agriculture, but that was only five bills.
- Aid to schools impacted by Federal installations was a concern of Carroll Kearns of Pennsylvania, who sponsored two laws to expand or extend such aid (HR 6049, HR 6078). Thirty-six per cent of his

³⁰ Drew Pearson on November 1, 1953, promoted Blatnik's role in resolving the crisis, inaccurately stating that it was caused by a British and American demand that Yugoslavia withdraw its troops from the partitioned "Free Territory of Trieste." In fact, the situation was exacerbated by the mobilization of Italian troops on the border of the Anglo-American administered zone which led to the British and American decision to turn over the zone to Italy without gaining approval of the Yugoslavs. After a couple of months, the Italians and Yugoslavs agreed to negotiate, and the following year the Free Territory was divided between the two countries. Blatnik would report in 1966 that he had been there and talked to a number of major actors and states: "I got first indication from Marshall Tito that he was prepared to negotiate...." Blatnik interview. But see Rabel, 145-53. Rabel does not mention Blatnik.

³¹ *CQ Almanac 1952*, 98-101. *CQ Almanac 1953*, 272. It was charged that Davis' bill required the demotion or freezing of 10,000 Navy lieutenants.

³² Kevin Smith, 123-8.

³³ *CQ Almanac 1954*, 408.

³⁴ *CQ Almanac 1953*, 431-2. *CQ Almanac 1954*, 543-5.

public bills over his first four terms, 22 by number, went to Education and Labor on which he served. His service on the District of Columbia Committee also resulted in sponsorship in the 83rd Congress of two laws (HR 3795, HR 7853), which addressed salaries and benefits of District employees.

- James Davis sponsored 18 bills over his first four terms specific to the District of Columbia, but these were only one-fourth of his public total. District of Columbia was one of his committees.
- Keating of New York chaired a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee that investigated the Justice Department under Truman appointee Tom Clark, who was now a Supreme Court justice. The Subcommittee report charged the Department with inefficiency and laxity in enforcing tax laws and Clark himself for interfering in a departmental investigation of voting in Kansas City. Keating wanted to subpoena Clark, but the full Committee rejected the subpoena 22-5. Keating in his first four terms introduced 62 public bills that were referred to Judiciary, 41% of his public output. The Representative also had an impact on the seven-years long saga of sovereignty over submerged lands. The Federal government sued California in 1946 over rights to mineral deposits in these coastal lands, the Supreme Court ruling in 1947 that the United States held title. This potentially affected not only all coastal states but interior states who could have a claim on Federal moneys resulting from coastal exploitation. Democratic congresses voted in 1946 and 1952 to reverse the decision, but Truman vetoed the bills in each case. The 83rd Congress again passed a bill, which Eisenhower signed. Keating's contribution was a successful amendment to the bill that eliminated the taxing power of the states on resources beyond three miles.³⁵
- The service by Wilson on Judiciary contributed to his dedication of 68% of his public bills, 15 in number, to concerns of the Committee over his first four terms.
- Concern about Soviet domination brought out the introduction of 18 concurrent resolutions by Kersten, one of which (HCR 178) passed the House but not the Senate. He split the larger part of his bill introductions in his first three interrupted terms between Ways and Means and Judiciary, while serving on Education and Labor for two terms and Merchant Marine and Fisheries for another.
- Veterans issues, diminishing now as the Second World War receded in time and with the smaller troop levies of the Korean War, still brought the attention of Mack, who sponsored a law increasing by five per cent the rates of pensions payable to veterans and their dependents (HR 9962). Mack served on Veterans' Affairs and Public Works, but over his first four terms he showed an affection for tax bills, sending 16 public bills to Ways and Means, 26% of his output.
- Evins over his first four terms introduced 34 public bills that were sent to Veterans' Affairs, his committee, 58% of all such that he introduced.
- Veterans issues were also the prime component of the public bill introductions by Wheeler, who sponsored 16 of them, 46% of his total. He introduced 15 in the 80th and 81st Congresses, while he was on Veterans' Affairs.
- Teague introduced in the 83rd House 16 bills affecting veterans and offered two amendments to veterans bills, none of them successful.³⁶ In four terms he introduced 52 such public bills, 44% of his public sponsorships. Veterans' Affairs was one of his two committees.
- Multer sponsored fourteen tax bills in the 83rd House, none of which were reported. Over his first four terms he sponsored 38 such bills, but he spread himself thin. These bills were only one-fifth of his public output. His service on the Committee on Banking and Currency yielded 32 bills.

