

**MINUTES OF THE SENATE REPUBLICAN  
CONFERENCE**

**1911-1964**



**MINUTES OF THE SENATE REPUBLICAN  
CONFERENCE**

**Sixty-second Congress through Eighty-eighth Congress**

**1911-1964**

**Edited by**

**Wendy Wolff  
and  
Donald A. Ritchie**

**U.S. Senate Historical Office**

**Prepared under the direction of the Secretary of the Senate**

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Cover illustration: A modern view of the room in the Russell Senate Office Building where the Republican Conference held its meetings for many years. The room now houses the offices of the Republican Policy Committee. *Architect of the Capitol*

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## **FOREWORD**

Because these minutes tell a valuable story about the evolution of our party's organization over a crucial half century, the Advisory Committee on the Records of Congress recommended in 1991 that they, and their Democratic counterparts, be edited for publication.

My predecessor, Senator Thad Cochran, chairman of the Republican Conference from 1991 to 1997, initiated the process of making these minutes available. I am proud to join in opening this rich resource to all who are interested in the development of political parties in the United States Senate.

Connie Mack  
Chairman, Republican Conference



## **PREFACE**

These conference minutes add significantly to our knowledge of the Senate's institutional development during the first two-thirds of the twentieth century. Their publication, on the unanimous recommendation of the Advisory Committee on the Records of Congress, serves as a further demonstration of the Senate's desire to open its historical records in a timely and useful manner. As the Senate officer responsible for preserving and making publicly available this body's noncurrent records, I take particular pleasure in this volume's release. Over the past five years, the Senate Historical Office, operating under the Secretary of the Senate's supervision, has carefully transcribed, annotated, edited, and indexed the minutes of both party conferences. Special thanks go to my predecessors Walter J. Stewart and Kelly D. Johnston for coordinating this project with the Senate's party leaders, and to party secretaries Elizabeth B. Greene and Martin P. Paone for their generous cooperation. Within the Senate Historical Office, I wish to acknowledge Senate Historian Richard A. Baker, who has resolutely advocated this enterprise almost since his appointment in 1975, and to Associate Historian Donald A. Ritchie and Historical Editor Wendy Wolff, the two professional staff members who did the hard work of transcribing, editing, and annotating. Wendy Wolff also prepared the detailed index that greatly enhances this work's reference value.

Gary Sisco  
Secretary of the Senate





## INTRODUCTION

### **The Development of Senate Party Caucuses**

The authors of the United States Constitution did not anticipate political parties and therefore made no provisions for political organizations within Congress. Yet party caucuses—meetings open only to members of the same party—emerged early in the histories of both the Senate and the House of Representatives and over time became the “fountainhead” of political power in Congress. Caucuses, later called conferences, took responsibility for choosing party candidates for such officers of the Senate as the president pro tempore, the chaplain, the secretary of the Senate, and the sergeant at arms. They also selected the majority and minority leaders and whips, the policy committees, steering committees, and members of all the standing and special committees. Depending upon the particular time, the issues, the incumbent president, the inclinations of the leadership, and the party’s numerical strength, caucuses have attempted to maintain party unity and promote the party’s program.<sup>1</sup>

“Caucus” derived from an Algonquian Indian word for counselors. Before the American Revolution, secret caucuses within the colonial legislatures plotted opposition to British-appointed governors. By the time the First Congress met in 1789, the term “caucusing” had become a commonplace expression for any private conference of like-minded legislators. Between 1796 and 1836, formal congressional caucuses nominated candidates for president of the United States—until protests against “King Caucus” led to the convening of national party conventions. Less regularly during these early congresses, party caucuses met to plan strategy dealing with legislation, nominations, and treaties. When the Jeffersonian Republicans won control of Congress in 1800, the Federalist minority accused the majority of trying to reconcile their differences in caucuses before debating anything in public, thereby treating the minority as “nullities.” When legislation dealing with the purchase of Louisiana reached the Senate, a Federalist senator complained that “the democratic senators held a Caucus last evening in which they settled the principles of the bill—and agreed to the same in the Senate without any debate.”<sup>2</sup>

Caucus innovations generally emerged from the majority party and were later adopted by the minority. Prior to the Civil War, when

Democrats more often held the majority, the Democratic caucus originated the practice of submitting slates of names of its members for committee assignments (rather than have the Senate as a whole elect committee members as was the practice before 1846). Republicans gained the majority during the Civil War and held it for most of the remainder of the nineteenth century. During this era, Republican senators made their party caucus a vehicle for scheduling legislation on the floor, a function that they eventually assigned to a steering committee within the caucus. Republicans also established a committee on committees to make party assignments to the standing committees. Senate Democrats adopted similar committees during the two congresses in which they held the majority between the Civil War and the end of the century. By contrast, in the twentieth century Democrats held the majority more frequently than Republicans. During these times, the Democratic Conference invented such offices as the majority leader and the whip, which in turn were adopted by the Republicans.<sup>3</sup>

Senators have also attempted to exert party discipline through their caucuses. In December 1858, the Democratic caucus voted to remove Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas as chairman of the Committee on Territories, because of his opposition to President James Buchanan's plans for the organization of the Kansas territory. Similarly, in 1871, the Senate Republican caucus deposed Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner as chair of the Foreign Relations Committee after he opposed President U.S. Grant's plans to annex Santo Domingo. Senator Sumner had also refused to acknowledge that his party caucus could limit the topics for consideration on the floor or tie senators' hands in advance. Nevertheless, by 1900 the two party caucuses controlled both committee assignments and calendars and imposed what one scholar has called "unprecedented discipline" on roll-call votes.<sup>4</sup>

The progressive reform movement at the opening of the twentieth century had a significant impact on the congressional caucuses. Suspicious of any exercise of power in secret meetings, the progressives discredited the term "caucus," which increasingly came to be replaced by "conference." Republicans officially designated their meetings as conferences in 1913, while the Democrats switched from the word caucus to conference more informally. Although the two terms continue to be used interchangeably, "caucus" came to refer to those attempts at binding the party's vote, while "conference" referred to the election of officers and the general discussions of legislative business.<sup>5</sup> For instance, on April 19, 1916, while debating a tariff on sugar, Nevada Senator Francis G. Newlands asked whether the meeting was a conference or a caucus—that is, whether those par-

ticipating in the meeting were to be bound by its actions. The chairman declared the meeting to be a conference and explained that it would not “assume the character of a caucus” unless two-thirds of the Democratic senators first voted to make the question “a party question.” At that point, Georgia Senator Thomas W. Hardwick rose to state that unless the caucus coerced him he would “use every means in his power” to prevent the Senate from adopting the House version of the bill. But Hardwick added that if bound by the caucus he would “submit to such vote as a good party man.”

A keen observer of the caucus’ potential was the political scientist Woodrow Wilson. In his book, *Congressional Government*, published in 1885, Wilson had argued that “No one is *the* Senator. No one may speak for his party as well as for himself; no one exercises the special trust of acknowledged leadership.” However, by 1908, in his study *Constitutional Government in the United States*, Wilson had identified the chairman of the majority caucus as the leader of the Senate: “Each party in the Senate finds its real, its permanent, its effective organization in its caucus, and follows the leadership, in all important political battles, of the chairman of that caucus, its organization and leadership alike resting upon arrangements quite outside the Constitution, for which there is no better and no other sanction than human nature.”<sup>6</sup>

### **Republican Conference Overview**

Founded in 1854, the Republican party became the majority party in the Senate in 1861, as the Democratic members from the seceding states withdrew or were expelled from the body. The party continued to control the Senate throughout the Civil War and Reconstruction until 1879, when the Democrats gained the majority for a single Congress. Thereafter, the Republicans were again in the majority until 1913, except for the two years from 1893 to 1895. In fact, Republicans organized the Senate for sixty-four of the seventy-two years between 1861 and 1933, when the worsening depression cost the party its majority status.<sup>7</sup>

During these years, the Republican caucus met privately to hold discussions designed to foster party unity on legislation and other matters. The caucus also made committee assignments through a Committee on Committees; scheduled legislation through a Committee on the Order of Business, informally known as the Steering Committee; and filled Senate patronage positions when in the majority. The chairman of the Conference appointed all three committees.

During the 1870s, the caucus chairman, Henry B. Anthony of Rhode Island, had little power beyond choosing the members of the

Committee on Committees. Although the caucus tried to determine the order of Senate business, members did not feel bound by caucus decisions, since there was no effective mechanism to enforce obedience. (The caucus' willingness in 1871 to remove Charles Sumner from the chairmanship of the Foreign Relations Committee, as mentioned above, owed more to the Massachusetts senator's embarrassing refusal to moderate his feud with the Republican president and secretary of state than it did to his opposition to party policy.) By the 1880s the caucus appointed a Steering Committee to make recommendations on the order of business in the Senate, but it did not require members to follow party policy in floor votes.<sup>8</sup>

By 1900, the party had become more organized in the Senate thanks to strong leadership from William B. Allison of Iowa (who served as Republican caucus chairman from 1897 to 1908), Nelson Aldrich of Rhode Island (chairman of the Senate Finance Committee), and a group of charismatic and powerful colleagues. As caucus chairman, Allison quickly began exerting control over the party. He appointed himself to chair the Steering Committee and named the members of the Committee on Committees, although committee chairmen were generally chosen on the basis of seniority. His position gave him the power to enforce decisions through committee assignments and control of the legislative process.<sup>9</sup>

The use of patronage to fill Senate staff positions was a major concern of the Conference in its early days. Although originally the caucus voted on each position, by the late nineteenth century it had adopted the more equitable approach of assigning each Republican senator a certain number of appointments. From 1911 to 1929, whenever the party was in the majority, a patronage committee of the Conference made a detailed review of all Senate employees and recommended which positions should be considered nonpolitical and which should be available for senators to fill.

As the Republican caucus evolved, it began electing officers in addition to a chairman, beginning with a Conference secretary in the mid-1890s. No formal minutes exist prior to April 4, 1911, when the Conference elected Charles Curtis of Kansas as secretary.<sup>10</sup>

At that time, the Senate had seventy-two committees, many of which had no function except to provide office space and a clerk to their chairmen. (With so many committees, it was even possible to grant chairmanships to senior members of the minority party.) At the beginning of each Congress, the party's Committee on Committees was responsible for making Republican assignments to all seventy-two. In 1921 the Republican Conference supported a change in Senate rules that reduced the number of committees from seventy-two to thirty-four.

The selection of official party leaders to manage legislation on the Senate floor did not begin until the 1920s. Although Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, as Republican Conference chairman, was essentially the party's floor leader from 1918 to 1924, Charles Curtis in 1925 became the first Republican to be officially elected floor leader. Curtis also continued to hold the Conference chairmanship. A decade earlier, the Republicans had elected Curtis as whip to help move legislation on the floor and ensure that senators were present to vote, a position he held from 1915 until his election as floor leader in 1925. He served as majority leader until he won election as vice president in 1928.<sup>11</sup>

When the Republicans held the majority, the Conference selected its candidates for the Senate's officers—the secretary of the Senate, the sergeant at arms, and the chaplain. Even when in the minority, the party offered a slate of candidates, although without expecting them to win election in the full Senate. In 1933, the Republican Conference chose a longtime staff member, Carl A. Loeffler, to serve as the first party secretary (the official title is usually “secretary to the majority” or “secretary to the minority” depending on the circumstances). A preface at the beginning of these minutes indicates that, in practice, Loeffler had been in charge of the Republican Conference minutes from their inception in 1911.<sup>12</sup>

Senate Republicans used their conference as a forum for discussion rather than as an instrument to enforce party discipline. In February 1913 the Republican caucus started calling itself a “conference,” implying that its positions were not binding on its members. A dozen years later, on March 12, 1925, the Conference members made this point explicit by adopting a resolution:

To make clear and beyond question the long-settled policy of Republicans that our conferences are not caucuses or of binding effect upon those participating therein but are meetings solely for the purpose of exchanging views to promote harmony and united action so far as possible.

