

Chapter 30 – An Even Newer Deal: The 89th Congress

The Goldwater fiasco was not the only disturbance to the House of Representatives of 1964. Apart from the 37 Republican seats that became Democratic, 11 other Republican incumbents left the House through retirement or death. In addition, 33 Democrats lost their seats to Republicans, other Democrats, retirement, redistricting, or death. Altogether, 81 incumbents did not return to the 89th House, a turnover of 19%. This was the largest turnover since the 1948 election, which in turn was the largest since 1932.¹

One effect of high turnover was the advancement of the seniority of returning incumbents. Among the Class of '46, Democrat Olin Teague of Texas advanced from 70th overall to 51st, while those members who were initially elected in regular contests and not certified to vacant seats before the opening of Congress moved up to 54th from 74th. Those elected later in special elections trailed: Robert Jones of Alabama to 64th, Edward Garmatz of Maryland to 65th, William McCulloch of Ohio and Abraham Multer of New York to 66th, and Watkins Abbitt of Virginia to 68th. The three Members in the 89th Congress who had lacunae in their service were much further back: Bryan Dorn of South Carolina at 91st, Ralph Harvey of Indiana at 93rd, and Republican Glenn Davis of Wisconsin, who sat out four terms, at 173rd. Davis was 163rd at the start of his previous term in the House; although that drop did not seem painful, he would have been 54th had he served the missing four terms. It is noteworthy that Harvey advanced 28 places from 121st in the 88th Congress.

It may be simply chance, but it is curious that seven of the nineteen members who did not take their place in the House on opening day but as a result of special elections survived until the 89th Congress, while only 12 of the 90 others did so: 37% versus 13%. Why should running in a special election be more indicative of persistence in House incumbency?

But it was seniority on committees that really mattered and 12 of the 18 returning members moved up at least one place on their committees. The movement of Paul Dague of Pennsylvania to the ranking position on Agriculture was the biggest news. Charles Hoeven of Iowa retired, freeing his slot on the Committee and his District for a Democrat.² Dague surrendered his ranking position on two subcommittees in his overall promotion. He was less active than most of his classmates in introducing legislation or posing amendments from the floor and this extended to agricultural bills, which trailed his sponsorship of tax bills. His influential positions on the Agriculture Committee were far less public. Interestingly, his introduction of bills in the 89th Congress tripled from his low average, which one might attribute to his more prominent position on the Agriculture Committee, except that none of the bills he sponsored were agricultural. He did introduce a joint resolution that was agricultural – to establish a world food study. His was one of at least 66 of the identical resolutions written by a House Republican Task Force on Agriculture. Neither Dague nor Hoeven chaired that Task Force, and none of the resolutions were reported by the Agriculture Committee.

Multer and John Blatnik of Minnesota moved into the second seats on one committee each, Multer on Banking and Currency, due to a retirement, and Blatnik on Public Works thanks to the denial of renomination of two members. Blatnik, long a force on Public Works, retained his two subcommittee chairs. Banking and Currency continued to be Multer's major focus, while also retaining his membership

¹ Huckabee. This document gives a slightly higher turnover rate for 1964, 20.9%

² Iowa Republicans suffered more than most state delegations from the Goldwater debacle. The delegation went from 6-1 Republican to 6-1 Democratic.

on a special committee and a joint committee. His public legislative impact was heavily in District of Columbia matters, his second standing committee.

Robert Jones also moved up on Public Works and for the same reason that Blatnik did, now occupying the third seat. Public Works remained his major emphasis, and he obtained the chairship of a new Special Subcommittee on Appalachia, which was a focus of one of Pres. Lyndon Johnson's many initiatives. He also traded his chair of the Subcommittee of Public Buildings and Grounds for that of Flood Control, an issue for his Tennessee River District.

Both Abbitt and Porter Hardy of Virginia took the sixth positions on their committees of focus – Abbitt on Agriculture and Hardy on Armed Services. Abbitt was the beneficiary of an Alabama loss. Hardy's advance was more significant due to the fact that the departing member was the Chair, Carl Vinson of Georgia, who ended his domination of the military establishment by retiring at age 80. The Committee remained safely in Southern hands, Mendel Rivers of South Carolina moving into the chair. Hardy introduced six Armed Services bills in the 89th and one was enacted. Its scope, however, was minimal, involving a land swap between the Navy and the city of Norfolk. Abbitt introduced one Agriculture bill and one joint resolution and both were enacted. Both were amendments to the Agricultural Act of 1938 and affected the leasing of tobacco allotments.³ Abbitt remained chair of the Subcommittee on Tobacco. Abbitt also moved up a step on House Administration, to seventh due to a promotion to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Democrat Harold Donohue of Massachusetts took the seventh seat on Judiciary with a retirement. Donohue had paid as much attention to Judiciary as to Ways and Means bills, and in the 89th he showed a burst of legislative energy, introducing more bills than in any previous congress, ten of which were for Judiciary. Every public bill he ever got enacted was a Judiciary bill, and two were this time. HR 1763 provided for payment of witness's fees in certain cases, and HR 5283 counted service years as a Federal judge in Alaska Territory as creditable for the new State of Alaska.

Thanks to Republican losses, Harvey made a big jump from tenth to seventh in seniority on Agriculture. Harvey's advance in seniority helped move him into ranking positions on two special subcommittees, Conservation and Credit and Foreign Agricultural Operations, replacing Dague on the latter. Harvey was a little more active than Dague legislatively, most of which came since his return after his 1958 defeat. Like Dague, his interest in tax bills tended to trump his sponsorships for agriculture, but he introduced five of the latter in the 89th as well as another one of the fruitless joint resolutions for a world food study. Fruitless was also the word in general for a relatively inactive Republican in Democratic congresses. Neither Dague nor Harvey had yet seen a public bill of theirs enacted. Over time Harvey got two private bills enacted, while Dague counted six.

Dague also moved up to the third seat on the non-legislating Select Committee on Small Business and into the ranking position on two subcommittees, one on Foundations and the other on Urban Areas.

Democrat Otto Passman of Louisiana jumped two seats on Appropriations to ninth thanks to two retirements. Passman's influence, as it had been since his fifth term, when he was overall fifteenth in seniority, was his chairship of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations. Committee Chair George Mahon of Texas, who took over on the death of Passman's patron Clarence Cannon of Missouri in May 1964, reduced the size of Passman's subcommittee and appointed three new liberal Democrats to it, taking Passman's majority away. The Committee products were still Passman's to floor manage, which he did so through his attacks on their largesse and pleas for their support.⁴

³ Individual tobacco farms were restricted as to the amount of acreage planted in return for price supports.

⁴ Robert Johnson, 110-1. Pressman, 42-3.

Democrat Joe Evins of Tennessee also moved up on Appropriations, to tenth, and for the same reason as Passman. On February 15, 1966, Albert Thomas of Texas died, and Evins moved into his position as cardinal and Chair of the Subcommittee on Independent Offices and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. As a result, Evins was the sponsor of his first Appropriations bill, HR 14921. Evins' primary contribution over time had been veterans bills, though in the 89th it was Banking and Currency, none of which were enacted. Evins also continued as chair of the Small Business Committee and the Speaker's Committee on Personnel.

Democrat Dorn moved to eleventh on Public Works for the same reason Blatnik advanced and would move another seat up when Ashton Thompson of Louisiana died in a car wreck on July 1, 1965. Dorn's major efforts remained on Veterans' Affairs, on which committee he had been mired in second place behind Teague for six terms. None of his seven veterans, or for that matter his four Public Works bills, were enacted in the 89th.

Carl Albert of Oklahoma continued as Majority Leader and largely abandoned committee work and initiating legislation, other than the many resolutions necessary to keep the House moving. He did retain a seat on Science and Astronautics and as a result had the largest committee seniority jump of anyone in the Class. Two members left the Committee for Appropriations, and one departed for Ways and Means. Another decided Armed Services was better, and Neil Staebler of Michigan made a run for governor.