³⁵ *CQ Almanac 1953*, 325-9, 388-96. *United States v. California*, 332 U.S. 19 (1947).

³⁶ *CQ Almanac 1953*, 146-48, 166-8

- Javits of New York took even more of a global perspective in bill introduction. Tax bills also were preeminent, resulting in 21 public bills over his four terms but only 19% of such. His membership on the Committee of Foreign Affairs produced only six bills.
- Coudert took a particular interest in tax legislation, sending eight public bills, 36% of his production, to Ways and Means over his first four terms. He introduced no bills that were sent to his Committee on Appropriations, but that was the norm for members of the Committee who did not chair a subcommittee.
- Likewise, tax legislation was the primary concern of Democrat Harold Donohue of Massachusetts. He introduced 20 such bills in his four terms, 28% of his total. By the 82nd Congress, he landed on the Judiciary Committee, which received ten of his public bills, seven during his tenure there.
- The interest of Patterson of Connecticut in tariffs was partly responsible for his 20 public bills sent to Ways and Means, which were 30% of his total in his first four terms. Veterans' Affairs and Armed Services each received 13 bills from him, and he served on both committees.
- Federal aid to airports brought Preston to amend the Supplemental Appropriation Bill (HR 9936) to add \$22 million.³⁷ Now in his third term on Appropriations, he introduced no bills for that committee. Armed Services and Judiciary together took half of his public bills over his first four terms, eight each.
- Smith chaired a subcommittee of Education and Labor holding hearings in Detroit in November 1953 on the alleged misuse of insurance funds of the Brotherhood of Teamsters. Smith called off the hearings and with Committee member Clare Hoffman (R MI) told *The Detroit News* that pressure was exerted to stop the hearings. The point of pressure turned out to be Payne Ratner, a former Governor of Kansas and political associate of Smith's in the State, and who was now working as an attorney for the Teamsters. According to future Attorney General Robert Kennedy, who would crusade against the Teamsters, Smith said, "The pressure comes from way up there and I just can't talk about it anymore specifically than that." Why Smith talked to the newspaper at all is a curiosity. Smith introduced a total of six bills in his first four terms; half were sent to Education and Labor.³⁸
- McCulloch found a role for a relatively inactive representative in sponsoring laws (HR 9728 and HR 9729) and amendments to codify existing statutes, a bit of grunt work for the Judiciary Committee. HR 9728, however, ran afoul of the Administration. Eisenhower vetoed it primarily because it would prevent the Food and Drug Administration from stopping the marketing of fraudulent or dangerous materials until all court challenges were exhausted. McCullough introduced nine public bills, eight of them in his fourth term. Six of the bills went to Judiciary.
- St. George introduced 27 bills in the 83rd House concerning the Post Office and Civil Service, one of which was enacted – HR 6185, modifying employment preferences for disabled veterans. Over four terms she sent 49 public bills to that committee on which she sat. This was 53% of her public output.
- Williams served on Post Office and Civil Service in the 80th and 81st Congresses and introduced ten public bills of that genre during that tenure. Then he introduced 12 more such bills in his next two terms. Together, this was 42% of his public bills. His role in killing the Eisenhower medical insurance plan bears noting. HR 8356 was to furnish government backing for voluntary prepayment plans for personal health services. Conservatives branded the idea as socialistic, while Labor and liberal

³⁷ *CQ Almanac 1954*, 175-6.