When the Republican Conference adopted its first formal rules in 1944, Rule VI reiterated this point, stating:

No action by the Conference upon any matter pending or to be proposed in the Senate shall be binding in any way on members in casting their votes thereon.<sup>13</sup>

This Conference rule remains in effect.

### **The Republican Conference, 1911–1965**

These minutes cover a sweep of fifty-four years. During this time, the Republican party in the Senate evolved from a relatively infor-

mal grouping to a highly organized and effective operation with a professional staff.

In 1911, near the end of a long stretch as the majority party, the Republican Conference elected Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois as chairman. Two years later, as the Democrats gained control of both the House and the Senate, Jacob Gallinger of New Hampshire succeeded Cullom as Conference chairman in March 1913. During his tenure, the Conference was concerned with United States efforts at neutrality and later with the country's entry into World War I.

### **In the Majority**

When Gallinger died in August 1918, the party elected Henry Cabot Lodge chairman, just as the war was ending and postwar planning began. Starting in 1919, with Republicans once more in control of the Senate, Lodge also chaired the Foreign Relations Committee and thus was in a powerful position to influence Senate action on the Treaty of Versailles, which he persuaded the Senate to reject.

During the 1920s, the Conference devoted increasing attention to legislation and the order of Senate business. Starting in late 1924 and continuing as long as the party remained in the majority, the Committee on Order of Business (Steering Committee) regularly submitted to the Conference detailed lists of measures to be considered in order of priority.

Although the Republicans held a margin of ten over the Democrats in 1923, Lodge faced a rebellion by six progressive Republican senators, who—combined with the two Farmer-Labor senators—were able to hold the balance of power, blocking election of one committee chairman for so long that the office ultimately went to a Democrat. Then, in the 1924 election, Republican Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin ran for president on the Progressive ticket in opposition to incumbent Republican President Calvin Coolidge. In November 1924, after Coolidge's reelection increased Republican majorities in Congress, the Conference voted that La Follette and the senators who had bolted the party should not be invited to attend Republican conferences and should not receive Republican committee assignments. Two years later, however, after the 1926 election reduced the Republican margin of control, the Conference reinstated the senators who had been denied Republican committee assignments.

When Charles Curtis was inaugurated vice president in March 1929, the Republican Conference chose James E. Watson of Indiana as its chairman and floor leader. Following the stock market crash

of 1929 and the onset of the Great Depression, Republican numbers declined in the Senate. From 1931 to 1932, they had only a slim margin, enabling twelve progressive Republicans to hold the balance of power.

### **In the Minority**

The 1932 election brought the Democrats to power in both the White House and Congress. In the minority in 1933, the Republicans elected Charles McNary of Oregon as Conference chairman and floor leader. During the New Deal, the Conference devoted considerable time to responding to the flood of legislation that was rushing through Congress. Down to 25 members in 1935, the Republican Conference decided against electing a whip or assistant leader or appointing a Steering Committee; instead, McNary was authorized to appoint senators to help temporarily as needed. That policy continued until the party's fortunes improved in 1944. Also in 1935, the Conference for the first time reached out to recruit allies who were not officially Republicans. It invited Henrik Shipstead, a Farmer-Labor senator from Minnesota, and Robert La Follette, Jr., previously a Republican but reelected in 1934 as a Progressive, to attend Conference meetings. (While neither attended conferences that year, both received their committee assignments from the Republicans. Shipstead became a Republican six years later, in 1941.)

McNary ran unsuccessfully for vice president in 1940 on the Republican ticket headed by Wendell Willkie. During the campaign, Warren Austin of Vermont served as acting chairman of the Republican Conference. When McNary became ill in November 1943, Conference Secretary Wallace H. White, Jr., of Maine served as acting floor leader for the remainder of the Seventy-eighth Congress, even after McNary died in February 1944. To broaden the party leadership at a time when Republican ranks were again growing, the Conference elected Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan as acting Conference chairman. This decision marked the beginning of the Republican practice of dividing the principal leadership posts among different individuals. Unlike the Democratic Conference, in which the floor leader also served as Conference chairman and as chairman of the Policy Committee, the Republicans since that time have continued to separate the three positions.<sup>14</sup>

In 1943 an important new player moved into a leading role in the Conference. Robert A. Taft of Ohio, who had entered the Senate in 1939, encouraged the Conference to organize for the postwar world and develop a set of operating rules, since the Republicans were once again gaining numbers in the Senate. Under the chairmanship of Taft, a five-member committee prepared a report and a set of

draft Conference rules covering election of officers, duties of officers, and special committees of the Conference. The rules, as initially adopted in February 1944, provided for election of a chairman, vice chairman, floor leader, assistant floor leader, and whip, as well as a secretary. In December of that year, the Conference amended the rules to remove the vice chairman and assistant floor leader from the list, requiring only election of a chairman, secretary, floor leader, and whip. After creation of the Policy Committee in 1947, the chairman of that committee was added to the list, as was a chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee in 1980. In 1969 the title of whip was changed to “assistant floor leader.”<sup>15</sup>

Taft’s committee also recommended reconstituting the Senate Republican Steering Committee of nine members to “consider the legislative program in the Senate . . . and present recommendations for action by the Conference.” On March 15, 1944, Acting Conference Chairman Arthur Vandenberg appointed the members of this committee, with Robert Taft as its chairman. Under Taft’s leadership, the Senate Republican Steering Committee hired a research assistant to help coordinate a postwar legislative program for the Republicans. The Steering Committee also began meeting jointly with a similar House committee in January 1945, in an effort to devise a statement of Republican principles regarding postwar legislation, and with the ultimate goal of regaining the majority in Congress. The Conference, which during this period was considering measures designed to aid the transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy, approved the resulting statement in December 1945.

In the post-World War II era, the Conference considered the need to improve the organization of the Senate as a whole, especially to reduce the number of committees and committee assignments. These concerns, shared by many inside and outside of Congress, led to creation in 1945 of a Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, whose recommendations led to passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. Taking effect at the beginning of the Eightieth Congress in 1947, the act provided staff for members and reduced the number of House and Senate standing committees (cutting the Senate’s standing committees from thirty-three to fifteen). The joint committee had also recommended creating majority and minority policy committees in each house as a way of developing and coordinating legislative policy, but objection by House Speaker Sam Rayburn—who saw such committees as a threat to his own power—prevented inclusion of that requirement in the new law. Instead, the Senate policy committees were provided for in an appropriations bill. In December 1946, after Republicans regained the majority in that fall’s election, the Conference formally voted to make



its Republican Steering Committee, under the chairmanship of Robert Taft, the official “Majority Policy Committee” required by the new law.

### **The Eightieth Congress**

Once more in control of the House and Senate in 1947, the Republicans were in a position to focus on initiating legislation. They particularly emphasized cutting the federal budget, which set the stage for conflict with Democratic President Harry Truman. Some of the large class of newly elected Republican senators, seeking to be more closely involved in determining party policy, urged holding frequent conferences to discuss policy issues and asked that some freshmen senators be named to the Policy Committee. Conference Chairman Eugene Millikin of Colorado agreed to hold a conference every two weeks, and the Conference met almost that often during the spring of 1947. (The Conference held more meetings—twenty-four—during the Eightieth Congress than in any previous or subsequent Congress covered in this volume.) In some instances, the Conference authorized the Policy Committee to determine party strategy, as it did in the dispute over seating Mississippi Democrat Theodore Bilbo, who was charged with improper campaign practices. During the session, the Policy Committee outlined to the Conference its recommended legislative program, and the Conference itself held lengthy discussions of such issues as aid to Greece and Turkey, amending labor legislation, and ending some wartime economic controls.

In both 1947 and 1948, President Truman called extraordinary sessions of Congress to deal with domestic issues. When the Republican-dominated Eightieth Congress failed to pass his initiatives, he made the “do-nothing” Congress the focus of his successful 1948 presidential campaign. In late July 1948, the Conference tried to limit the political damage by issuing a statement that “serious legislative problems cannot be satisfactorily handled in the midst of a political campaign” and asserting that the conflict with the president stemmed not from Congress’ failure to act but from “a fundamental difference in government philosophy.” Still, in November Truman not only won the election but the Democrats also regained control of Congress.

### **In and Out of Power**

Four years later, with Dwight D. Eisenhower’s election as president in 1952, Republicans won back control of Congress. The margin in the Senate was so narrow, however, that the deaths of nine senators during the Eighty-third Congress (including that of Senate Majority Leader Robert Taft) shifted the party totals on several occasions to make the party balance even or at some points actually

give the Democrats an edge. Despite these shifts, the Republicans retained the leadership offices and committee chairmanships throughout the Congress, thanks in part to the potentially deciding vote of Republican Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

In 1957, following the retirement of longtime Conference Chairman Eugene Millikin, the Republicans—once again in the minority—elected Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts to chair the Conference. As junior senators pressed to have more access to the Policy Committee, that committee decided to invite all Republican senators to attend a weekly luncheon meeting in the Capitol as a way of encouraging party unity. The luncheons proved to be a successful and continuing institution.

Over the years, newer senators exerted increasing pressure to revise the Conference's method of making committee assignments. The old system allowed each senior senator to choose several of the most powerful committees, filling slots on such committees long before the junior members had a chance to be selected. Finally, in 1965, the Republican Conference adopted a rules change that designated the four most popular committees—Appropriations, Armed Services, Finance, and Foreign Relations—as “excepted” committees. All new assignments would be made by allowing each Republican senator in order of seniority to select one such committee. No senator could request a second of these important committees until all Republican senators had had an opportunity to select one.

With the coming of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations in the 1960s, the Conference, although still in the minority, held lengthy discussions of such pending measures as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and proposals that became the Medicare program in 1965. Although the Republican party's fortunes must have seemed at a low ebb in 1964, the cutoff date for this publication, the Conference was making changes that would help position the party in the Senate to make gains in both numbers and influence in the coming years.

### **Editorial Method**

This publication represents a transcription of the original typed copies of the Republican Conference minutes, which were in the keeping of the Conference until 1996, when the Conference chairman arranged for their transfer to the Senate Historical Office. The original bound typescripts through 1964 have been transmitted to the National Archives, where they will be available to researchers. The minutes have been reproduced in their entirety, along with many but not all of the attachments. Minutes of the Committee on

Committees, which were bound with the Conference minutes, are also included here.

The format of the original minutes has been retained as much as possible, with a few minor rearrangements due to space considerations. Obvious typographical errors have been silently corrected, and minor changes have been made for uniformity of style in capitalization and punctuation. In general, spelling has not been altered, so that a word like “subcommittee” may be spelled in a variety of ways over the fifty-four year period of these minutes.

Editorial notes have been added in square brackets at the beginning of each Congress. Occasional explanatory footnotes also appear in brackets to differentiate them from the original footnotes contained in attachments to the minutes.

During some periods, especially the 1930s and 1950s, copies of bills and committee reports under discussion by the Conference were bound with the Conference minutes. Since many of these measures were too lengthy to include here, the key information (bill number, whether as reported or passed by House or Senate, report number, etc.) is shown at the point where the document appears in the minutes, with an indication of the page number where it may be found in the original set of the minutes at the National Archives in Washington, D.C.

Senator Thad Cochran, chairman of the Republican Conference from 1991 to 1997, was instrumental in making these minutes available.