Teague continued as Chair of Veterans' Affairs and as such the sponsor of large numbers of bills affecting veterans, of which many were enacted. He was listed as the sponsor of 156 such bills in the 89th, 31 were reported out of his committee, and 20 became law. In addition, his HR 12410 was substituted for S 9, which was enacted. He had taken a seat on the new Science and Astronautics Committee in the 86th Congress and had chaired one of its subcommittees since. In the 89th he added to his Manned Space Flight Subcommittee the Subcommittee on NASA Oversight.

Omar Burleson of Texas continued as Chair of House Administration. He also remained as chair of a subcommittee of Foreign Affairs, a post which did not excite him to bill sponsorship. Over his ten terms he introduced five Foreign Affairs bills and three House Administration bills, but also 82 resolutions, mostly related to House Administration.

Burleson was also a leader of Southern conservatives, Democrat and Republican, chairing the Boll Weevils Club, a loose organization not enamored of this unofficial name.⁵

McCulloch remained ranking on Judiciary, which was unquestionably his legislative focus. Over his 19 sessions in Congress, 63% of his public bills were Judiciary. Nine percent of his public bills made it out of committee, which was better than his Republican compatriots: Dague had never had a single one reported, Harvey had one, and Glenn Davis had three. Still, McCulloch's count on that score was only six bills, and none were reported in the 89th. This congress he gave up the Small Business Committee but took membership on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and returned to service on the Joint Committee on Immigration and Nationality Policy. He was placed last among the four House Republicans on the former but first among the two on the latter.

Garmatz began the 89th Congress in the second seat on Merchant Marine and Fisheries that he had held in the previous congress. The illness of Chair Herbert Bonner of North Carolina, first for treatment of kidney stones which turned out to be cancer, kept him out of action much of the time, and Garmatz acted as chair in his stead. When Bonner died on November 7, 1965, Garmatz became the Chair de facto, which was ratified by vote of the House, a foregone conclusion, on January 10, 1966. He then traded in his

⁵ *The Corpus Christi Caller*, June 5, 1965.

chairship of the Subcommittee on Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and Navigation for chair of the Merchant Marine Subcommittee. Over his career, 57% of his public bill introductions and 91% of his enactments were Merchant Marine and Fisheries bills. He was another of the Class that showed a burst of such activity in the 89th Congress. He introduced 52 public bills, 34 more than his previous high. Much of this was due to his enhanced position on the Committee, as 39 of his bills were for that Committee. Seven were reported and five enacted.

House Republicans placed Glenn Davis back on Appropriations after missing four terms. In the 84th Congress he was thirteenth in seniority. Now he was twelfth. He had credit for his initial three terms on the Committee. Had he remained for the missing four terms, he would be the most senior Republican on the Committee, the ranking. As it was, he made it to twelfth because six were defeated in 1964 for reelection, two retired, and Gerald Ford of Michigan left the Committee on being elected Minority Leader. Davis was not very active legislatively before, and his sponsorship of only two bills in the 89th matched only the number he had introduced in the 80th.

John Bell Williams of Mississippi faced a different reckoning from his classmates in the 89th House. His active support for Goldwater in the election prompted the Democratic Study Group to agitate for the punishment of a Democrat whose stand on equal rights as well as some other policies was not at all consistent with theirs. Blatnik, currently chair of the Group, convened a meeting of its leaders on December 3, 1964, and they agreed to call for the ouster of Williams and fellow apostate Albert Watson of South Carolina from the Democratic Caucus. On January 2 the Caucus voted by secret ballot 157-115 to censure the two and strip them of their seniority but not to eject them from the Caucus. Watson announced he would quit the Party. He resigned his seat, ran for it in a special election and would return to the House as a Republican. Williams considered the same action but kept his seat. Blatnik led the fight in the Caucus to punish the men. Teague spoke in opposition.⁶

Williams' endorsement of Harry Byrd electors in 1956 and 1960 had not led to this denouement. He had been less vocal, but more importantly, the larger number of liberal Democrats in the House were feeling their oats now as a result of the sweep of the election by their Party.

Williams's seniority on District of Columbia dropped from seventh to seventeenth and on the committee of his major focus, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, it fell from second to twenty-second. He remained legislatively active anyway. He introduced 18 public bills, down from his average of 33 in the last four congresses, and two were enacted. One, reported by District of Columbia, relieved physicians of liability for negligent treatment at an accident scene. The other, reported by Commerce, created voluntary special adjustment boards to resolve employee disputes. The majority of his compatriots might have censured his electoral but not his legislative politics.

One effect of Williams's punishment was to move Multer up from sixth to fifth on District of Columbia. The Representative may have had a greater interest in Banking and Currency, but District of Columbia was much more receptive to his legislation. Over the years District of Columbia reported twelve of his 122 bills and five were enacted. Banking and Currency reported three and none were enacted – out of 291 bills.

⁶ *CQWR*, January 1, 1965, 1-4; January 8, 1965, 33. Drew Pearson, February 5, 1964. Drew Pearson later would report that in the caucus Williams said he would remain "a loyal member of the Mississippi Democratic party." Drew Pearson, February 2, 1967.

A non-effect of Williams's punishment was that it did not prevent him from moving into an office in the new Rayburn House Office Building. This third building for House members contained 169 office suites, nine full committee hearing rooms, sixteen subcommittee hearing rooms, committee staff rooms, a large cafeteria, liaison offices, press and television facilities, a subway to the Capitol, and underground parking for 1600. House Doorkeeper Fishbait Miller would condemn it as "wasteful" with "the vast interior space of a Roman forum" that "dwarfed" a statue of the former speaker, "two-story hearing rooms and marble stairs rising elegantly but ... unneeded and unused."⁷

Sixteen of the Class moved into Rayburn, eight from the Longworth building and eight from the older Cannon building. Glenn Davis took an office in Cannon but would have to move eventually as renovation was to begin in 1966. Harvey remained in Longworth. Albert had moved to the Capitol on becoming the Majority Leader; Robert Jones took his office in Cannon at that point. All of the Class moved about during their tenures, except for Dague, who had remained in his original office in Cannon since 1947.

Dorn's office was noteworthy for its large portrait of his namesake, William Jennings Bryan, which the Representative discovered years before in a House attic. Burleson favored a "huge, gold-framed painting ... of an oxen-drawn, wooden-wheeled wagon, prodded along by peasants," a gift from a corporate admirer. The more conventional accoutrement were numerous photographs of the noteworthy, whether that be of the incumbent or others, honorary sheepskins and the like, and paraphernalia of the home district.⁸

Contests occurred in party gatherings before the convening of the 89th House. Apart from the denial of seniority to Williams and Watson, the Democratic Caucus was presented with a set of changes to rules and procedures by Blatnik, chair of the Democratic Study Group, specifically:⁹

- The Democratic Caucus to have a veto over committee assignments by the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee.
- Party ratios on the Appropriations and Ways and Means committees to reflect the ratio in the overall House membership, which in this Congress would be 68% Democratic. This was normally the case with other committees except for Rules, where the ratio was 2:1. On the two committees in question a 3:2 ratio had prevailed since 1939.
- The inactive Democratic Steering Committee or a new Policy Committee to determine Party policy.
- An update to the 1946 Legislative Reorganization Act.
- A reinstatement of the 21-day rule.
- A rule that would allow the speaker to entertain a privileged motion from a committee chair or ranking member to send a bill to conference, bypassing the Rules Committee. Currently such a motion required unanimous consent.
- To lower the number of signatures for a discharge petition from a majority of the House to 175.

The Caucus adopted the change to the party ratios on Ways and Means, the 21-day rule, the privileged motion for conference, and another change that deprived a member of delaying passage of a bill by demanding an engrossed copy of the bill.¹⁰

⁷ *Congressional Directory*, 89th Congress, Second Session, 386. Miller as told to Leighton, 219.

⁸ *The Index-Journal*, March 26, 1960. Drew Pearson, August 29, 1967.

⁹ *CQWR*, January 1, 1965, 1-4.

¹⁰ *CQWR*, January 8, 1965, 31. Albert with Goble, 291.

The demand for the last three changes in the DSG list illustrates how limited the packing of the Rules Committee in the 87th House was in freeing the stranglehold of that Committee from legislation. Democrats added Carl Elliott of Alabama and B.F. Sisk of California then, and Republicans, due to retirement, death, and defeat, had added Katharine St. George of New York, Allen Smith of California, Elmer Hoffman of Illinois, and William Avery of Kansas.