³⁸ *CQ Almanac 1953*, 266. *Time*, August 25, 1958. *CQWR*, August 15, 1958, 1083. Sheridan, 21-2, 65-7. Robert Kennedy, 52-5.

organizations thought it totally inadequate and not up to Truman's failed initiative. Williams moved to recommit the bill, which was accepted 238-124. Republicans (64% of them) supported the Administration bill while 93% of Democrats supported recommitment.³⁹

- Karsten, serving on Government Operations, sent the Committee 39% of his public bill introductions over four terms, though this was only nine bills.
- Passman of Louisiana, as president of the Mississippi Valley Flood Control Association, headed a seven-state delegation that testified before Congress in support of flood control appropriations.⁴⁰

Most members of the Class of '46 remained consistent in their level of activity with respect to introductions of bills and resolutions. The output of Evins of Tennessee declined. Cotton introduced no bills but then had sponsored only 11 in the preceding congresses. That of Dague, Kearns, Harrison, Javits, Riehlman, St. George, Kersten, and Miller increased. McCulloch still introduced few bills, only eight in the 83rd Congress, but that compares to two in the three previous congresses combined. Multer, always profligate, reached new highs in the 83rd Congress with the introduction of 113 bills.

The introductions of some members emphasized private assistance, while others largely eschewed such activity.

Those who introduced fewer than one-third of their output over their tenure thus far in private bills included Abbitt, Battle, Cotton, Donohue, Harrison, Ralph Harvey of Indiana, Robert Jones, Karsten, Kearns, Keating, Mack, McCulloch, Miller, Passman, Stanley, Teague, Tollefson, and Wheeler.

Those whose portfolio of bills were less than one-third public legislation included Allen, Ernest Bramblett of California, Coudert, Jackson, and Nicholson.

Everyone in the latter group is Republican, while 10 of the 18 in the former group are Democrats. Republican members of the Class in the 83rd Congress introduced a larger proportion of private bills than did Democrats: 48% to 41%. Over their entire tenure, these 50 members showed an even greater disparity, with the proportion of private bills introduced by Democrats at 34% while that for Republicans was a constant 48%. All 109 members of the Class showed a similar difference over the four terms with Republican private bills constituting 44% of all bills while the figure for Democrats was 34%.

Being in the majority party of the House made a difference. When Republicans ran the House as in the 80th and 83rd Congresses, Republican private bills were 42% of their total; the figure for Democrats was 39%. In Democratic Congresses, the 81st and 82nd, Republican private bills were 47% and Democratic bills were 32% of their respective total bills.

It appears that Republican members were more focused on individual than on societal outcomes compared to Democratic members. Also, the likelihood of success in effecting societal outcomes was a determining characteristic. If a member's party was in control of the House, that member was more likely to pursue societal impacts. Even then, Republicans were more active in individual concerns. This corresponds not so much to a conservative-liberal dimension as to a belief in the proper sphere of government. A conservative may be inclined to use government to prevent change, while liberals may avoid government actions that restrict activities they support. The two dimensions are not orthogonal, but neither are they identical.

³⁹ *CQ Almanac 1954*, 215-6. These percentages include pairs.

⁴⁰ *CQ Almanac 1953*, 134.

Other events during the 83rd Congress involving the Members of the Class of '46 bear noting.

Former House member James Scoblick of Pennsylvania, his brothers Frank and Anthony, and their company, Scoblick Brothers, Inc., in conjunction with the cashier of Mayfield State Bank, were convicted of defrauding the Bank and using the mails to defraud. James was sentenced to five years in prison.⁴¹

Current member Bramblett was convicted of making false statements relating to the salary of an employee of his congressional office. He conspired with the Minority Clerk of the House from 1949 to 1951 to put the Clerk's wife and another woman on his payroll, who did no work and kicked back their salaries to the Representative. Bramblett remained free on bail while appealing and continued actively in Congress.⁴²

Other former class members of the House had better news.