Wendy Wolff  
Donald A. Ritchie  
Senate Historical Office

## Notes

1. Remarks by Senator William Proxmire, *Congressional Record*, 23 February 1959, 86th Congress, 1st sess., p. 2814.
2. Robert Luce, *Legislative Procedure: Parliamentary Practices and the Course of Business in the Framing of Statutes* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972 [1922]), 506–10; Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., *The Process of Government Under Jefferson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 280–82.
3. U.S., Congress, Senate, *The Senate, 1789–1989: Addresses on the History of the United States Senate*, by Robert C. Byrd, S. Doc. 100–20, 100th Congress, 1st sess., vol. 2, 1991, p. 219.
4. David J. Rothman, *Politics and Power: The United States Senate, 1868–1901* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 4, 18–25.
5. George H. Haynes, *The Senate of the United States: Its History and Practice* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1938), vol. 1, pp. 474–89.
6. Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1956 [1885]), p. 147; Woodrow Wilson, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), p. 133.
7. Byrd, *The Senate, 1789–1989*, Vol. IV, *Historical Statistics: 1789–1992*, pp. 417–18.
8. David J. Rothman, *Politics and Power: The United States Senate, 1869–1901* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 17–30, 42, 44, 54, 60.
9. Horace Samuel Merrill and Marion Galbraith Merrill, *The Republican Command, 1897–1913* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1971), p. 17.
10. Gerald Gamm and Steven S. Smith, “The Emergence of Senate Leadership, 1881–1946,” April 1997 (unpublished manuscript in the files of the Senate Historical Office).
11. Byrd, *Historical Statistics*, pp. 502, 506.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 510.
13. Now Rule VII. See *History, Rules & Precedents of the Senate Republican Conference*, 105th Congress, revised March 1997.
14. Byrd, *Historical Statistics*, pp. 504, 511.
15. *History, Rules & Precedents of the Senate Republican Conference*.

## PREFACE

Prior to April 4, 1911, no minutes were kept of Conferences held by the Republican members of the United States Senate.

The suggestion to do so originated with Senator Boies Penrose, and thereafter a written record of proceedings was begun under the direction of a Senator chosen as Secretary of the Conference.

Acting as custodian of these minutes from April 4, 1911, to June 2, 1936, I have completed an index, and include it, to form Volume Number One.<sup>1</sup>

Carl A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the Minority

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## **Sixty-second Congress (1911–1913)**

[Editor's note: In an effort to ensure party cohesion, the Republican Conference (called the Republican Caucus until February 1913) had begun holding meetings shortly after the Civil War when it was engaged in a power struggle with President Andrew Johnson over Reconstruction. During the 1890s, Republicans began to feel an increasing need to enforce party regularity because a group of western Silver Republicans and Populists held the balance of power in the Senate. Previous caucus chairmen exerted little power, but in 1897 Appropriations Committee Chairman William B. Allison of Iowa was elected as Conference chairman. Under his leadership, the Conference and its Steering Committee developed considerable influence over the legislative process.

Allison died in 1908. In the 1910 election, Republicans lost control of the House, and their majority in the Senate also shrank. Thus, during the Sixty-second Congress when the party conference began keeping minutes, the Republicans held a majority of 52 to 44 in the Senate, with Republican President William Howard Taft in the White House, while Democrats controlled the House. Then, in the 1912 presidential election, came the Republican party split, when Taft was the Republican nominee and Theodore Roosevelt ran on the Progressive ticket. Democrat Woodrow Wilson won the presidency, and Democrats took control of the Senate as well. Consequently, the Republican Conference meetings in January and February 1913 reflected the party's effort to pass legislation quickly before the new Democratic Congress convened in March.

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<sup>1</sup> [Loeffler's index has been incorporated in the index prepared for this volume.]

APRIL 4, 1911

Preferring not to call their Conference a caucus, Republicans consider the Conference a forum for discussion of party positions that in no way binds the Senate votes of its members.]

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[April 4, 1911]

## REPUBLICAN CAUCUS

April 4, 1911

The first caucus of the 62nd Congress was called to order in the Marble Room of the Senate by Senator William P. Frye, of Maine, at 2:12 p.m., April 4, 1911.

Senator Frye declined to serve as Chairman of the Caucus and suggested Senator Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois for the chairmanship.

The question was put and Senator Cullom was unanimously elected Chairman.

Senator Penrose nominated Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas for Secretary, and, upon the question being put, he was unanimously elected.

The roll was then called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Borah, Bourne, Bradley, Brandegee, Briggs, Bristow, Brown, Burnham, Burton, Clapp, Clark of Wyoming, Crane, Crawford, Cullom, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Dixon, du Pont, Frye, Gallinger, Gamble, Gronna, Guggenheim, Heyburn, Jones, La Follette, Lippitt, Lodge, Lorimer, McCumber, McLean, Nelson, Nixon, Oliver, Page, Penrose, Perkins, Richardson, Root, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Stephenson, Sutherland, Townsend, Warren, Wetmore, Works, and Young.

The roll call developed the presence of every Republican Senator who had qualified to date. Total being 49.

Senator Gallinger moved that the Chairman of the Caucus (Senator Cullom) be authorized to appoint a Committee on Committees to consist of eleven members.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

Senator Warren moved that the Chairman of the Caucus be authorized to appoint a Committee on Order of Business to consist of eleven members, and that the Chairman of the Caucus be ex officio a member of the Committee.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Dixon spoke on the question of authorizing the Committee on Committees or a special committee to look into senatorial patronage.

SIXTY-SECOND CONGRESS (1911–1913)

A general debate followed on this subject, participated in by Senators Warren, Penrose and Smoot.

Senator Dixon moved that the Chairman of the Caucus be authorized to appoint a Committee to look into senatorial patronage and report to the Caucus.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

Chairman Cullom informed the Caucus it would take him two or three days to prepare a list of Committees.

Senator Penrose moved that the Caucus adjourn subject to the call of the Chairman.

The question was put and carried unanimously, and the Caucus adjourned at two o'clock and thirty minutes p.m.

[signed] Charles Curtis  
Secretary.

Acting under authority conferred upon him by the Republican caucus of April 4, 1911, the Chairman, Senator Cullom, appointed the following committees:

COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES

Messrs. Gallinger of New Hampshire, Lodge of Massachusetts, Warren of Wyoming, Penrose of Pennsylvania, Heyburn of Idaho, Smoot of Utah, La Follette of Wisconsin, Bourne of Oregon, Cummins of Iowa, Bradley of Kentucky, and Bristow of Kansas.

STEERING COMMITTEE

Messrs. Cullom of Illinois, Gallinger of New Hampshire, Clark of Wyoming, Nelson of Minnesota, Gamble of South Dakota, Brandegee of Connecticut, William Alden Smith of Michigan, Borah of Idaho, Brown of Nebraska, Briggs of New Jersey, and Jones of Washington.

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[April 26, 1911]

REPUBLICAN CAUCUS

April 26, 1911

The Republican Caucus met in the Marble Room of the Senate at three o'clock p.m., April 26, 1911, and was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Cullom.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

APRIL 26, 1911

Messrs. Borah, Bourne, Brandegee, Briggs, Bristow, Brown, Burnham, Burton, Clapp, Crane, Cullom, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Dixon, du Pont, Gallinger, Gamble, Gronna, Guggenheim, Heyburn, Jones, Kenyon, La Follette, Lippitt, Lodge, McCumber, Nelson, Nixon, Oliver, Page, Penrose, Perkins, Poindexter, Richardson, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Stephenson, Sutherland, Townsend, Warren, Wetmore, Works. Total 43.

Senator Gallinger, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, made the following report for committee assignments of Republican Senators for the Sixty-second Congress, to wit:

**Additional Accommodations for  
the Library of Congress**

Cullom  
Nelson  
Poindexter - <sup>2</sup>

**Agriculture and Forestry**

Burnham, chairman  
Warren  
Perkins  
Guggenheim  
Page  
Crawford -  
Bradley -  
Lorimer -  
Gronna -

**Appropriations**

Warren, chairman  
Perkins  
Gallinger  
Curtis  
Gamble -  
Smoot -  
Nixon -  
Dixon -  
Bourne -  
Wetmore -

**To Audit and Control the Con-  
tingent Expenses of the Senate**

Briggs, chairman -  
Dillingham -  
Bristow -

**Canadian Relations**

Oliver, chairman -  
Cummins  
Burton  
Root  
McLean -

**The Census**

La Follette, chairman  
Guggenheim  
Cummins  
du Pont -  
McLean -  
Townsend -  
Lippitt -

**Civil Service and Retrenchment**

Cummins, chairman  
La Follette  
Lodge  
Smoot  
Borah  
Dixon  
Gallinger -

**Claims**

Crawford, chairman  
Smoot  
Bristow  
Oliver  
Bradley  
Page -  
Jones -  
McLean -  
Townsend -

<sup>2</sup> [These lines appear in the original minutes, but there is no indication of their meaning.]



**Coast and Insular Survey**

Townsend, chairman -  
Richardson  
Frye  
Cullom  
Works -

**Coast Defenses**

Curtis, chairman -  
Nixon  
du Pont  
Crane  
Root  
Works -

**Commerce**

Frye, chairman  
Nelson  
Perkins  
Smith of Michigan  
Bourne  
Burton  
Burnham -  
Stephenson -  
Crawford -  
Oliver -

**Conservation of National  
Resources**

Dixon, chairman  
Clark of Wyoming  
Dillingham  
Briggs  
Guggenheim  
Jones  
Richardson -  
Gronna -  
Townsend -

**Corporations Organized in the  
District of Columbia**

Brown  
La Follette  
Lippitt -

**Cuban Relations**

Page, chairman -  
Burnham  
Clapp  
Curtis  
Crane -  
Kenyon -

**Disposition of Useless Papers in  
the Executive Departments**

Burnham -

**District of Columbia**

Gallinger, chairman  
Dillingham  
Curtis -  
Jones -  
Oliver -  
Lorimer -  
Works -  
Kenyon -

**Education and Labor**

Borah, chairman  
Penrose  
du Pont -  
Page -  
McLean -  
Kenyon -

**Engrossed Bills**

Lodge  
Burton

**Enrolled Bills**

Stephenson, chairman  
Gronna -

**To Examine the Several  
Branches of the Civil Service**

Richardson  
Crawford  
Perkins -  
Townsend -

**Expenditures in the Department  
of Agriculture**

Lippitt, chairman -  
Stephenson  
Gronna -

**Expenditures in the Interior  
Department**

Poindexter, chairman -  
McCumber  
Frye -

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**Expenditures in the Department  
of Justice**

Bradley, chairman  
Burnham  
Borah -

**Expenditures in the Navy  
Department**

Gronna, chairman -  
Dillingham  
Bradley -

**Expenditures in the Post Office  
Department**

Bristow, chairman  
Smith of Michigan  
Penrose -

**Expenditures in the Department  
of State**

Kenyon, chairman -  
Warren  
La Follette

**Expenditures in the Treasury  
Department**

Burton, chairman  
Briggs  
Works -

**Expenditures in the War  
Department**

Works, chairman -  
du Pont  
Cullom

**Finance**

Penrose, chairman  
Cullom  
Lodge  
McCumber  
Smoot  
Gallinger -  
Clark of Wyoming -  
Heyburn -  
La Follette -

**Fisheries**

Jones, chairman  
Bourne  
Perkins  
Briggs  
Curtis -

**Five Civilized Tribes of Indians**

Clapp  
Curtis  
Smith of Michigan

**Foreign Relations**

Cullom, chairman  
Frye  
Lodge  
Smith of Michigan  
Root  
McCumber -  
Sutherland -  
Borah -  
Burton -

**Forest Reservations and the  
Protection of Game**

McLean, chairman -  
Perkins  
Burnham  
Lodge  
Poindexter -

**Geological Survey**

Briggs  
Wetmore -  
Page -  
Kenyon -

**Immigration**

Lodge, chairman  
Dillingham  
Penrose  
Brown  
Richardson  
Burton -  
Gronna -

**Indian Affairs**

Gamble, chairman  
Clapp  
McCumber  
Sutherland  
La Follette  
Curtis  
Brown  
Dixon  
Page