The appointment of members to the Rules Committee, even more so than to the two other exclusive committees, was a matter of great concern to party leadership, as Thomas O’Neil’s recounting of his charge from Speaker Sam Rayburn illustrates. Party regularity is essential, though this had to be leavened by a concern for geographic balance, the influence of other actors within each party, and that of constituencies critical to each party.¹¹

The Democratic leadership had pushed the expansion of the Rules Committee to enable them to add two loyal members. The eight Democrats on the Committee already included four Southerners, making that region overrepresented on the body. There was one Southerner for every 25 Democratic members from the South. By comparison, the non-Southern ratio was 1:41. Yet, the Leadership lured Alabaman Elliott away from a prominent position on Education and Labor to take a “thankless job” on Rules because they wanted a “liberal,” “pro-Administration” Southerner who was “well-liked,” all these terms being political scientist James Robinson’s.¹² Why? Was it simply because Rayburn was a Southerner or because an additional gimme to the restive South was thought necessary? But if the latter was the reason, a liberal Southerner was hardly the solution most Southerners, whether they be members of the House or voters, were looking for. Elliott himself lost his seat in the House three years later when Alabamians denied him renomination.

The other expansion seat was given to Sisk. His committee sacrifices were less painful (seventh on Interior and fifth on Science and Astronautics) and the provision of a seat on Rules to California, which provided 16 Democrats to the House, seems logical.

The Democrats, given the sacrosanct seniority principle and the reluctance of the Leadership to punish William Colmer of Mississippi, who campaigned for Republican Richard Nixon in 1960, were constrained to add only two new committee members, but the Republicans had named four new Rules members, Clarence Brown of Ohio being the only carryover.

The Democrats on the Rules Committee fell into two camps, with most being Party loyalists, but two, Howard Smith of Virginia and William Colmer of Mississippi being the opposite. It was the apostasy of Smith and Colmer that the 21-day rule was meant to address. Smith had been on the Committee since 1933. Majority Leader John McCormack during the 21-day rule debate in 1961 said that Smith was the only person he knew of who was elected to the Committee without recommendation by the Speaker and Majority Leader. Colmer initially took his seat in 1939 with Rayburn’s support and his misgivings. He then lost his position when the Republican sweep of 1946 cut the number of Democratic seats on Rules and was restored over Rayburn’s opposition but on McCormack’s promise in 1949. It was said that Colmer “loved Rayburn” and could sometimes be cajoled by the Speaker into at least producing a necessary quorum in the Rules Committee, but generally he and Smith voted like Republicans.¹³

¹¹ James Robinson, 103-10.

¹² James Robinson, 96.

¹³ Hardeman and Bacon, 463, 521. O’Neill with Novak, 126, 138. Albert with Goble, 283-4. Heard, 24, and James Robinson, 105, would portray Colmer’s return as a McCormack slip-up, but McCormack’s biographer would contend his decision was more deliberate and was a way to reduce Southern opposition to William Dawson, a black Chicagoan becoming chair of Government Operations. Nelson, 412-3, 416, 711.

With five Republicans and Smith and Colmer on a 15-person committee, Democratic initiatives hung by a slender thread. James Trimble of Arkansas would usually vote rules for civil rights bills that he would oppose on the floor. James Delaney of New York would oppose any aid-to-education bills that excluded religious schools, given his own Catholicism and that of his constituents. Could Southerners Trimble, Elliot, and Homer Thornberry of Texas maintain their loyalty with the increasing press for equal rights for their black constituents? Thornberry resigned at the end of 1963 to take appointment as a Federal judge and was replaced by John Young, also of Texas, and continuing the overrepresentation of Southerners. Young was a particularistic representative, but in 1963 he had supported his Party on every single party unity vote and, being the Texas delegation's choice, took a seat on the Rules Committee. Elliott lost his seat, being denied renomination in 1964. Trimble's loyalty appears to have waned in the 88th Congress.¹⁴

Then there was Sisk. Thomas O'Neill would note that he came in to Rules "as a flaming liberal," but started voting with the Republicans. Kevin Phillips reported that "his Rules Committee hesitancy was well received at home," i.e. in his District.¹⁵

The House adopted the caucus' rules changes on opening day by a vote of 224-202 with the usual "three party" or maybe "four party" division. Northern Democrats supported the changes 164-1. Southern Democrats opposed them 66-18. Border Democrats split 25-9 for. Republicans voted against the alterations 122-16. All the 16 Southern and 8 Border Republicans, except for one Marylander, were against the changes. Northeastern Republicans provided 12 of the Republican nays, while 23 were yeas. Albert Watson of rather indeterminant party at the time, opposed the changes.

The four remaining Republican members of the Class of '46 opposed the modifications. Southern Democrats Abbitt, Burleson, Dorn, Hardy, Passman, Teague, and Williams were opposed, while Evins and Jones and Border Staters Albert (who moved the resolution), Garmatz, and Frank Karsten of Missouri favored the changes, as did the three Northern Democrats.

The Republican Conference had their own pre-session struggle. As Charles Halleck had taken advantage of the 1958 winnowing of Republicans to oust Joseph Martin as minority leader, so Halleck fell before the decimation of members in 1964. A major complaint about Martin was that he was too cozy with Democratic leader Sam Rayburn and thus not assertive enough against the majority Democrats. Halleck's greater aggressiveness also came with a more irascible temperament, which did not help to shield him from the search for someone to blame for the losses. A youth revolt had elevated Gerald Ford of Michigan to chair of the Conference in 1963, defeating 67-year-old Charles Hoeven of Iowa. Ford's major asset, apart from age, was personality and connectedness. Now, two years later, Ford ousted Halleck on a 73-67 vote in Conference. Halleck relied heavily on the Indiana Republican delegation, including Class member Harvey, for planning and outreach in his losing battle.¹⁶

The opening of the session on January 4, 1965, not only brought a change in rules, but a challenge to the Mississippi delegation. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which largely failed to get delegates recognized by the National Democratic Convention, complained that it was not able to challenge members of the delegation for nomination or election because of denials of voter registration of black citizens. Black candidates had been on the primary ballots in three of the five districts, including

¹⁴ James Robinson, 108. Bolling (1968), 212. Nelson, 381-5, 644.

¹⁵ O'Neill with Novak, 167. Phillips, 459.

¹⁶ Remini, 403. Harvey, 85-6. Scheele (1966), 217-9, 248-59.

James Houston's opposition to Williams. Houston's 3.2% of the ballots was nearly twice the proportion the other two black candidates each received in their districts.

The MFDP announced its challenge in November and filed the formal papers in December with the Clerk of the House. William Fitts Ryan (D NY) agreed to raise the challenge from the floor on opening day and with Blatnik's major assistance recruited supporters among House members. On his objection from the floor, Albert offered a resolution to swear in the regular Mississippi delegation. The vote on the previous question (that is, to vote on the Resolution and end debate) passed 276-149 and the Resolution was then approved by voice. Two-thirds of Northeastern Democrats were opposed, as were half of Midwestern Democrats. About two-fifths of Northeastern Republicans also voted nay, but other Republican opposition was minimal. With the leadership of both parties opposing a novel challenge based on registration rather than voting shenanigans, and Southerners uniformly voting yea on the roll call, the Mississippians were sworn in. Of the Class of '46, only Blatnik, Donohue, and Karsten voted nay. Eventually, in September the Subcommittee on Elections of House Administration reported the contestants had no standing to challenge the delegation.¹⁷

Majority Leader Albert would sing the praises of the 89th Congress:

Since I had become party whip, I had become accustomed to settling for half a loaf; sometimes I had gotten the crumbs. In 1965, we got the whole loaf with the meat, the condiments, and the beverages thrown in to give us a real legislative feast.

It was the House's leadership that made sure we got it, and we made sure we got it by the end of the session's first day.¹⁸

Albert was referring to the rules changes enacted on opening day, "entirely conceived and executed by the House leadership...."¹⁹ He ignored the fact that the DSG initiated the changes that the leadership did endorse and enact. The Rules and Ways and Means committees were no longer the barriers to the extent they had been to the House majority working its will.