Sen. Richard Nixon of California was elected Vice President of the United States after four years in the House and two in the Senate. He was chosen not by presidential nominee Eisenhower but rather by a coterie whose prominent members were Gov. Thomas Dewey of New York and Sen. Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. By offering the nomination to Nixon, they used him within the California delegation at the nominating convention to offset conservative support for Sen. Robert Taft of Ohio and liberal support for Gov. Earl Warren of California.⁴³

Less prominent successful elections included the following: Stanley of Virginia was elected Governor. Republican Charles Russell of Nevada was re-elected Governor. Democrat Georgia Lusk of New Mexico was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1954, a post she previously held for four two-year terms. Republican Melvin Snyder of West Virginia was elected to a district judgeship. Toby Morris was elected in 1954 to a district judgeship in Oklahoma, a position he earlier held for seven years.

Republican John Davis Lodge was defeated for reelection as Governor of Connecticut. The loss, despite Eisenhower's sweep of the State, was attributed to Lodge's pushing a turnpike through the most Republican part of the State and to his antagonism with the National Committeeman over a range of issues, including the presidential nomination.⁴⁴ Democrat John Carroll lost the election for the Senate in Colorado. Republican John Sanborn lost the primary for governor in Idaho. Republican David Potts of the Bronx failed to win election to a district judgeship in 1954.

Political appointments succored some of the defeated Republicans. Pres. Eisenhower announced the appointment of Lodge as his Ambassador to Spain, recovering the now-diplomat from what his biographer described as a "nervous breakdown." The Administration also chose Parke Banta of Missouri as the general counsel for the new Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Abe Goff of Idaho was appointed solicitor of the Post Office Department. Thurston Morton of Kentucky was appointed to be the assistant secretary of state for congressional relations. In a similar role was Robert Tripp Ross of Queens, who was appointed deputy assistant secretary of defense for legislative affairs. Harold Youngblood of Detroit became the special assistant to the director of the Foreign Operations Administration in Berlin.

⁴¹ *United States of America v. James Paul Scoblick, Frank Scoblick, and Scoblick Bros., Inc.*, 225 F.2d 779. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 3, 1954.

⁴² *CQ Almanac* 1954, 384. *The Bakersfield Californian*, February 2 & 3, 1954. *Redlands Daily Facts*, February 2, 1954.

⁴³ Jean Smith, 520-2. Halberstam (1993), 211-3.

⁴⁴ DeLong, 174, 186-7, 196, 203-4.

George MacKinnon was appointed Federal attorney for Minnesota. Howes Meade was selected to be the Federal housing administrator for Kentucky.⁴⁵

Appointments for Republicans came not only from the executive. Wallace Chadwick of Pennsylvania was hired as chief counsel of the Select Committee to Hear Censure Charges against Sen. Joseph McCarthy. The Committee heard 46 charges against McCarthy and the Senate voted condemnation on two.⁴⁶

At the state level, the Governor of Illinois appointed Republican Edward Jenison to the State Board of Vocational Education.⁴⁷

An appointment story of a different type was the struggle of Georgia Lusk in 1953 to retain her membership on the War Claims Commission. Eisenhower fired her and the other two commissioners on December 11, but they refused to leave, contending they were appointed to fixed terms. They lost in Federal district court but would prevail in the Supreme Court. Her term was to extend to March 31, 1955, but she resigned on being elected New Mexico's Superintendent of Public Instruction.⁴⁸

In more personal matters, Dorn welcomed his second child, Jackson his first, Battle his third, Glenn Davis his fourth, and Albert his second.⁴⁹

Nora Lynch Kearns was inaugurated president of the National Federation of Women's Republican Clubs. Jennie Youngblood ran for the Detroit Council, placing 50th out of 113 candidates for nine seats.⁵⁰

Republican Raymond Burke of Ohio, who served in the 80th House, died in hospital in his hometown of Hamilton at the age of 72 on August 18, 1954, Daisy Minnich Burke surviving. Nine days later, Republican Willis Bradley died in hospital in Santa Barbara after a heart attack during the noon recess of a State Senate hearing, of which he was a participant. He had also been hospitalized after a heart attack in Sacramento in May 1953. He was 69 and served in the 80th House.⁵¹

The 83rd House was notable for being the only one to be attacked by a fusillade of bullets. On March 1, 1954, three Puerto Ricans entered the Ladies Gallery of the House. They were checked for cameras but not for guns. As one yelled, "Viva Puerto Rico libre," twenty-nine shots were fired. The chamber was relatively populated as a standing vote was being conducted with 243 members present. Through ineptness or intent, only five, all members, were wounded and none died. At least ten of the Class are known to have been on the floor at the time, although more were likely there.⁵²

⁴⁵ DeLong, 207-10. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 12, 1970. "Biographical Note," Goff Papers. *The Courier-Journal*, December 30, 1952. *Danville Advocate-Messenger*, November 8, 1953.