**Indian Depredations**

Dixon  
Stephenson  
Crawford  
Brandegee -  
Lippitt -

**Industrial Expositions**

Root, chairman  
Jones  
Crane  
Stephenson  
Oliver  
Gronna -  
Works -

**Interoceanic Canals**

Brandegee, chairman  
Borah  
Crawford  
Bristow  
Perkins -  
Page -  
Jones -  
Townsend -

**Interstate Commerce**

Clapp, chairman  
Cullom  
Crane  
Nixon  
Cummins  
Brandegee -  
Oliver -  
Lippitt -  
Townsend -

**To Investigate Trespassers Upon  
Indian Lands**

Bradley  
Richardson -  
Poindexter -

**Irrigation and Reclamation of  
Arid Lands**

Nixon, chairman  
Warren  
Sutherland  
Borah  
Jones  
Brandegee -  
Works -

**Joint Committee on the Revi-  
sion of the Laws of the United  
States**

Heyburn, chairman  
Sutherland

**The Judiciary**

Clark of Wyoming, chairman  
Nelson  
Dillingham  
Sutherland  
Brandegee  
Borah  
Brown -  
Cummins -  
Root -

**The Library**

Wetmore, chairman  
Briggs  
Cummins  
Root  
Burton

**Manufactures**

Heyburn, chairman  
Oliver  
Lorimer  
La Follette -  
Cummins -  
McLean -

APRIL 26, 1911

### **Military Affairs**

du Pont, chairman  
Warren  
Dixon  
Briggs  
Brown  
Guggenheim -  
Bristow -  
Jones -  
Lorimer -

### **Mines and Mining**

Lorimer, chairman -  
Heyburn  
Nixon  
Sutherland  
Guggenheim  
Poindexter -

### **Mississippi River and its Tributaries**

Brown  
Burton  
Stephenson -  
Wetmore -

### **Naval Affairs**

Perkins, chairman  
Penrose  
Wetmore  
Clapp  
Lodge -  
Smith of Michigan -  
Page -  
Poindexter -

### **Pacific Islands and Porto <sup>3</sup> Rico**

Richardson, chairman  
Clapp  
Lorimer  
Nelson -  
Burnham -  
Brandeggee -  
Poindexter -

### **Pacific Railroads**

Frye  
Smith of Michigan  
Stephenson  
McCumber -  
Brown -

### **Patents**

Brown, chairman  
Brandeggee  
Kenyon -  
Works -

### **Pensions**

McCumber, chairman  
Burnham  
Smoot  
Curtis  
du Pont  
Brown -  
Bradley -  
Poindexter -

### **The Philippines**

Guggenheim, chairman  
Lodge  
Nixon  
Heyburn  
Bristow -  
Crawford -  
McLean -  
Lippitt -

### **Post Offices and Post Roads**

Bourne, chairman  
Penrose  
Crane  
Guggenheim  
Briggs -  
Richardson -  
Bradley -  
Bristow -  
Lorimer -

### **Printing**

Smoot, chairman  
Gallinger  
Richardson  
Page -  
Kenyon -

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<sup>3</sup> [Spelled this way in the original.]

**Private Land Claims**

Smith of Michigan  
Oliver  
Lorimer  
Gronna -

**Privileges and Elections**

Dillingham, chairman  
Gamble  
Heyburn  
Clapp -  
Sutherland -  
Bradley -  
Jones -  
Oliver -  
Kenyon -

**Public Buildings and Grounds**

Sutherland, chairman -  
Warren  
Heyburn  
Wetmore  
Gamble  
du Pont  
Stephenson  
Bourne -  
Poindexter -

**Public Health and National  
Quarantine**

Smoot  
Crawford  
Crane -  
Gronna -  
Lippitt -  
Works -

**Public Lands**

Nelson, chairman  
Clark of Wyoming  
Gamble  
Smoot  
Heyburn  
Dixon  
Jones  
Guggenheim -  
Works -

**Railroads**

Clark of Wyoming  
Nelson  
Bourne  
Bristow  
Penrose -  
McCumber -

**Revolutionary Claims**

Bradley  
Root  
Borah -

**Rules**

Crane, chairman  
Warren  
Gallinger -  
Nelson -  
Cummins -

**Standards, Weights and  
Measures**

Borah  
Clapp -  
Gamble -

**Territories**

Smith of Michigan, chairman -  
Nelson  
Burnham  
Brown -  
Bristow -  
McLean -  
Lippitt -

**Transportation Routes to the  
Seaboard**

Clark of Wyoming  
McCumber -  
Brandeggee -  
Bourne -  
Burton -

**Transportation and Sale of Meat  
Products**

Clark of Wyoming  
Nixon  
Townsend -

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University of the United States	Woman Suffrage
Frye	Wetmore
Dillingham	du Pont -
Curtis	Bourne -
Wetmore	
Dixon	
Cummins -	

After submitting said report Senator Gallinger also made a report giving the committee assignments of each Republican Senator, to wit:

Mr. Borah .....	Education and Labor, chairman Civil Service and Retrenchment Expenditures in the Department of Justice Foreign Relations Interoceanic Canals Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands Judiciary Revolutionary Claims Standards, Weights, and Measures
Mr. Bourne .....	Post Offices and Post Roads, chairman Appropriations Commerce Fisheries Public Buildings and Grounds Railroads Transportation Routes to the Seaboard Woman Suffrage
Mr. Bradley .....	Expenditures in the Department of Justice, chairman Agriculture and Forestry Claims Expenditures in the Navy Department Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands Pensions Post Offices and Post Roads Privileges and Elections Revolutionary Claims
Mr. Brandegee .....	Interoceanic Canals Indian Depredations Interstate Commerce Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands Judiciary Pacific Islands and Porto Rico Patents Transportation Routes to the Seaboard
Mr. Briggs .....	Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, chairman Conservation of National Resources

SIXTY-SECOND CONGRESS (1911–1913)

	Expenditures in the Treasury Department
	Fisheries
	Geological Survey
	Library
	Military Affairs
	Post Offices and Post Roads
Mr. Bristow .....	Expenditures in the Post Office Department, chairman
	Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate
	Claims
	Interoceanic Canals
	Military Affairs
	Philippines
	Post Offices and Post Roads
	Railroads
	Territories
Mr. Brown .....	Patents, chairman
	Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia
	Immigration
	Indian Affairs
	Judiciary
	Military Affairs
	Mississippi River and its Tributaries
	Pacific Railroads
	Pensions
	Territories
Mr. Burnham .....	Agriculture and Forestry, chairman
	Commerce
	Cuban Relations
	Disposition of Useless Papers in the Executive Departments
	Expenditures in the Department of Justice
	Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game
	Pacific Islands and Porto Rico
	Pensions
	Territories
Mr. Burton .....	Expenditures in the Treasury Department, chairman
	Canadian Relations
	Commerce
	Engrossed Bills
	Foreign Relations
	Immigration
	Library
	Mississippi River and its Tributaries
	Transportation Routes to the Seaboard
Mr. Clapp .....	Interstate Commerce, chairman
	Cuban Relations

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	Five Civilized Tribes of Indians
	Indian Affairs
	Naval Affairs
	Pacific Islands and Porto Rico
	Privileges and Elections
	Standards, Weights and Measures
Mr. Clark of Wyoming .....	Judiciary, chairman
	Conservation of National Resources
	Finance
	Public Lands
	Railroads
	Transportation Routes to the Seaboard
	Transportation and Sale of Meat Products
Mr. Crane .....	Rules, chairman
	Coast Defenses
	Cuban Relations
	Industrial Expositions
	Interstate Commerce
	Post Offices and Post Roads
	Public Health and National Quarantine
Mr. Crawford .....	Claims, chairman
	Agriculture and Forestry
	Commerce
	Examine the Several Branches of the Civil
	Service
	Indian Depredations
	Interoceanic Canals
	Philippines
	Public Health and National Quarantine
Mr. Cullom .....	Foreign Relations, chairman
	Additional Accommodations for the Library
	of Congress
	Coast and Insular Survey
	Expenditures in the War Department
	Finance
	Interstate Commerce
Mr. Cummins .....	Civil Service and Retrenchment, chairman
	Canadian Relations
	Census
	Interstate Commerce
	Judiciary
	Library
	Manufactures
	Rules
	University of the United States
Mr. Curtis .....	Coast Defenses, chairman
	Appropriations
	Cuban Relations
	District of Columbia
	Fisheries
	Indian Affairs



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	Indian Depredations
	Pensions
	University of the United States
Mr. Dillingham .....	Privileges and Elections, chairman
	Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate
	Conservation of National Resources
	District of Columbia
	Expenditures in the Navy Department
	Immigration
	Judiciary
	University of the United States
Mr. Dixon .....	Conservation of National Resources, chair- man
	Appropriations
	Civil Service and Retrenchment
	Indian Affairs
	Indian Depredations
	Military Affairs
	Public Lands
	University of the United States
Mr. du Pont .....	Military Affairs, chairman
	Census
	Coast Defenses
	Education and Labor
	Expenditures in the War Department
	Pensions
	Public Buildings and Grounds
	Woman Suffrage
Mr. Frye .....	Commerce, chairman
	Coast and Insular Survey
	Expenditures in the Interior Department
	Foreign Relations
	Pacific Railroads
	University of the United States
Mr. Gallinger .....	District of Columbia, chairman
	Appropriations
	Civil Service and Retrenchment
	Finance
	Printing
	Rules
Mr. Gamble .....	Indian Affairs, chairman
	Appropriations
	Privileges and Elections
	Public Buildings and Grounds
	Public Lands
	Standards, Weights and Measures
Mr. Gronna .....	Expenditures in the Navy Department, chairman
	Agriculture and Forestry
	Conservation of National Resources

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	Enrolled Bills
	Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture
	Immigration
	Industrial Expositions
	Private Land Claims
	Public Health and National Quarantine
Mr. Guggenheim .....	Philippines, chairman
	Agriculture and Forestry
	Census
	Conservation of National Resources
	Military Affairs
	Mines and Mining
	Post Offices and Post Roads
	Public Lands
Mr. Heyburn .....	Manufactures, chairman
	Finance
	Joint Committee on Revision of the Laws of the United States, chairman
	Mines and Mining
	Philippines
	Privileges and Elections
	Public Buildings and Grounds
	Public Lands
Mr. Jones .....	Fisheries, chairman
	Claims
	Conservation of National Resources
	District of Columbia
	Industrial Expositions
	Interoceanic Canals
	Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands
	Military Affairs
	Privileges and Elections
	Public Lands
Mr. Kenyon .....	Expenditures in the Department of State, chairman
	Cuban Relations
	District of Columbia
	Education and Labor
	Geological Survey
	Patents
	Printing
	Privileges and Elections
Mr. La Follette .....	Census, chairman
	Civil Service and Retrenchment
	Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia
	Expenditures in the Department of State
	Finance
	Indian Affairs
	Manufactures

SIXTY-SECOND CONGRESS (1911–1913)

Mr. Lippitt .....	Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture, chairman Census Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia Indian Depredations Interstate Commerce Philippines Public Health and National Quarantine Territories
Mr. Lodge .....	Immigration, chairman Civil Service and Retrenchment Engrossed Bills Finance Foreign Relations Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game Naval Affairs Philippines
Mr. Lorimer .....	Mines and Mining, chairman Agriculture and Forestry District of Columbia Manufactures Military Affairs Pacific Islands and Porto Rico Post Offices and Post Roads Private Land Claims
Mr. McCumber .....	Pensions, chairman Expenditures in the Interior Department Finance Foreign Relations Indian Affairs Pacific Railroads Railroads Transportation Routes to the Seaboard
Mr. McLean .....	Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game, chairman Canadian Relations Census Claims Education and Labor Manufactures Philippines Territories
Mr. Nelson .....	Public Lands, chairman Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress Commerce Judiciary Pacific Islands and Porto Rico Railroads