By Albert's count, Pres. Lyndon Johnson made 469 legislative proposals and the House approved 323 of them. He highlighted Medicare, Federal aid to education, liberalization of immigration law, and the Voting Rights Act. Even the terminally critical Richard Bolling sang the "great accomplishments of the first session," adding creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and increases in veterans' benefits, Social Security, and higher education funding to Albert's list. The perpetually dyspeptic Americans for Democratic Action tacked on rent subsidies, aid for the arts and humanities, regional economic development, and public power, but complained that programs were authorized but not adequately funded.²⁰

DSG's proposal to increase the Democratic ratio on the Appropriations Committee had not been supported by the Leadership, while the change on Ways and Means was critical to the enactment of Medicare. The ADA was far less happy with the second session, citing only an update to the Fair Labor Standards Act and Demonstration Cities Program and complaining of the failure of leadership by the

¹⁷ CQWR, November 20, 1964, 2711; January 1, 1965, 4; January 8, 1965, 30-1. Mills, 145. Nelson, 677. *A History of the Committee on House Administration 1947-2012*, 121-2.

¹⁸ Albert with Goble, 290-1.

¹⁹ Albert with Goble, 291.

²⁰ Albert with Goble, 292-4. Bolling (1968), 231-2. *ADA World* (November 1965).

Johnson Administration. The Administration was escalating American involvement in the war in Vietnam and both losing interest in and support for domestic achievements.²¹

The centerpiece of Johnson's "Great Society" initiative was the "War on Poverty," continuing the politician's penchant for slogans dating back to "No Taxation Without Representation." Republican Sen. Robert Taft Jr's reaction to the declaration of war was that he thought we had been fighting that battle with a number of programs already. Pres. John Kennedy's administration looked at those programs and decided that both coordination and an effort to address root causes, for example illiteracy and not just job training, was called for. The Johnson Administration followed up with the creation of the Office of Economic Opportunity and new programs and put Kennedy's brother-in-law and Peace Corps Administrator Sargent Shriver in charge. Efforts to expand the programs in the 89th Congress ran into increasing opposition from Republicans and Southern Democrats. By 1966 the bare number of Republicans supporting OEO dropped from 22 in 1964 to 14 and the majority of 60 among Southerners fell to a minority of 28.²²

One of the three new programs under OEO (which was supposed to also coordinate programs administered by other agencies), community action, attracted the most concerns. Out of an approach to address the "culture of poverty," aid to the village in the person of both public and private organizations to address the ills of the individual smacked to some of the dread socialism and to others, and perhaps more significantly to Southerners, of aid to black entities. Members of the Class broke on the OEO by party and region consistent with the overall vote in the House. In six critical roll calls on the global War on Poverty, Donohue, Blatnik, Multer, Karsten, Alabaman Jones, and Albert (a prime mover in support of the Administration as Democratic Majority Leader) supported the war each time, Garmatz and Tennessean Evins five times, Virginian Hardy twice, and Texan Teague once. Abbitt, Burleson, Passman, Dorn, Williams, and the Republicans were opposed on each vote.²³

On July 22, 1965, Williams illustrated the commingling of communism and racial equality by moving to restore a provision of the original Economic Opportunity Act to the appropriation bill, HR 8283, for fiscal 1966. That provision would require any recipient of funds to sign an affidavit to the effect that the person did not advocate the violent overthrow of the Government. Williams's motion "provoked particularly acrimonious exchanges" and was rejected. The OEO survived all this, though with the addition of gubernatorial vetoes. Disaster, however, came very close on September 29, 1966, when a motion to strike the enacting clause carried on a teller vote, 128-118. The Democratic Leadership managed to round-up enough supporters to carry the roll call 156-208.²⁴

McCulloch's opposition to the War on Poverty programs and spending did not translate explicitly to racism. The Republican Party created a Human Rights and Responsibilities Task force and made the Ohioan

²¹ *ADA World*, November 1966.

²² Sundquist, 111-54.

²³ The votes were on Howard Smith's (D VA) motion to kill HR 11377 on August 7, 1964; passage of S 2642 on August 8, 1964; Albert Quie's (R MN) motion on HR 8283 to cut the appropriations and retain a gubernatorial veto over community action projects on July 22, 1965; William Ayres (R OH) motion on the HR 8283 conference report to retain the gubernatorial veto on September 15, 1965; Paul Fino (R NY) motion to recommit and kill HR 15111 on September 29, 1966; Quie motion to recommit and remove all programs but VISTA and community action on September 29, 1966.

²⁴ *CQWR*, July 23, 1965, 1413.

the head. The Task Force quickly found the Administration lacking in its failure to enforce civil rights laws.²⁵ Rather obviously the kind of partisan attack expected of a loyal opposition, a complaint about the speed with which the bureaucracy could pivot is equivalent to a complaint about the weather. The President, anyway more concerned with making laws than enforcing them, was focused on a new one, a voting rights act.

Johnson included in his 1965 State of the Union address a call to eliminate barriers to voting. Two months later, on March 7, the bloody attack on a march from Selma, Alabama, calling for the right to vote, kicked the Administration into high gear. Fifteen minutes of news film from the March shown that night on nationwide television in prime viewing hours created a public wave of indignation and interest. A week later the President spoke to a joint session and pledged, "We shall overcome." Three days after the speech a House Judiciary subcommittee began hearings on bills authorizing Federal voting examiners in discriminatory jurisdictions. That day, March 18, 66 Senate sponsors, including the Majority and Minority Leaders, introduced S 1564.²⁶

Nothing moves a member of the House like an idea whose time has come. By March 18, 45 voting rights bills were introduced in the House. Eight were an identical Republican bill and 17 were other Republican bills. Four were bills addressing specific issues such as literacy tests, but there were eleven other comprehensive bills such as the Republican bills and two Democratic bills with a few copyists. HR 6400, the Administration bill, was that of Judiciary and subcommittee Chair Emanuel Celler of New York, and which was the one reported.

A scheduled ten hours of debate on HR 6400 opened on July 6 with Celler and McCulloch managing the bill. McCulloch had introduced his own bill on April 5, HR 7112, an identical version coming also from Minority Leader Ford, that differed from the Administration bill in three areas. HR 6400 identified jurisdictions which would be under a sort of Justice Department guardianship; Federal elections registrars could be assigned to these areas, and changes that affected voting were subject to review by the Department of Justice. HR 6400 defined those jurisdictions by a low proportion of the eligible electorate who had voted in the 1964 presidential election and thus included Alaska and six Southern states, as well as one-third of North Carolina and a county in each of four non-Southern states. McCulloch's bill would have provided the Justice Department oversight only if 25 citizens of a jurisdiction petitioned for it. The Celler bill outlawed literacy tests in the supervised jurisdictions. McCulloch would have allowed literacy tests with the presupposition that a sixth-grade education endowed literacy. HR 7112 would also allow the actions of Federal examiners to be challenged before a Civil Service Commission examiner.²⁷

The Judiciary Committee rejected HR 7112 on a 13-19 vote as too restrictive and then broadened HR 6400 even more by outlawing poll taxes, a position strongly opposed by the President, who claimed that even Vermont, for god's sake, had poll taxes and feared the provision's effect on the success of the bill. McCulloch with Ford's support had introduced HR 7896 the week before the expected Committee action on HR 7112 with little difference between the bills. After segregationist William Tuck (D VA) announced his support for HR 7896, Speaker McCormack claimed that action shifted at least 15 Republicans to support of HR 6400. When the House passed Celler's bill on July 9 and voted down HR 7896 as a substitute offered by McCulloch, the President observed that McCulloch's bill "would have seriously damaged and diluted the guarantee of the right to vote for all Americans." McCulloch's final appeal on the floor was to reject HR 6400 as a violation of states rights and to propose a losing amendment to HR 6400 to delete a

²⁵ *CQWR*, May 21, 1965, 983; June 11, 1965, 1122.

²⁶ Branch (2006), 48-56. Caro (1991), xviii-xx. *CQWR*, March 26, 1965, 556.