⁴⁶ Potter, 222-6.

⁴⁷ *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, March 3, 1953.

⁴⁸ *Albuquerque Journal*, January 17, 1954; July 2, 1958. *El Paso Herald-Post*, March 31, 1954. *Wiener v. United States*.

⁴⁹ *The Index-Journal*, January 19, 1953. *Waukesha Daily Freeman*, December 17, 1953.

⁵⁰ *San Mateo Times and Daily News-Leader*, December 1, 1952. *Detroit Free Press*, September 17, 1953.

⁵¹ Daisy M. Burke stone, Greenwood Cemetery, Hamilton, Ohio. *The Circleville Herald*, August 18, 1954. *Long Beach Independent*, August 28, 1954. *Humboldt Standard*, March 5, 1953.

⁵² Remini, 361-2. Martin as told to Donovan, 217-9. Miller as told to Leighton, 366. Kevin Smith, 152. *The Vidette-Messenger*, March 2, 1954. *The Hartford Courant*, March 2, 1954.

Burleson said, "I looked up in the gallery when I heard the first shot. I saw those guns and I thought they were aimed directly at me. I didn't believe they were shooting live ammunition."⁵³

Dague said, "I just stood there. Others remained standing, too, just as stunned as we were." Dague said he did not realize the shooting was with live ammunition until he saw Rep. Alvin Bentley (R MI) fall to the floor. Bentley was the most seriously injured.⁵⁴

James Davis said, "I was just getting to my feet when the shooting started in the gallery. At first I thought it was someone setting off fireworks. Then I felt my face sting from something hitting it, and I looked up to the gallery to see the men firing and knew it was the real thing. Later I picked up the fragments of the bullet which had struck me. I still have them. It must have been a spent bullet which splintered after hitting some metal object. I was sitting in the rear of the chamber." Davis was not counted among the wounded.⁵⁵

Lucas said, "We had just finished the vote on the Mexican Labor Bill and I looked up and saw people firing." Lucas said he ran to the gallery. "A bunch of us helped push the officers and the prisoners in the elevator."⁵⁶

Wheeler said, "I thought it was some screwball in the gallery putting on a demonstration until two bullets struck the paneling in the wall just back of me, one not more than twelve inches from my head and another nineteen inches away. Then I looked up at the gallery and saw what was happening. After the two slugs plunked the rear wall near me, I got out of the chamber in a hurry, moving into the cloakroom."⁵⁷

Wilson said, "Even after I saw plaster fall when a bullet hit the ceiling, I couldn't believe real bullets were being fired, it was so incredible."⁵⁸

After the shooting, more plain-clothes officers were assigned to the galleries and cards were required for admission, but purses would still not be searched ten years later, and metal detectors would not be installed in the Capitol until after a bomb exploded in a Senate restroom in the 1970s.⁵⁹

The Puerto Ricans were imprisoned until Pres. Jimmy Carter commuted their sentences in 1979 to time served.⁶⁰

⁵³ *Abilene Reporter-News*, March 2, 1954.

⁵⁴ *Indiana Gazette*, March 2, 1954.

⁵⁵ *The Atlanta Constitution*, March 2, 1954.

⁵⁶ *The Odessa American*, March 2, 1954.

⁵⁷ *The Atlanta Constitution*, March 2, 1954.

⁵⁸ *The Austin American*, March 2, 1954.

⁵⁹ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, March 1, 1964. Remini, 363.

⁶⁰ *Time*, September 24, 1979.