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	Rules
	Territories
Mr. Nixon .....	Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, chairman
	Appropriations
	Coast Defenses
	Five Civilized Tribes of Indians
	Interstate Commerce
	Mines and Mining
	Philippines
	Transportation and Sale of Meat Products
Mr. Oliver .....	Canadian Relations, chairman
	Claims
	Commerce
	District of Columbia
	Industrial Expositions
	Interstate Commerce
	Manufactures
	Private Land Claims
	Privileges and Elections
Mr. Page .....	Cuban Relations, chairman
	Agriculture and Forestry
	Claims
	Education and Labor
	Geological Survey
	Indian Affairs
	Interoceanic Canals
	Naval Affairs
	Printing
Mr. Penrose .....	Finance, chairman
	Education and Labor
	Expenditures in the Post Office Depart- ment
	Immigration
	Naval Affairs
	Post Offices and Post Roads
	Railroads
Mr. Perkins .....	Naval Affairs, chairman
	Agriculture and Forestry
	Appropriations
	Commerce
	Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service
	Fisheries
	Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game
	Interoceanic Canals
Mr. Poindexter .....	Expenditures in the Interior Department, chairman
	Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress

SIXTY-SECOND CONGRESS (1911–1913)

	Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game
	Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands
	Mines and Mining
	Naval Affairs
	Pacific Islands and Porto Rico
	Pensions
	Public Buildings and Grounds
Mr. Richardson .....	Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, chairman
	Coast and Insular Survey
	Conservation of National Resources
	Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service
	Immigration
	Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands
	Post Offices and Post Roads
	Printing
Mr. Root .....	Industrial Expositions, chairman
	Canadian Relations
	Coast Defenses
	Foreign Relations
	Judiciary
	Library
	Revolutionary Claims
Mr. Smith of Michigan .....	Territories, chairman
	Commerce
	Expenditures in the Post Office Department
	Five Civilized Tribes of Indians
	Foreign Relations
	Naval Affairs
	Pacific Railroads
	Private Land Claims
Mr. Smoot .....	Printing, chairman
	Appropriations
	Civil Service and Retrenchment
	Claims
	Finance
	Pensions
	Public Health and National Quarantine
	Public Lands
Mr. Stephenson .....	Enrolled Bills, chairman
	Commerce
	Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture
	Indian Depredations
	Industrial Expositions
	Mississippi River and its Tributaries
	Pacific Railroads
	Public Buildings and Grounds
Mr. Sutherland .....	Public Buildings and Grounds, chairman

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	Foreign Relations
	Indian Affairs
	Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands
	Joint Committee on Revision of the Laws of the United States
	Judiciary
	Mines and Mining
	Privileges and Elections
Mr. Townsend .....	Coast and Insular Survey, chairman
	Census
	Claims
	Conservation of National Resources
	Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service
	Interoceanic Canals
	Interstate Commerce
	Transportation and Sale of Meat Products
Mr. Warren .....	Appropriations, chairman
	Agriculture and Forestry
	Expenditures in the Department of State
	Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands
	Military Affairs
	Public Buildings and Grounds
	Rules
Mr. Wetmore .....	Library, chairman
	Appropriations
	Geological Survey
	Mississippi River and its Tributaries
	Naval Affairs
	Public Buildings and Grounds
	University of the United States
	Woman Suffrage
Mr. Works .....	Expenditures in the War Department, chairman
	Coast and Insular Survey
	Coast Defenses
	District of Columbia
	Expenditures in the Treasury Department
	Industrial Expositions
	Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands
	Patents
	Public Health and National Quarantine
	Public Lands

Following the presentation, Senator Gallinger moved the adoption of the report.

Senator Cummins, on behalf of four members of the Committee on Committees, suggested the enlargement of the membership of the Committee on Interstate Commerce and the Committee on Finance, and at the conclusion of his remarks moved that the Committee on

Interstate Commerce be enlarged and that Senator La Follette be added to the Republican membership of that Committee.

This motion was opposed by Senator Gallinger, who said that the Committee on Committees had considered membership and had done the best it could under the circumstances.

Senator Cummins demanded the yeas and nays on the proposition.

The roll call disclosed eleven in the affirmative and thirty-one in the negative, so the motion was not adopted.

Those who voted in the affirmative were—

Messrs. Borah, Bournes, Bristow, Brown, Clapp, Cummins, Dixon, Gronna, Kenyon, Poindexter, and Works. Total 11.

Those who voted in the negative were—

Messrs. Bradley, Brandegee, Briggs, Burnham, Burton, Crane, Cullom, Curtis, Dillingham, du Pont, Gallinger, Gamble, Guggenheim, Heyburn, Jones, Lippitt, Lodge, McCumber, Nelson, Nixon, Oliver, Page, Penrose, Perkins, Richardson, Root, Smoot, Sutherland, Townsend, Warren, and Wetmore. Total 31.

Senator Cummins then moved that Senator Bristow of Kansas be added to the Finance Committee.

This motion was opposed by Senator Gallinger, who gave the Committee assignments of Senator Bristow.

It was also opposed by Senator McCumber.

Senator Cummins demanded the yeas and nays on his motion.

The roll was called and twelve Senators responded in the affirmative and thirty-one in the negative, so the motion was lost.

Those who voted in the affirmative were—

Messrs. Borah, Bourne, Brown, Clapp, Cummins, Curtis, Dixon, Gronna, Kenyon, La Follette, Poindexter, and Works. Total 12.

Those who voted in the negative were—

Messrs. Bradley, Brandegee, Briggs, Burnham, Crane, Cullom, Dillingham, du Pont, Gallinger, Gamble, Guggenheim, Heyburn, Jones, Lippitt, Lodge, McCumber, Nelson, Nixon, Oliver, Page, Penrose, Perkins, Richardson, Root, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Stephenson, Sutherland, Townsend, Warren, and Wetmore. Total 31.

A motion was then put on the adoption of the report of the Committee on Committees which was carried on a viva voce vote.

Senator Cummins then gave notice that the four members of the Committee on Committees reserve the right to take such action as they saw proper when the matter came up in the Senate.

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Senator La Follette gave notice that they reserved the right to take such action as they saw proper on any of the committee assignments when the matter came up in the Senate.

Senator Lodge moved to adjourn subject to the call of the Chairman. The motion was carried and the caucus adjourned.

[signed] Charles Curtis  
Secretary.

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[May 8, 1911]

## REPUBLICAN CAUCUS

May 8, 1911

The Caucus was called to order at 4:25 p.m. by the Chairman, Senator Cullom.

The Secretary, Senator Curtis, called the roll and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Borah, Brandegee, Briggs, Brown, Burnham, Burton, Clark of Wyoming, Crane, Cullom, Curtis, Dillingham, Dixon, du Pont, Gallinger, Gamble, Guggenheim, Heyburn, Kenyon, Lippitt, McCumber, Nelson, Nixon, Oliver, Page, Penrose, Perkins, Smoot, Sutherland, Townsend, Warren, and Wetmore.

Total 31.

The Chairman announced the resignation of Senator Frye as President pro tempore of the Senate, and said the Caucus was called to select his successor.

Senator Warren spoke of the service of the retiring President pro tempore, Senator Frye, and in concluding his remarks placed the name of Senator Jacob H. Gallinger of New Hampshire in nomination, which was seconded by several Senators.

There being no other nominations, the roll was called on this question, the yeas being 30 and the nays none, as follows:

Those who voted in the affirmative were—

Messrs. Borah, Brandegee, Briggs, Brown, Burnham, Burton, Clark of Wyoming, Crane, Cullom, Curtis, Dillingham, Dixon, du Pont, Gamble, Guggenheim, Heyburn, Kenyon, Lippitt, McCumber, Nelson, Nixon, Oliver, Page, Penrose, Perkins, Smoot, Sutherland, Townsend, Warren, and Wetmore.

Total 30.



None vote in the negative.

So Senator Gallinger was unanimously chosen as the nominee of the Republican Caucus for President pro tempore of the Senate.

On motion of Senator Smoot the Caucus then adjourned subject to the call of its Chairman.

[signed] Charles Curtis  
Secretary.

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[June 13, 1911]

### REPUBLICAN CAUCUS

June 13, 1911

The Caucus met at 5:05 p.m.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bourne, Bradley, Brandegee, Briggs, Bristow, Brown, Burnham, Burton, Clapp, Clark of Wyoming, Crawford, Cullom, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Dixon, du Pont, Gallinger, Gamble, Guggenheim, Heyburn, Jones, Kenyon, Lodge, Lorimer, McCumber, Nelson, Nixon, Page, Penrose, Perkins, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Sutherland, Townsend, Warren, Wetmore, and Works.

Total 38.

The Chairman, Senator Cullom, stated that the object of the Caucus was to receive the report of the Committee on Committees in regard to the question of patronage.

Senator Gallinger, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, stated that he had appointed a sub-committee to look into the Senate patronage and report, said sub-committee being composed of Senators Lodge, Smoot and Cummins, and he requested Senator Lodge, Chairman of the sub-committee to make the report.

Senator Lodge made the report for the full committee and after general discussion, on motion of Senator du Pont, the same was adopted, with an amendment suggested by Senator Smith of Michigan that Bryant E. Avery, W. Grant Lieuallen, A.D. Sumner and J.B. McClure be added to the Senate roll.

Attached hereto is a full report of Senator Lodge.

On motion of Senator Dixon it was ordered that the report in reference to "Details" shall take effect August 1, 1911.

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On motion of several Senators the Caucus adjourned, subject to the call of its Chairman.

[signed] Charles Curtis  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

CONFIDENTIAL

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES

[As adopted by the caucus June 13, 1911]

The Committee on Committees was instructed by the Republicans of the Senate to make inquiry into the arrangement and distribution of the Senate offices and this work was delegated by the full committee to a subcommittee appointed by the chairman.

The subcommittee made the investigation with which it was charged and reported the results of its inquiries to the full committee. The committee adopted the report of the subcommittee with certain amendments and directed its presentation to the conference.

The subcommittee had before it the officers of each department of the Senate and went through all the lists of offices and employees and made thorough inquiry as to the work and efficiency of each one. The committee has reached certain conclusions which it now lays before the conference, together with recommendations which seem to be wise.

It was found that two rolls existed, known as the Senate roll and the reserved roll, established in 1899. The Senate roll at that time was made up of 34 employees "retained for long and efficient service and not to be charged to any Senator," and the reserved roll was made up of 18 employees who were "temporarily retained for efficient services." In the process of time, by death and transfer, the Senate roll has been reduced to 19 persons, including one who was added, and the reserved roll has been reduced to 8. There is no real distinction between these two rolls and they are made up simply on the basis of long service without any regard to the office or to the character of the work of these employees. In the opinion of the committee this arrangement should be changed. The committee recommends that there should be a roll, known as the Senate roll, which shall include certain leading offices upon which, on account of their importance, the proper transaction of the business of the Senate largely depends. In the opinion of the committee this roll should be made up with regard to the offices and not with reference to the incumbents. The committee recommends that none of the offices on this proposed Senate roll should be charged to any Senator or Senators and that appointments to these positions should be made, when vacancies occur, by the Sergeant at Arms, the Secretary of the Senate, and the Superintendent of the Capitol, respectively, after consultation with the representatives of the majority party in the Senate or in accordance with specific action of the majority conference. The purpose of this recommendation is to secure to these offices, so far as possible, the permanency of tenure which they ought to possess.