²⁷ *CQWR*, April 9, 1965, 658. "Section 4 of the Voting Rights Act," at justice.gov.

provision that would have allowed a registrant to vote while his qualifications were being challenged. McCulloch and Ford took umbrage at Johnson's criticism as a slap at Republicans, and the President backed up a bit.²⁸

The Senate passed its own S 1564 without the poll tax prohibition which proved to be a sticking point with House conferees, particularly Peter Rodino (D NJ) and Harold Donohue, until Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach got Martin Luther King Jr to intervene. The conferees agreed to let the prohibition go with the understanding that the Justice Department could sue under the proposed law to prevent poll tax use in the protected jurisdictions. The House passed the conference report on August 3 by a vote of 328-74. The President signed the bill on August 6, and on August 7 Katzenbach brought suit against Mississippi's poll tax and those of Virginia, Alabama, and Texas on August 10.²⁹

The nays included 54 Southern Democrats and 20 Republicans, 12 of whom were Southern. All of the members of the Class of '46 from the South opposed passage except for Evins, who was joined by 27 other Southern Democrats in supporting the Voting Rights Act. Four Southern Republicans, three from Tennessee, also supported the Act. Glenn Davis, who had said in campaigning that he would have voted for the 1964 Civil Rights Act, was one of the nine non-Southern Republicans who voted nay or were paired against. No Northern or Border State Democrat opposed it.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were landmarks in an attempt by white America to address the wrongs that had been visited on other Americans since the founding of the nation. Injuries would persist and many would seem to be stubborn or ineradicable, but there were immediate results in some areas. The lack of public accommodations in many parts of the country were significantly reduced as merchants often willingly accepted the green of black people's money once the legal and social prohibitions were eliminated or lessened. The Federal oversight of voting restrictions in the worst jurisdictions brought an upswing in non-white voter registration and voting, which converted those inhabitants into constituents that many politicians would ignore at the peril of their electoral ambitions.

Voter turnout, which had been rising rapidly in the South since 1952, as the states themselves eased restrictions and the Democratic solidity of the Roosevelt years was softened, kept its upward course. The rising turnout in the South of black voters was also met by rising turnouts of whites, particularly from the social stratum that had often been disfranchised as collateral damage to the effort to enforce white supremacy. In the sixties over six million new voters were registered in the South, but only 30% of these were African American.³⁰

The partisan effect of this was mixed. While Republican support in Congress was critical in passing the two equal rights laws, the greater popular perception, not too incorrectly, was that they were the result of the *force majeure* of Pres. Lyndon Johnson, a Democrat. The relatively small numbers of black voters in the South had been largely Republican, but the new black registrants in the sixties were overwhelmingly Democrats. A similar shift occurred among black voters in the rest of the country, who were also affected by both the effect of the environment of the new laws as well as their changing partisan perspective, and black population there was growing. In the South the incentive for the increase in white voting was often a reaction to the rising agitation as well as voting of their black neighbors and thus cut in the opposite direction toward increasing Republicanism, which was aided by presidential candidate Barry Goldwater's opposition to the legislation as well as approval of Republican Pres. Dwight Eisenhower by more upper-

²⁸ CQWR, May 14, 1965, 900; July 9, 1965, 1324; July 16, 1965, 1361. Branch (2006), 252-4, 270.

²⁹ Branch (2006), 271, 275.

³⁰ Bartley and Graham, 9, 112, 188.

class whites. The white partisan shift was slower than the black one due to the continuing positions in support of white supremacy by Southern Democratic politicians and the inertia of the partisan identity of previously enfranchised voters. Outside the South there were countervailing pressures of white reaction to black aspirations and white support for the moral imperative of correctives to the centuries of racism, with the balance varying based on community and personal decisions of immediate effect, partisan histories, and the personalities of politicians, media influencers, and individual citizens.³¹

Johnson's worry that his actions would lose the South to the Republicans proved largely accurate in the longer run, while moralistic communities in parts of the non-South brought a new breed of Democratic politicians to the fore. The effect of this on the remaining members of the Class of '46 would become apparent as court rulings on congressional districting upset the tendency of legislators to make as few changes in districts as possible.³²

The series of equal rights legislation that saw enactments in 1957, 1960, 1964, and 1965 came to an end in 1966. The Administration proposed another Civil Rights Act that succeeded in the House with modifications but failed to defeat filibusters in the Senate. The glass jaw of the bill was an open housing provision. The House's modifications narrowed the provision to exclude smaller multi-unit facilities and private sales, but this was not enough to overcome opposition in the Senate, led by Minority Leader Everett Dirksen of Illinois. The President refused to use his powers to manage sales through Federally secured loans and funded projects for fear of political losses in the residentially segregated north to complement his already collapsing Southern support and put the onus on the Congress to accomplish fair housing, but he was also unwilling or incapable of bruising tactics in the Senate to close the filibusters.³³

McCulloch voted to report HR 14765 with its modified fair housing provision (which modification he supported) as did three others of the Judiciary Committee's eleven Republicans. McCulloch also supported the bill on the floor in debate. The Republican Policy Committee, however, opposed any fair housing provision. Celler brought the bill to the floor under the 21-day rule, after the Rules Committee failed to act. The House passed the bill by a safe 259-157 vote on August 9, 1966. In addition to fair housing, HR 14765 provided for non-discrimination in Federal and state juries, expanded the power of the Attorney General to sue for desegregation in public schools and accommodations, and defined Federal protections of the civil rights of individuals.³⁴

House Republicans voted for passage 76-62, while Democrats did 183-95, with 78 of the Democratic opponents from the South and Border. Members of the Class of '46 voted on passage with shifts from their positions on the Voting Rights Act. Evins, the only Southern Democrat to support the Voting Rights Act, joined with all the other Class Southern Democrats in opposition to the 1966 bill. Garmatz, previously a supporter of equal rights legislation, opposed this bill, presumably over the fair housing provision. The other non-Southern Democrats supported the 1966 bill. Three of the four Republicans, McCulloch, Dague, and Glenn Davis, the last opposed to the Voting Rights Act, voted for the 1966 bill, while Ralph Harvey of Indiana opposed it but had supported the Voting Rights Act. The first Senate vote on cloture found Democrats supporting 42-21 (17 of the opponents from the South or Border), while Republicans opposed 12-21.³⁵

³¹ Phillips, 101-3, 106-10, 238-9.

³² Elazar, 96-8.

³³ "1966 Civil Rights Act dies in Senate," *CQ Almanac 1966*, on-line. Branch (2006), 530.

³⁴ "1966 Civil Rights Act dies in Senate," *CQ Almanac 1966*, on-line. Sundquist, 280.

³⁵ "1966 Civil Rights Act dies in Senate," *CQ Almanac 1966*, on-line.

Following the failure of cloture in the Senate, both McCulloch and Celler introduced bills to provide both protection of individual civil rights as well as penalties for promotion of violent civil disturbance. Judiciary held hearings but reported no such bill.³⁶

Violence resulting from protests by black activists in a dozen cities and a growing belligerence by many black leaders helped scuttle the Civil Rights Act of 1966 and led to the piggy-backing of attempts to inhibit McCulloch and Celler's follow-up bills.³⁷

Apart from Atlanta, the urban riots were outside the South, and as in Atlanta tended to result from idiosyncratic events, while the thrust of organized black activism remained in the still resistant South. But effective desegregation, as a necessity, shifted to the actions of the Federal government. Southerners in the Class of '46 continued either to walk a line between new civil rights laws and white constituent intransigence or outright opposition to the rule of law. In Abbitt's District, Prince George County had reopened its now virtually all black public schools under Federal oversight, while a hospital in Emporia was charged with noncompliance with Federal desegregation guidelines. Jones' Alabama District saw actions to terminate Federal funding of schools in Colbert County, Lawrence County, and Muscle Shoals, and to force desegregation in a hospital and a nursing home in Huntsville. Federal voting examiners descended on Quachita Parish in Passman's District, while Washington decided to end Federal aid to schools in eleven of his fourteen parishes. Passman fought back by calling the Great Society a "dictatorship" full of "South-baiting bureaucrats." Three of the counties in Williams's District also merited Federal voting examiners. Williams accused Katzenbach of "siding with Communist agitators to trample on the rights of the South."³⁸

Urban riots affected President Johnson's Demonstration Cities Act; ADA called the opposition "another race vote." The Administration objective was urban renewal, but critics would eventually tag it as "Negro removal." S 3708, providing \$900 million in grants, passed the House close to adjournment in 1966 after surviving "one of the bitterest debates of the session."³⁹ Hardy, normally an opponent of equal rights legislation, contributed two amendments to limit the authority of the secretary of housing and urban development to override local regulations. Multer, a supporter of equal rights acts, nevertheless achieved three amendments banning busing for school integration, banning use of the grants for racial balance in school districts, and increasing mortgage allowances for larger small dwelling units.

Both Multer and Hardy voted for the Bill on passage, as did all the non-Southern Democrats in the Class (Albert was paired in support), while Evins, also paired, was the only Southerner other than Hardy to support the bill. All four Republicans failed to vote in the 178-141 passage.

The annual battle over foreign aid recurred in 1965. The Administration's authorization request in HR 7750 went through the House with little change. The appropriations bill, HR 10871, again managed by Passman as Chair of the Subcommittee he could no longer control, resulted in what *Time* called "one of the strangest performances in the memory of the House." Passman first attacked his bill and the foreign

³⁶ *CQWR*, October 21, 1966, 2589.

³⁷ "1966 Civil Rights Act dies in Senate," *CQ Almanac 1966*, on-line. Branch (2006), 531.

³⁸ Ivan Allen with Hemphill, 181-91. *The Progress-Index*, February 8, 1966. *CQWR*, August 27, 1965, 1741; November 5, 1965, 2252; September 9, 1966, 1963-4. *The Monroe News-Star*, April 21, 1966. Branch (2006), 89.

³⁹ *ADA World* (November 1966). "Housing, Demonstration Cities Bill Enacted," *CQ Almanac 1966*, on-line.

aid program then turned around and fought for the passage of the bill, saying it was his responsibility to the Committee. He fought a Republican motion to cut \$285 million from it, and the four-billion-dollar bill passed 239-143.⁴⁰

Passman repeated his performance in the second session with respect to HR 17788, which passed by the very similar 234-141, but only after a successful amendment to cut the bill by 10%. The authorization bill, HR 15750, had a more difficult time in that the Administration wanted a two-year authorization. Both Speaker McCormack and Majority Leader Albert found it necessary to take to the floor to battle an amendment to reduce that to the usual one year. While they succeeded in the House, the Senate elected for an annual authorization that was retained in conference.⁴¹

The 89th Congress was Blatnik's "Happy Parliament." Not that the leftist Representative achieved everything he sought, but with an activist President and a huge Democratic majority, he came closer than he had or ever would again.

Apart from his leadership in the punishment of two apostate Democrats and the major revision of House rules to reign in the obstructionist Rules Committee, Blatnik achieved much from his second seat on the Public Works Committee and his chairship of the Rivers and Harbors Subcommittee. Public Works was one of the committees he requested when he first came to the House and now in his tenth Congress on the Committee with George H. Fallon of Baltimore as new Chair, Blatnik was ready to run. Fallon was a typical Public Works Chair, 63 years old and in his 11th term he was a pork-barreler, whose barrel held highways. In his losing campaign for renomination in 1970 he would receive 167 public donations from highway construction interests in 37 states other than Maryland. Blatnik, burned by his investigation or lack of it into the use of Federal highway funds in 1961, was free to address both more widespread public works issues and more socially conscious ones.⁴²

Blatnik's initial effort had been on the St. Lawrence Seaway, a local concern for his district. He had pushed for it in the 82nd Congress and was able to get HR 5728 enacted in the 85th to expand its financing. When he was appointed chair of his subcommittee in the 84th Congress by Committee Chair Charles Buckley, Blatnik took a crucial role in extending the Water Pollution Control Act of 1948 and making it permanent. Blatnik was successful in replacing a program of Federal loans to states and localities with a \$50 million annual grant-in-aid program over Eisenhower opposition. The Representative's effort to double the amount in the 85th Congress failed on strong Eisenhower opposition. The 86th Congress passed \$90 million in funding but Eisenhower vetoed it. With the Kennedy Administration in office, the 87th Congress successfully enacted \$100 million in annual funding and extended the coverage of the Act to all navigable waters. Blatnik had asked for \$125 million and transfer of authority to HEW from the Public Health Service but failed in the latter, and the increase in funding was delayed to gain Administration support. He failed again on these efforts in the 88th Congress. But in the 89th Congress, Blatnik's subcommittee took a bill (S 4) introduced by Sen. Edmund Muskie (D-ME), and increased the annual amount to \$150 million and created a new enforcement office in HEW, which was approved by the Senate; still, a sticking point became the establishment of standards. The Senate wanted national standards and the House state standards. The compromise was national standards if state standards were inadequate.

⁴⁰ "Foreign Aid Funds," *CQ Almanac 1965*, on-line. *CQWR* September 10, 1965, 1825. *Time*, September 17, 1965.

⁴¹ "Foreign Aid Funds," *CQ Almanac 1966*, on-line. *CQWR*, July 15, 1966, 1454.

⁴² *The Washington Post*, March 22, 1980; April 5, 1998. Barone, Ujifusa, and Matthews (1972), 328. Mayhew, 93.

The law was enacted. Blatnik-admirer Drew Pearson reported that the Minnesotan “spent four months ... merely hammering out the Senate-House differences.”⁴³

In the 87th, the first Kennedy congress, Blatnik contributed to Administration efforts to enact an accelerated public works program to address the slumped economy by introducing HR 10113, which was enacted as a substitute by the equivalent S 2965, authorizing \$900 million in projects for areas of high unemployment. Blatnik wanted an additional authorization of \$2 billion in so-called stand-by funds to be used without appropriation largely at the discretion of the president and to establish a separate office to administer the funds but failed to get support for these provisions. He held up reporting by his subcommittee of the rivers and harbors authorization bill to force Senate action on the amended S 2965. In the first session of the 87th, Congress also passed the Area Redevelopment Act that authorized \$394 million for depressed areas, but foiled the Kennedy request to expand it in the 88th. Now, in the 89th Congress, Blatnik, as well as Public Works Chair Fallon and eleven other representatives, introduced bills similar to S 1648 to extend the Area Redevelopment Act and the accelerated public works program. It was the Senate bill that was enacted as the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. Blatnik was the House floor manager for S 1648, which authorized \$3.25 billion. Pearson sang Blatnik’s praises as doing “the painstaking job of consolidating the accelerated public works projects and the area redevelopment program into a new Economic Development Act.” The columnist also praised the work of Blatnik as well as Jones as being the “unsung hero[es] of the back rooms” in “piloting” a \$2 billion rivers and harbors authorization (S 2300) through the 89th Congress.⁴⁴

Note that none of these bills were introduced by Blatnik, although he sponsored similar bills, but that much of the credit due for their enactment was the Minnesotan’s.

Jones also looked after the TVA, successfully introducing HR 15225 to amend the Authority’s act to increase the bonds it could issue by one billion dollars.⁴⁵

Two other members of the Class of ’46 require mention in connection with public works bills. Teague cast the sole dissenting vote on the 341-1 passage of HR 14359, authorizing three billion dollars for highway construction and beautification. Glenn Davis was more persistent. Trying to replicate his success in cutting perceived pork in the 83rd Congress, he moved 15 amendments to cut various funds from HR 17787, the public works appropriations bill for fiscal 1967. Fourteen were rejected and one, that he erroneously proposed, he withdrew. He then moved to recommit the bill, which failed. Appointed a member of the conference committee, he refused to sign the report. Finally, we moved to recommit the report, which also failed 91-255. There were just too many Democrats and enough pork-barrel Republicans in the 89th Congress.⁴⁶

Public Works Committee Chair Fallon had a nationwide constituency that was highway builders and users. Edward Garmatz had a nationwide constituency that consisted of the maritime industry. Fallon, however, chaired a committee that included much more than highways. Garmatz chaired the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, and the first part shared influence with only one other major concern. When the Johnson Administration wanted to create a new Department of Transportation, its components

⁴³ Andreen and Filler, 239-43. Sundquist, 364-5. Drew Pearson, September 25, 1965.

⁴⁴ “Public Works – AEC Funds,” *CQ Almanac 1962*, on-line. “New Aid Program Voted for Depressed Areas,” *CQ Almanac 1965*, on-line. Drew Pearson, September 25, 1965; February 19, 1966.