The Senate roll which the committee proposes is as follows:

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*Office of the Secretary of the Senate*

	Salary
Assistant Secretary of the Senate .....	\$5,000
Chief Clerk of the Senate .....	3,250
Financial clerk .....	4,250
Assistant financial clerk .....	2,750
Minute and journal clerk .....	3,000
Enrolling clerk .....	3,000
Principal clerk .....	2,750
Executive clerk .....	2,750
Reading clerk .....	2,500
Librarian .....	2,500
Chief bookkeeper .....	2,500
Keeper of stationery .....	2,400
Assistant keeper of stationery .....	1,800
Superintendent of document room .....	3,000
First assistant, document room .....	2,000
Assistant in document room .....	2,000

*Office of the Sergeant at Arms*

Assistant Sergeant at Arms (formerly clerk to the Sergeant at Arms) .....	2,500
First assistant doorkeeper (formerly assistant doorkeeper) .....	2,592
Second assistant doorkeeper (formerly acting assistant doorkeeper) .....	2,592
Postmaster .....	2,250
Chief clerk, post office (formerly assistant postmaster) ...	1,800
Journal clerk (with official reporters) .....	2,000
Two messengers on floor, each .....	2,000

*Office of Superintendent of the Capitol*

Superintendent of Senate Office Building per month .....	200
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The committee further recommends the establishment of a long-service roll, to include those employees who have been for many years in the service of the Senate and whose names are now upon the existing Senate roll and the reserved roll. This roll is not to be kept up by additions, but as the persons now upon it shall be removed by death, resignation, or transfer, the offices which they have held shall then go back among the offices which are subject to the recommendation and appointment of Senators. The list proposed by the committee for this long-service roll, upon which are placed employees who are not to be charged to any Senator or Senators, is as follows:

*Long-service roll*

Names	Salary	When Appointed	Position
E.L. Givens .....	\$2,220	1885	Clerk, office of Secretary.

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*Long-service roll—Continued*

Names	Salary	When Appointed	Position
E.W. Doherty .....	1,800	1888	Acting assistant door-keeper.
J.F. Edwards .....	1,800	1879	Do.
A.D. Gaston .....	1,440	1892	Messenger.
W.E. Pressey .....	1,600	1884	Now assistant postmaster, to be messenger.
H.H. Brewer .....	1,400	1885	Foreman folding room.
J.C. Donaldson .....	1,800	1884	Assistant librarian.
D.S. Corser .....	1,440	1891	Messenger.
William Lucas .....	720	1869	Laborer.
J.M. Baker .....	2,000	1893	Assistant librarian.
J.J. McGrain .....	1,800	1893	Storekeeper.
Joe Montgomery .....	720	1869	Laborer.
John Sims .....	1,000	1892	Barber.
W. [?] Collins .....	1,400	1892	Assistant folding room.
C.R. Nixon .....	2,220	1887	Clerk to Secretary.

In addition, there is a small number of persons on either the existing Senate roll or the reserved roll who perform little or no work but who draw pay, sometimes to quite a large amount, which is in the nature of a pension. The committee feels that these men ought to be dropped from the rolls of the Senate. The names of the persons who perform little or no work but who are on the rolls and draw pay are as follows:

J.T. Gaskin, \$1,440 a year, a messenger attached formerly to Senator Hale's committee. He has not rendered any service or been present in the Capitol, so far as the subcommittee can learn, for the past 18 months.

C.F. Lynch, \$1,440 a year, a messenger. His work is merely nominal and for a considerable period he was not present in the Capitol at all. Many years ago he received some injury while in the service of the Senate and has apparently regarded himself as entitled to pay since that time.

James Jones, \$720 a year, a laborer formerly in the stationery room. He has not been in the Capitol for two years and his work is being performed by another man.

The committee also recommends that the following places be exempt from recommendation by Senators. These places are nearly all exempted at this time, and are as follows:

Official telegrapher (appointed by the Vice President).

Chief telephone operator.

Attendants in press gallery (selected by correspondents).

Employees in the heating and ventilating department.

Employees in the carpenter shop.

Employees in the barber shop and bathrooms.

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All laborers not specifically mentioned as charged to a Senator or Senators.

Ten messengers allowed to the minority party to be distributed in accordance with the directions of the minority conference.

The offices subject to the recommendation of Senators and charged to them, after deducting those persons who are upon the Senate roll, the long-service roll, and the pension roll, who are detailed to Senators, or exempt from recommendation, are as follows:

*Office of the Secretary*

2 clerks, at .....	\$2,220.00
5 clerks, at .....	2,100.00
1 assistant librarian, at .....	1,600.00
1 skilled laborer in library, at .....	1,200.00
1 assistant in stationery room, at .....	1,200.00
1 assistant in document room, at .....	1,440.00
2 clerks in document room, at .....	1,440.00
1 skilled laborer, document room, at .....	1,200.00
1 clerk, at .....	1,800.00
1 clerk, at .....	1,600.00
1 messenger, financial room, at .....	1,440.00
1 assistant messenger, at .....	1,200.00
Total .....	\$30,500.00

*Office of the Sergeant at Arms*

2 messengers, acting assistant doorkeepers, at .....	\$1,800.00
1 messenger, Maltby Building, at .....	1,800.00
8 mail carriers, at .....	1,200.00
6 folders, at .....	1,000.00
7 folders, at .....	840.00
21 elevator conductors, at .....	1,200.00
1 elevator conductor, at .....	800.00
49 policemen, at .....	1,050.00
1 captain of police, at .....	1,800.00
1 lieutenant of police, at .....	1,200.00
2 special officers, at .....	1,200.00
13 pages, at .....	400.00
2 riding pages, at .....	912.50
1 clerk in folding room, at .....	1,200.00
2 telephone operators, at .....	900.00
1 night telephone operator, at .....	720.00
1 telephone page, at .....	720.00
1 stenographer, at .....	1,200.00
6 laborers, at .....	720.00
1 laborer, at .....	840.00
1 janitor (baths), at .....	720.00
1 janitor, at .....	1,200.00
1 engineer (Maltby Building), at .....	1,440.00
3 firemen (Maltby Building), at .....	1,000.00
1 foreman of stables, at .....	900.00

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*Office of the Secretary—Continued*

1 wagonmaster, at .....	1,200.00
Total (office Sergeant at Arms) .....	\$176,335.00
Secretary's office .....	30,500.00
Grand total .....	206,835.00

There are four changes in the present official force which will be observed by anyone who carefully examines these rolls and compares them with the rolls as they at present exist. The committee found that the assistant postmastership of the Senate was held by W.E. Pressey, who is upon the long-service roll. Mr. Pressey does not perform, and has not performed for many years, any duties whatever connected with the post office. The work of the actual administration of the office is carried on by the clerk, Mr. F.A. Eckstein. Mr. Pressey is a messenger at the card door of the Senate. It seemed to the committee that this was an entirely improper arrangement. They therefore recommend that the office of assistant postmaster be abolished and that Mr. Eckstein be made chief clerk with a salary of \$1,800 which will place him upon the Senate roll and that Mr. Pressey be retained in his present position of messenger with a salary of \$1,600 in view of his long service.

The office of superintendent of the folding room, which draws a salary of \$2,160, has no connection with the folding room at all. In reality the Sergeant at Arms is the superintendent of the folding room and has full charge of it. The work is carried on by a foreman and assistant foreman with a number of folders. The present superintendent of the folding room is detailed to the service of a Senator and performs no duty in connection with his nominal position. The committee recommends the abolition of the office of superintendent of the folding room, as it is totally unnecessary.

An office, the duties of which are described as "Compiling a history of revenue and general appropriation bills" of which the latter part is entirely performed by the clerks of the Committee on Appropriations, is held by Benjamin Durfee, who was appointed many years ago on the recommendation of Senator Sherman. He has at intervals done work for the Finance Committee when a tariff bill was under consideration. This is special and temporary work for which special and temporary provision can be made. Mr. Durfee's salary is \$2,500, and the committee recommends the abolition of this office.

In the legislative act for the year 1904 provision was made for two attendants at a salary of \$1,200, and two watchmen, who were to serve in the old library space and be under the control of the superintendent of the Capitol. In 1906 the salary of the two attendants was fixed at \$1,500 each and one watchman was abolished. In 1909 the two attendants and the watchman were transferred to the Doorkeeper of the House, and one attendant was provided at \$1,500 and transferred to the Senate under the supervision of the superintendent. He performs no duties for the superintendent or the Senate, and is attached to the service of an individual Senator. The committee recommends that the office of attendant be abolished, or that the attendant be returned to the service of the Superintendent of the Capitol.

There are now on the rolls of the Sergeant at Arms two elevator conductors at a salary of \$800 each, which is paid from the lump sum appropriated for the maintenance of the Maltby Building. The positions were first created many years ago and the persons holding them do not perform and are not expected to perform the duties of elevator conductor, one being now a laborer and one performing work in the folding room. The committee recommends that these places be abolished and that the persons now holding them be classified according to the duties which they now perform.

#### Details

There are 44 persons on the roll of the Sergeant at Arms who are detailed to the committee service of individual Senators. Of these 44, 10 are messengers who, by an agreement of long standing, are assigned to the minority for such distribution and assignment as their conference sees fit to make. There remain 34 persons on this roll detailed to the service of 27 Republican Senators. These persons perform no duties for the Senate or for the Sergeant at Arms. They appear on the roll of the Sergeant at Arms when they ought to appear on the list of the financial clerk, which gives the names of all persons assigned as clerks, messengers, or stenographers to the chairman of the different committees. The 27 Republican Senators who have details are not, as a rule, the Senators who have large committees with a great deal of committee work and who, therefore, are provided with extra service. In the opinion of the committee the statement of these facts carries almost without explanation the condemnation of such a system, for it is obviously unfair. Moreover, it is entirely misleading. No one should appear on the rolls of the Senate unless he is described truthfully as performing the duties which he actually performs. Clerks, stenographers, and other persons doing the work of committees should not be borne on the rolls of the Sergeant at Arms as messengers and folders and skilled laborers. The committee believes that on every ground, not only as a matter of justice, but as a matter affecting the methods of spending the public money, this system of details should be abolished. They are thoroughly of the opinion that each Senator should have all the assistance he can reasonably need in the work of his committee. If the abolition of the details leaves any Senator or Senators insufficiently provided for, additional service should be given them in the regular way, by report of the Committee to Audit and Control and by action of the Senate; but no Senator should have anyone attached to the service of his committee who is not so described but who is borne on the roll of the Sergeant at Arms as performing duties which he never undertakes.

The committee would recommend that in view of the abolition of the details there should be two additional assistant clerks authorized for the Committee on Finance, one messenger for the Committee on Indian Affairs, one messenger for the Committee on Naval Affairs, and one messenger for the Committee on Public Lands. These additions seem obviously necessary to the subcommittee after carefully examining the list of committee employees submitted by the financial clerk. It may be that there are other cases where a committee should receive additional assistance, but the point which the subcommittee desires to insist upon is that these additional assistants should be given to the committees by a Senate resolution and not by a detail from the force of the Sergeant at Arms. In other words, the accounts should

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show exactly what duties each employee performs and what persons are attached to the service of each committee.

#### Changes in Designation

The committee further recommends that Rule II of the Rules for the Regulation of the Senate Wing of the United States Capitol, adopted by the Committee on Rules, be amended to read as follows:

The first assistant doorkeeper and the second assistant doorkeeper shall be assigned during the daily sessions of the Senate to duty upon the Senate floor. They shall see that the messengers assigned to the doors upon the Senate floor are at their posts, and that the floor and cloakrooms are cleared at least five minutes before the opening of daily sessions of all persons not entitled to remain there. In the absence of the Sergeant at Arms the duties of his office, so far as they pertain to the enforcement of this rule, shall devolve upon the first assistant doorkeeper.

The purpose of amending this rule is to get rid of the absurdity of using the word "acting" which is applied to a permanent employee.

In this connection the committee suggests the further change that the title of "Clerk to the Sergeant at Arms" be changed to that of "Assistant Sergeant at Arms," who shall perform the duties of the Sergeant at Arms in his absence, except as provided in Rule II.