⁴⁵ *CQWR*, June 17, 1966, 1268.

⁴⁶ *CQWR*, August 19, 1966, 1774; September 23, 1966, 2204; October 14, 1966, 2472.

came from the Department of Commerce - highways, aviation, railroads, urban mass transit, and shipping. But shipping, unlike the other elements, had its own House committee. Garmatz and his Committee, as well as the industry – corporate and Labor, fought a fierce battle to keep shipping right where it was at the Maritime Administration in the Department of Commerce. Garmatz and the industry really wanted the Maritime Administration to be an independent agency, but they were happier with it in Commerce, where for 15 years they established a measure of control over it, than in Transportation.

Garmatz' bill, HR 11364, to make the Maritime Administration an independent agency was not even reported by his own committee, although an equivalent bill, HR 11696, sponsored by Bonner, was. But Garmatz' amendment to HR 15963 to exclude the Maritime Administration from the creation of the Department of Transportation carried 190-63 in Committee of the Whole and 261-117 in the House and survived conference. The Maritime Administration would not join the Department of Transportation until 1981, after Garmatz was gone from the House.⁴⁷

Garmatz also took on the Johnson Administration over the adequacy of American shipping. The Commerce Department created an Interagency Task Force on Merchant Marine Policy, which reported that subsidies to the industry for ship construction failed to provide enough volume and called for the end of the subsidies and to allow American ships to be built and repaired in foreign shipyards. Garmatz led opposition to the report. A particular concern of the Administration was the adequacy of shipping to support the Vietnam War. Garmatz' response was that the Defense Department failed to have a program to meet the requirements for shipping and that the industry was unable to prepare for lack of a Navy logistics plan.⁴⁸

Garmatz' fight for American shipyards included a recurring battle to protect a law that required the Defense Department to spend 35% of funds for ship repair and modifications in private shipyards. The House preserved the requirement in its passage of HR 9221, the Defense Department appropriations for fiscal 1966, but the conference report dropped the stipulation, a major defeat for Garmatz. The Baltimorean's protection of American shipyards did not inhibit his favoritism of eastern shipbuilders. The Merchant Marine Act of 1936 had authorized West Coast shipyards to build at cost up to six percent higher than on the East. His HR 12762, authorization of procurements for the Coast Guard, removed that provision.

As acting chair or de jure chair of the Maritime Committee, Garmatz was listed as the sponsor of four other statutes: HR 8760 to implement the International Convention for the Prevention of the Pollution of the Seas by Oil, HR 8761 to increase the retirement pay of members of the Lighthouse Service, HR 10327 to require cruise operators to file evidence of financial security, and HR 11475 to provide for the control of jellyfish.

Investigations remained Hardy's forte, but Garmatz also had his committee undertake a review of legislation that might help to avoid another maritime disaster such as that of the burning and sinking of the cruise ship *Yarmouth Castle*, which went down on November 13, 1965, with the loss of 90 lives. Garmatz introduced a bill requiring certain safety requirements for ships sailing out of US ports. Hardy's signature inquiry in the 89th Congress was of Aerospace Corporation, a nonprofit created in 1960 to "integrate the Air Force's Ballistic Missile and Space Program." This effort was the most expensive defense program at the time. Hardy's Special Subcommittee on Special Investigations in the Armed Services

⁴⁷ CQWR, September 30, 1966, 2314-5.

⁴⁸ CQWR, January 7, 1966, 17; October 14, 1966, 2496. CQ Almanac 1965, 911-5.

Committee looked at the financial history of the Corporation, resulting in a law providing congressional oversight of the company.⁴⁹

Multer, already under fire for his involvement in a bank in the Bahamas, was accused of further shenanigans. Drew Pearson claimed the bank in Nassau was set up to “handle hot money through secret, numbered accounts.” The columnist also accused Multer of using undue influence to try to get the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to approve a new savings and loan in Maryland that the Representative was a share-holder in, and that he and his wife were investors in other banks, while he was influential in legislation affecting them.⁵⁰

Multer’s activities in the House actually tended to increase regulations on banking. He successfully amended HR 17899 to require contracts by associations, banks, and other agencies to be restrictive on the parties. He moved an amendment to HR 7984 to give the Home Loan Bank Board jurisdiction of savings and loan associations in the District of Columbia, which was agreed to. He introduced HR 107 to consolidate all Federal bank regulatory functions. His committee did not report this bill.

Still, more of his legislative activity was in that of the District of Columbia. His successful bills dealt with the appointment of trustees in mortgages (HR 647) and to broaden the minimum wage law (HR 8126). He also filed a successful discharge petition to bring HR 4644, providing home rule for the District, a long-standing interest of his, to the floor, then managed it there. The bill passed the House and was substituted for S 1118 on Multer’s motion, which passed the Senate, but the two houses could not agree on their differing versions. He also moved four unsuccessful amendments to HR 4822 to provide what would become the Washington Metro. One of these would have required construction by private actors. Pearson claimed Multer wanted this to benefit O. Roy Chalk, “the transit tycoon.”⁵¹

The periodic “scandal” of government-paid overseas travel, AKA “junkets,” recurred in the 89th Congress. Congressional Quarterly had begun an effort to catalog junkets in the late 1950’s. In the 89th Congress they were able to list one by Multer to the Far East, another by Albert to the Far East, a separate one to the Far East by Blatnik, still a fourth one to the Far East by Dorn but paid for by the Anti-Communist League, one by Donohue and McCulloch to Switzerland as well as another by the latter to Europe, one by Garmatz to Europe, one to Guatemala by Harvey, two by Passman to the Middle and Far East and another around the world, a different world-girdling journey by Teague plus one to the Far East, and three by Robert Jones to Europe. The eight others in the Class of ’46 reported no government junkets over the two years.

The importance of free trips abroad to representatives might best be represented by the fact that Ralph Harvey would devote 56 pages of his 163-page autobiography to seven foreign trips he took while in the House. Such trips were both an important information source for some representatives, as well as a pleasurable benny. Drew Pearson could claim alarm at Teague’s stay at the Hawaiian Village Hotel on Waikiki during his round-the-world junket, while in Washington the members of Congress had access to the exclusive quality-of-life enhancement facilities of the new Rayburn Building – three subterranean floors including a pool, a gym furnished with exercise equipment, ball courts, a steam room, and a sauna.⁵²

⁴⁹ US Coast Guard. *A History of the Department of Defense Federally Funded Research and Development Centers*, 30-1.

⁵⁰ Drew Pearson, August 9, 1965; June 4, 1966.

⁵¹ Drew Pearson, June 4, 1966.

⁵² Harvey, 103-42. “Comfort and Efficiency for All.”

Teague may have taken a trip around the world at government expense, but he also sponsored laws that increased disability compensation and vocational rehabilitation for veterans, increased compensation for veterans' dependents, educational assistance for the orphans of veterans, set aside funds for research into spinal injuries, to provide benefits to veterans and dependents of the Philippines Commonwealth Army, to craft benefits for veterans of the Cold War, and other veterans issues. Pres. Johnson, with an eye to the cost, supported less expensive bills for Cold Warriors but signed the final bill.⁵³ Teague also prevented through amendment to the appropriations bills the closing of Veterans' Administration regional offices and hospitals the Administration wanted to shut down.⁵⁴

The inklings of Congressional opposition to the Vietnam War, or maybe how the Administration was conducting it, began to appear. The 88th Congress had enacted the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in August 1964, essentially a declaration of war. Johnson began the bombing of North Vietnam in February 1965. More American troops were sent and major ground offensives were initiated in August. In 1966 US troop numbers reached 400,000. Americans for Democratic Action, increasingly opposed to the War, cited the first substantial Congressional opposition between the two sessions of the 89th Congress.⁵⁵

There were no negative votes and 416 positive ones to HJRes 1145, the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Every member of the Class of '46 with the exception of the missing Passman was among the 416. In March 1966 the House passed HR 13546, supplemental Defense Department appropriations, which were primarily in support of the war, 389-3. All Class members voted aye except Hardy and Teague, who missed the vote. On March 1, 1966, 78 representatives presented a statement, both in support of HR 12889, the supplementary Defense appropriation bill, and as a rejection of any implication that their support indicated a "mandate for unrestrained or indiscriminate enlargement" of the war. Blatnik and Garmatz signed the statement.⁵⁶

Burleson was in favor of escalation. He called for mining the coastal waters of North Vietnam to prevent incoming military shipments. He was also generally critical of the conduct of the war, contending that the Administration was hamstringing the military. Albert, the Democratic Majority Leader, supported his President and called the increasing demonstrations against the war "misguided in some instances and in others traitorous." Teague, the second most decorated soldier of World War Two, introduced HJRes 833 in 1966, a constitutional amendment that would have outlawed protests in opposition to the war.⁵⁷

The Vietnam War produced more veterans, dependents, and orphans for Teague's committee to look after. Three of those veterans were two sons and a son-in-law of Teague. John was awarded the Bronze Star for Valor in 1965 for his work as a forward air controller. Later he would be given the Silver Star for defending a camp as a pilot. Jim began his Vietnam service with the Agency for International Development, being wounded twice. Then he would receive a Silver Star as an airman. Fielding Cochran would serve in Vietnam as a Marine.⁵⁸

⁵³ *CQWR*, February 4 and March 11, 1966

⁵⁴ *Congressional Record*, May 11, 1965, 10166-8. *CQWR*, May 14, 1965.

⁵⁵ *ADA World* (November 1966).

⁵⁶ "Vietnam Supplemental," *CQ Almanac 1966*, on-line. *Congressional Record*, March 1, 1966, 4431.

⁵⁷ *Abilene Reporter-News*, February 13, May 4, 1966. *CQWR*, October 22, 1965, 2135-6; May 22, 1970, 1360; January 22, 1971, 178.

⁵⁸ *Bryan Daily Eagle*, October 24, 1966. *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, February 11, 1969. *The Brookshire Times*, January 25, 1968. *CQWR*, February 13, 1970, 413. *The Amarillo Globe-Times*, December 29, 1970.

The war also resulted in the end of Lyndon Johnson's run of legislative victories. Albert:

Most of Vietnam's worst effects lay down a long, twisting, and bloody road. One, however, surfaced immediately. After our commitment was made, the Great Society's momentum broke and then retreated. I could see it as early as the 1966 session, and I saw it up close. We had declared a war on poverty, not on Vietnam. While fighting the undeclared war, we had to finance the declared one.⁵⁹

Albert relates his effort to reverse a Republican success in killing a "too little" antipoverty authorization and notes, "Because we had the numbers, we won that one, and many others besides." But in elections, the Democratic Party would not be judged on its successes in Congress but on its failures in Vietnam.⁶⁰

Outside of Congress, many members of the Class of '46 continued in their political roles. Republican Caleb Boggs of Delaware won reelection to the Senate in 1966 with an indisputable 59% of the vote. At the time, Sen. Lee Metcalf (D MT) opined, "if they were going to vote in the Senate for Cale Boggs, he'd get 99 votes. And if he voted for himself he'd get 100." Republican Kenneth Keating, having lost his Senate seat in the Goldwater debacle, was elected to New York's highest court as an associate justice. Democrat Toby Morris of Oklahoma returned to the district bench by election, having served in the post on and off since 1937. Republican Antoni Sadlak of Connecticut also took to the third branch of government, winning election as district judge of probate. John Davis Lodge and Horace Seely-Brown, also Connecticut Republicans, were elected to the State's constitutional convention.⁶¹

Not all classmates were victorious. Republican Francis Love of West Virginia, out of the House since his 1948 defeat, made a go at the US Senate. After easily getting past a Democrat turned Goldwater Republican in the primary, the anti-Goldwater Love ran against Democratic Rep. Jennings Randolph. Randolph's six House terms had been ended in 1946 by Love's classmate Melvin Snyder. Now Randolph was ready for the Senate. Love ran against the war, opposing sending more US troops to Vietnam and arguing for negotiations and an "orderly withdrawal." He got 40% of the vote. Republican Edward Jenison, having been elected to the Illinois House of Representatives in an at-large free-for-all in 1964, failed to get renominated in a newly drawn district.⁶²

Frederick Coudert of Manhattan did not run for office himself but rather ran William Buckley for mayor of New York City as his campaign manager. Buckley was the Conservative Party candidate. Republican Coudert opposed his Party's candidate, John Lindsay, who had replaced Coudert in the House in 1958. Lindsay, who refused to support Goldwater in 1964, won, the first Republican Mayor since Fiorello LaGuardia was elected in 1941.⁶³

St. George did not seek public office but rather was one of the founders of the American Conservative Union and served on its first board of directors.⁶⁴

Democrat Laurie Battle served four terms in the House from Alabama before losing the nomination for a Senate seat and then being denied the nomination for the governorship. In 1959 he became a national lobbyist, first for the National Association of Manufacturers and then the Business-Industry

⁵⁹ Albert with Goble, 300.

⁶⁰ Albert with Goble, 300-1.

⁶¹ Hildenbrand interview, 97. *The New York Times*, April 11, 1982.

⁶² *CQWR*, February 18, 1966, 408; September 30, 1966, 2293. *Mattoon Illinois Journal Gazette*, June 15, 1966.

⁶³ *Wellsville Daily Reporter*, August 3, 1965.

⁶⁴ *CQWR*, January 1, 1965, 13.

Political Action Committee.⁶⁵ In 1966 Chair Howard Smith hired him as staff director and counsel of the House Rules Committee. Battle's active white supremacism did not concern the capitalists and was an asset as far as Smith was concerned.

Republican Thor Tollefson, another victim of the Goldwater candidacy, was appointed Director of Fisheries of the State of Washington.⁶⁶

Republican Willis Bradley of California, a Congressional Medal of Honor winner who served one term in the House, had died in 1954. He was memorialized in 1965 with the commissioning of a destroyer escort, the *Willis Winter Bradley, Jr.*⁶⁷

Burr Harrison's son, Thomas, a veteran of the Korean War, died in 1965 at the age of 33. The stepson of Charles Potter of Michigan, Henry Richards Wismer, son of Potter's second wife, Mary, died in 1965 when his training jet collided with another. Potter was best man at Wismer's wedding that year. Wismer was 24.⁶⁸

Bessie Erwin Jones, widow of Hamilton Jones of North Carolina, died in 1966 at age 75. Hamilton had died nine years earlier. Wingate Lucas' wife, Jerry Clark Lucas, was fatally injured on September 30, 1966, when her car and a truck collided in Connecticut. She was 58 and survived by five children, the youngest 16.⁶⁹

Harvey, 63, fell off a golf cart at Congressional Country Club on May 18, 1965, and broke bones in his left leg. He was released from hospital on July 16 with crutches. Georgia Lusk, 73, had surgery in 1966 to remove a tumor from the upper spinal column, which impaired the function of both legs. Carl Albert, 58, suffered a heart attack on September 6, 1966. He was hospitalized at the Bethesda Naval Hospital for seven weeks and reportedly lost 64 pounds, regaining 32 by the start of the 90th Congress.⁷⁰

Ernest Bramblett died on December 27, 1966, at age 65. Lois Bowker Bramblett survived. Since his departure in scandal from the House he worked as a consultant in southern California. He was the nineteenth member of the Class of '46 to die.⁷¹

⁶⁵ CQWR, January 23, 1959, 123. *The Progress-Index*, August 5, 1963.

⁶⁶ Tollefson interview (1974), 81.

⁶⁷ USSBradley.com.

⁶⁸ Thomas B. Harrison stone, Christ Church Cemetery, Matthews, Virginia. *The State Journal*, October 23, 1965. *Detroit Free Press*, March 28, 1965.

⁶⁹ Bessie Smedes Erwin Jones stone, Evergreen Cemetery, Charlotte, North Carolina. *The Bridgeport Telegram*, October 1, 1966.

⁷⁰ *Greenfield Daily Reporter*, May 19, 1965. *Rushville Republican*, July 21, 1965. *Albuquerque Journal*, May 21, 1966. CQWR, December 25, 1970, 3073-4. *The Lawton Constitution*, October 11, November 6, 1966.

⁷¹ Lois C. Bramblett stone, Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, California.