#### Supplies

The committee further recommends that expenditures for supplies in the Senate Office Building should be placed under the control of the Committee to Audit and Control, as is the case now with the expenditures for supplies in the Capitol. All these expenditures for the service of the Senate ought to be under the jurisdiction of the same committee.

#### Appointments by Senators

Assuming that the recommendations of the committee are adopted, each Republican Senator will be entitled to recommend appointments to offices or positions the salaries of which will amount in the aggregate to \$4,200 a year. The committee recommends that the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, the Secretary of the Senate and the Superintendent of the Capitol, respectively, after consultation with the Committee on Committees of the majority conference, readjust the distribution of those offices to which appointments are made on recommendation, so that each Republican Senator shall receive as nearly as practicable the number of appointments due to him under this plan.

The committee appends to its report a list of all employees of the Senate, with their salaries, a list of the employees now charged to each Senator after deducting details, a list of the employees now detailed to Republican Senators, a list of persons now carried on the rolls of the Senate who are



not charged to any Senator now in office, and the list of employees carried on the roll of the financial clerk.<sup>4</sup>

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[January 28, 1913]

## REPUBLICAN CAUCUS

January 28, 1913

The meeting of Republican Senators assembled at 10:30 a.m. in response to call.

Senator Cullom, the Chairman, called the meeting to order, and in the absence of Senator Curtis, the Secretary, Senator Brandegee was elected Secretary pro tempore.

The Secretary called the roll and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bradley, Brandegee, Briggs, Brown, Burnham, Catron, Clark, C.D. Crawford, Cullom, Cummins, Gallinger, Gamble, Jackson, Jones, Lippitt, Lodge, McCumber, McLean, Nelson, Page, Penrose, Perkins, Richardson, Root, Sanders, Smoot, Stephenson, Sutherland, Townsend, Wetmore, and Works.

Total 31.

The following Senators were stated as absent from the City:

Messrs. Borah, Crane, Curtis, du Pont, Fall, Guggenheim, Kenyon, Massey, Oliver, Smith of Michigan, and Warren.

Senators La Follette and Gronna entered the meeting after the roll had been called.

Senator Smoot stated that the object of the meeting was to discuss the policy to be pursued in relation to confirming nominations pending before the Senate, and Senators Gallinger, Root, Clark of Wyoming, Cummins, Works, Sutherland, Brandegee, Townsend, Lippitt, Wetmore, Gronna, Lodge and McCumber participated in the debate.

Senator Gallinger offered the following resolution, which was declared by the Chairman to have been unanimously carried:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this conference that at the conclusion of the routine morning business today a motion shall be made to proceed to the consideration of executive business, that in executive session the chairman of the conference shall ask that the calendar be taken up in its order for the consideration of unobjected nominations; nominations objected to shall go over without prejudice, and that a motion be made each day

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<sup>4</sup> [A complete list of all Senate employees appears in the minutes at this point. See page 27 of Volume 1 of the original minutes.]

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at the conclusion of the routine morning business to go into executive session unless it shall interfere with conference reports, the consideration of appropriation bills, or unanimous consent agreements.

The meeting thereupon adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.

(signed) Frank B. Brandegee  
Secretary pro tempore.

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[February 6, 1913]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

February 6, 1913

Owing to the illness of Senator Cullom, the Chairman, the Conference was called to order by Senator Gallinger.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Brandegee, Brown, Burnham, Catron, Clark of Wyoming, Crane, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Gallinger, Gamble, Guggenheim, Jones, Kenyon, Lippitt, Lodge, McCumber, Nelson, Oliver, Page, Perkins, Root, Smoot, Townsend, and Wetmore.

Total 25.

Senators Bourne, La Follette, Smith of Michigan, and Stephenson entered after the roll call had been concluded.

Senator Smoot briefly stated the object of the Conference.

Senator Root submitted a statement outlining the feeling as to the position of the Republican Senators on the question of confirming the nominations of President Taft; also showing the opposition of the Democratic Senators.

Senators Brandegee, Smoot, Lodge, Clark of Wyoming, Nelson, Catron, Guggenheim, McCumber, Oliver, Townsend, Brown, Curtis, Perkins, Kenyon, Cummins, Smith of Michigan, La Follette, Bourne, Jones, and Lippitt participated in the discussion of this subject.

Senators Gamble and Brown were called from the Conference by important committee work and authorized the Secretary of the Conference to vote them on all questions that might be presented to the Conference for action.

Senator Clark of Wyoming moved that it be the sense of this Conference that the Republican Senators proceed in regard to executive business as provided in the resolution adopted by the Conference

held January 28, 1913, with the exception of the clause that the Chairman should be directed to proceed in a certain way.

This motion was seconded by Senator Lippitt, and upon being submitted to a vote, was agreed to unanimously.

Senator Oliver moved that a special committee of five Senators on order of legislative business be appointed by the Chair to report at a later date to a conference of Republican Senators.

The motion was adopted without debate.

Senator Smoot moved that the Conference adjourn, subject to the call of its Chairman, which was agreed to, and the Conference adjourned at 11:58 a.m.

[signed] Charles Curtis  
Secretary.

Pursuant to authority vested in the Chairman by the terms of the motion of Senator Oliver made and adopted at the Conference of February 6, 1913, the following Committee on Order of Legislative Business was appointed by Senator Gallinger: Senators Oliver, La Follette, Root, Smoot, and Cummins.

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[February 15, 1913]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

February 15, 1913

The Conference was called to order by Senator Cullom, its Chairman, at 10:22 a.m.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bradley, Burnham, Cullom, Curtis, Dillingham, Fall, Gallinger, Jackson, Jones, Lippitt, Lodge, Oliver, Perkins, Richardson, Smoot, Sutherland, Townsend, Warren, Wetmore, and Works.

Total 20.

Senators Catron, Root, Guggenheim, Nelson, Smith of Michigan, Brown, Borah, Crane, and Bourne entered after the roll had been concluded.

Senator Oliver submitted the following report from the Special Committee on Order of Legislation:

The Committee on Order of Business appointed by the Republican Conference recommend that all Republican Senators unite in an effort to secure the enactment of the following legislation during the present session of Congress:

FEBRUARY 15, 1913

FIRST—House Bill number 22593, providing for the physical valuation of railroads, now pending before the Committee on Interstate Commerce, with such amendments thereto as may be recommended by said Committee.

SECOND—Senate Bill number 8337, now on the calendar, to create a legislative drafting bureau and establish a legislative reference division of the Library of Congress.

THIRD—Senate Bill number 8439, restricting the issuance of interlocutory injunctions, with such amendments as may be recommended by the Committee on Judiciary.

FOURTH—Senate Bill number 7723, to regulate the hours of employment of females employed in the District of Columbia, with such amendments as may be recommended by the Committee on the District of Columbia.

FIFTH—That the Committee on Finance be requested to report at once a bill providing for the creation of a Tariff Commission, and that if possible the bill be pressed to a vote at the present session of Congress.

After discussion by Senators Oliver, Gallinger, Nelson, Warren, Smoot, Lippitt, Root, Borah, Lodge, Works, Dillingham, Jones, Brown, and Curtis, the report was adopted.

Senator Oliver moved that the Secretary of the Conference advise the Chairmen of each Committee having bills covered by the report of the Special Committee on Order of Legislation of the action of the Conference, and that it declared itself in favor of the principles contained therein, but did not commit itself to any particular measure but only on the principle with such amendments as might be made and that each such Committee should be requested to take up these measures as early as practicable.

Acting under these instructions the Secretary, Senator Curtis, sent the following letter to each of the Chairmen of Committees indicated thereon:

February 17, 1913

My dear Senator:—

I am handing you herewith copy of resolution adopted at a Conference of Republican Senators held last Saturday. I was instructed at this meeting to hand a copy of this resolution to the Chairmen of each of the Committees having charge of the bills referred to, with the statement that the resolution simply expressed the sentiment of the Republican Senators on the question of principle and did not commit them to any special bill. I was instructed by the Conference to urge that you bring the bill pending before your committee to its attention at the earliest possible moment with the view of having it reported with such amendments as your Committee deem proper.

SIXTY-SECOND CONGRESS (1911–1913)

With personal regard, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

To Hon. M.E. Clapp, Interstate Commerce.

George P. Wetmore, Committee on the Library.

C.D. Clark, Committee on the Judiciary.

J.H. Gallinger, Committee on the District of Columbia.

Boies Penrose, Committee on Finance.

Senator Gallinger then moved that the Conference adjourn, which was agreed to, and the Conference adjourned at 11:15 a.m., subject to the call of its Chairman.

[signed] Charles Curtis  
Secretary.



## **Sixty-third Congress (1913–1915)**

[Editor's Note: When the Sixty-third Congress opened with the inauguration of Democratic President Woodrow Wilson, the Republicans found themselves in the minority in both houses of Congress for the first time since 1895. In the Senate the division stood at 51 Democrats to 44 Republicans and one Progressive. The Democrats, eager to enact the president's New Freedom program, held unusually long sessions. After a special Senate session in March to review presidential nominations, Congress convened in April, on the call of President Wilson, and continued to meet straight through to the beginning of the second session in December. After a short Christmas break, it continued to meet until October 1914, then reconvened for a third session from December 1914 until March 1915. Major legislation enacted during this marathon performance included the Underwood Tariff, the Clayton Antitrust Act, the Federal Reserve Act, the Federal Trade Commission Act, and income tax legislation.]

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[March 5, 1913]

### **REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE**

March 5, 1913

The Conference was called to order at 10:30 a.m., and Senator Gallinger was chosen Chairman unanimously.

Senator Kenyon was then chosen Secretary.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bradley, Brady, Brandegee, Burton, Catron, Clark, C.D. Colt, Dillingham, Fall, Gallinger, Jackson, Jones, Kenyon, La Follette, Lippitt, Lodge, McCumber, McLean, Nelson, Oliver, Page, Penrose, Perkins, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Warren, Weeks, and Works.

Total 31.

Senators du Pont and Root entered after the roll had been concluded.

The Chairman, Senator Gallinger, was authorized to appoint a committee on Committees, to consist of eleven Senators, after which the Conference adjourned, subject to the call of its Chairman.

(Signed) WM. S. KENYON  
Secretary.

MARCH 5, 1913

Pursuant to authority vested in him by the Conference of March 5, 1913, Senator Gallinger appointed the following Committee on Committees for the 63rd Congress:

Senators Lodge, Warren, Nelson, Penrose, Smoot, La Follette, Brandegee, Smith of Michigan, Crawford, Jones, and Fall.

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[Mar. 10, 1913]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

March 10, 1913

The Conference was called to order at 1:05 p.m., by Senator Gallinger, its Chairman.

Senator Sutherland was chosen Secretary pro tempore.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Borah, Bradley, Brandegee, Catron, Clark, C.D. Colt, Dillingham, Fall, Gallinger, Jones, La Follette, Lodge, McCumber, Nelson, Oliver, Page, Penrose, Perkins, Root, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Warren, and Weeks.

Total 26.

Senator Lodge made a brief statement outlining the work accomplished thus far by the Committee on Committees.

Senator Lodge moved that it be the sense of the Conference that Republicans vote for Senator Gallinger for President pro tempore, and said motion was unanimously carried.

Senator Penrose moved that Carl A. Loeffler be selected as the candidate for Acting Assistant Doorkeeper, and that the vote be taken by ballot.

It was decided that the vote be by ballot.

Senator C.D. Clark nominated A.D. Sumner.

The ballot was then taken.

Senator Borah voted the proxy of Senator Brady.

Senator La Follette voted the proxy of Senator Bristow.

Senator Clark voted the proxy of Senator Burleigh.

Senator Gallinger voted the proxy of Senator Burton.

Senator La Follette voted the proxy of Senator Clapp.

Senator Clark voted the proxy of Senator Cummins.

Senator Gallinger voted the proxy of Senator du Pont.



Senator Smoot voted the proxy of Senator Gronna.

Senator Lodge voted the proxy of Senator Jackson.

Senator Clark voted the proxy of Senator Kenyon.

Senator Lodge voted the proxy of Senator Lippitt.

The result of the ballot was as follows:

Carl A. Loeffler—26

A.D. Sumner—11

So Mr. Loeffler was chosen as the nominee for Acting Assistant Doorkeeper.

Senator Root moved the nomination of Chas. G. Bennett for Secretary, and the motion was carried.

Senator Smoot moved the nomination of E.L. Cornelius for Sergeant at Arms, and the motion was carried.

Senator Penrose moved the nomination of Rev. U.G. Pierce for Chaplain, and the motion was carried.

Senator McCumber moved that the Committee on Committees be instructed to look after rooms for minority Senators, which was agreed to.

The Conference then adjourned.

(Signed) GEO. SUTHERLAND  
Secretary pro tempore.

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[March 13, 1913]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

March 13, 1913

The Conference was called to order by its Chairman, Senator Gallinger.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names.

Messrs. Borah, Bradley, Brandegee, Bristow, Catron, C.D. Clark, Dillingham, Fall, Gallinger, Jones, La Follette, Lodge, Nelson, Oliver, Page, Perkins, Root, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Sutherland, Townsend, and Warren.

Total 22.

Senator Brandegee presented the proxy of Senator Penrose.

Senator Lodge submitted a report from the Committee on Committees and moved its adoption. The motion was carried.

MARCH 13, 1913

Senator Smoot moved that the Chairman of the Committee on Committees be authorized to designate to the Sergeant at Arms the minority committees which are to have detailed messengers or stenographers, and the motion was carried.

Senator Lodge moved that the Chairman of the Conference be authorized to request of the Democratic Committee that a third man be provided those Senators who were not now so taken care of. This motion carried.

The Conference then adjourned.

(Signed) Geo. Sutherland  
Secretary pro tempore.

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[March 15, 1913]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

March 15, 1913

The Conference was called to order by Senator Gallinger, its Chairman.

The following Senators responded to a call of the roll:

Messrs. Borah, Brandegee, Bristow, Bradley, Catron, C.D. Clark, Dillingham, Fall, Gallinger, Jones, La Follette, Nelson, Oliver, Perkins, Root, Sutherland, Townsend, Warren.

Total 18.

Senator Warren reported certain changes in committee assignments, wherein the Democrats took Public Health and National Quarantine, and Woman Suffrage, and gave the minority Expenditures in the Department of Justice, and Expenditures in the Interior Department. The report was adopted except as to Senator Poindexter.

The Conference then adjourned.

(Signed) Geo. Sutherland  
Secretary pro tempore.

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[April 15, 1913]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

April 15, 1913

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Gallinger, in the Conference Room on the third floor, N.W. Corner, of the Senate Office Building.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Brady, Burton, Clark of Wyoming, Colt, Crawford, Dillingham, Gallinger, Goff, Gronna, Jones, Kenyon, Lippitt, Lodge, McCumber, Nelson, Norris, Oliver, Page, Penrose, Perkins, Sherman, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, and Warren.

Total 25.

Senators Borah, Brandegee, and Smoot entered after the roll call had been concluded.

On motion it was agreed: That a committee of five Senators be appointed by the Chairman to take into consideration the matter of appointments to office and report to a subsequent conference of Republican Senators, and the Chairman appointed the following committee:

Senator Burton

Senator Townsend  
Senator Clark of Wyoming  
Senator Lippitt  
Senator Oliver

It was then moved and agreed, that the Chairman be instructed to make application to the Committee on Rules for the use of the Conference Room in which this meeting was held.

The Conference then adjourned, subject to the call of its Chairman.

(Signed) Wm. S. Kenyon  
Secretary.

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[April 21, 1913]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

April 21, 1913

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Gallinger, at 10:30 a.m.

Senator Burton, Chairman of the Special Committee on Appointments and Confirmations, on behalf of that committee submitted the following report, which was read:

The Committee appointed under the resolution of the Caucus of April 15th to take into consideration the matter of appointments to office and to report to a subsequent conference of Republican Senators, would respectfully report:

1. We advise that the Republican minority of the Senate use every reasonable effort to safeguard the consular serv-

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ice of the United States and minor Diplomatic positions, including Secretaries of embassies and legations, with a view to the continuance of the policy observed by the administrations of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft, under which appointments have been made from an eligible list made up of those who have passed an examination to determine their fitness for the consular or diplomatic service. We believe the continuance of this policy essential for the maintenance of the standing and efficiency of these branches of the public service and that any rule which justifies appointments to the positions named without examination, or authorizes promotions, unless in accordance with due regard for qualifications and efficiency, should be vigorously opposed.

2. When removals are made from offices having a fixed tenure prior to the expiration of the term thereof, we advise that confirmation should be resisted unless sufficient reason exists for such removal and further advise that every proper means be adopted for obtaining information in such cases.

3. In case of officials of indeterminate tenure, we favor like investigation of causes for removal. Your committee would especially advise that this policy be observed in relation to offices non-political in their nature, or in which special or technical qualifications are required.

4. Your committee regards the action of the Democratic minority in the last session of the 62nd Congress in refusing for political reasons to confirm appointments of the President, where terms had expired, to be without precedent and a serious injury to the public service as well as a gross injustice to those whose names were sent to the Senate. It advises that in these cases reasonable effort be exerted for the retention of those now in office who failed of confirmation, and that careful scrutiny be exercised in determining the qualifications of appointees proposed for such positions.

It was moved and carried that the four divisions of the report be acted on separately.

Division one of the report was carried unanimously.

Division two was also carried unanimously.

Action on divisions three and four was deferred until the meeting to be held the following day at 10:30 a.m., and the Conference then adjourned until Tuesday, April 22, 1913, at 10:30 a.m.

(Signed) Wm. S. Kenyon  
Secretary.

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[April 22, 1913]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

April 22, 1913

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Gallinger, at 10:30 a.m., and the discussion of the report of the Special Committee on Appointments and Confirmations was resumed.

No action was taken on the report at this meeting, and the Conference adjourned to meet again at 10:30 a.m., Thursday, April 24, 1913.

(Signed) Wm. S. Kenyon  
Secretary.

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[April 24, 1913]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

April 24, 1913

The Conference reconvened at 10:30 a.m.

Senator Gallinger, the Chairman, presided.

After a further discussion the report of the Special Committee on Appointments and Confirmations, as modified in the Conference, was made and adopted as follows:

The Committee appointed under the resolution of the Conference of April 15th, to take into consideration the matter of appointments to offices and to report to a subsequent Conference of Republican Senators, would respectfully submit the following report:

1. We advise that the Republican minority in the Senate use every reasonable effort to safeguard the consular service of the United States and minor diplomatic positions, including secretaries of embassies and legations, with a view to the continuance of the policy observed by the administrations of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft, under which appointments have been made from an eligible list made up of those who have passed an examination to determine their fitness for the consular or diplomatic service. We believe the continuance of this policy essential for the maintenance of the standing and efficiency of these branches of the public service and that any rule which justifies appointments to the positions named without examination, or authorizes

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promotions, unless in accordance with due regard for qualifications and efficiency, should be vigorously opposed.

2. We believe that the maintenance of a proper standard in the public service requires that no removals should be made from offices having a fixed tenure prior to the expiration of the term thereof except for cause. We also believe that removals from offices of indeterminate tenure should only be made for cause and that this particularly applies to those in which special or technical qualifications are required.

3. We regard the action of the Democratic party in the last session of the 62nd Congress in refusing for political reasons to confirm appointments of the Presidents made regularly and in due course to be without justification and against sound public policy.

The Conference then adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.

(Signed) Wm. S. Kenyon  
Secretary.

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[May 22, 1913]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

May 22, 1913

The Conference was called to order by its Chairman, Senator Gallinger. Twenty-six Senators were in attendance.

The question of pairs, in view of the action of the Democratic Caucus on that subject, was fully discussed, and it was determined that the matter of continuing or breaking pairs should be left to the individual Senators.

Other matters of party interest were generally discussed but no action taken.

On motion of Senator Townsend the Chair was authorized to appoint a Committee of five, of whom the Presiding Officer should be Chairman, to consult with the Republican Members of the House of Representatives with a view to holding a joint caucus of the members of the two Houses for the purpose of selecting a Congressional Committee. The Chair appointed as said committee, Messrs. Gallinger, Townsend, Clark of Wyoming, Jones and Norris.

It was also the expressed view of the Conference that headquarters should be opened in the near future for the purpose of publicity and the advancement of the principles of the Republican Party looking to the campaign of the next year.

On motion of Senator Lippitt the Conference adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Wm. S. Kenyon  
Secretary.

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[July 2, 1913]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

July 2, 1913

The Conference was called to order by its Chairman, Senator Gallinger, and the object of the call was stated.

On motion made by Senator McCumber, and agreed to by the Conference, the Chairman was directed to present to the Democratic Majority, a request on behalf of the Republican Minority, that an additional employee under the Sergeant-at-Arms be allowed the Minority; and the Chairman was further directed to report upon the same at a subsequent conference.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of its Chairman.

[signed] Wm. S. Kenyon  
Secretary.

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[July 18, 1913]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

July 18, 1913

The Republican Conference met at ten o'clock pursuant to call, and after a friendly discussion as to party procedure on the Tariff Bill, it was understood that the same leeway that has always been accorded all Republican Senators in the proposal of amendments and demanding of record votes should be continued, and that when any Senator demands a vote, his request shall be supported by all Republicans.

It was further agreed by general consent that Senator Jacob H. Gallinger shall be the recognized leader of the Republicans in all tariff matters.

[signed] Wm. S. Kenyon  
Secretary.

JULY 18, 1913

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[December 2, 1913]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

December 2, 1913

The Conference was called to order at 10:10 a.m. by Senator Gallinger, its Chairman, a quorum being present.

The Resolution of the Democratic Majority, to lengthen the daily hours of the sessions of the Senate, was discussed and the Chairman was authorized to make such statement in relation thereto as in his judgement the situation should warrant.

The Conference then adjourned subject to call.

Secretary.

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[September 15, 1914]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

September 15, 1914

The Conference was called to order at 10:10 a.m. by its Chairman, Senator Gallinger.

It was agreed that the Chairman be directed to notify all absent Republican Senators who have no campaigns on hand that they should return to Washington as soon as their business interests will warrant.

On motion of Senator Smith of Michigan, the Chairman was authorized to appoint a committee of five Senators to consider and prepare a tentative program looking to the restoration of duties on imports which will be both protective and revenue producing; and the Chairman accordingly named as the Committee, Senators Smoot, McCumber, Smith of Michigan, Weeks and Sterling.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of its Chairman.

[signed] J.H. Gallinger  
Chairman.



## **Sixty-fourth Congress (1915–1917)**

[Editor's Note: In 1913 the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution took effect, providing for direct popular election of U.S. senators. The Sixty-fourth Congress saw the first incoming class of senators elected under the new system, with ten freshmen senators arriving as a result of these elections. The Democrats increased their Senate margin, with 56 members to 40 Republicans, but decreased their margin somewhat in the House, where they had 230 seats to 196 Republicans and 9 independents.]

At the opening of the Congress, the Republican Conference for the first time elected not only a chairman and a secretary but also a whip to assist in maintaining a quorum and rounding up votes.

In their Conference meetings, Republican senators expressed concern about the U.S. expedition begun in March 1916 to pursue Pancho Villa's renegade forces into Mexico and watched with apprehension the progress of the war in Europe and U.S. efforts to remain neutral. Two days before the Sixty-fourth Congress ended at noon on March 4, 1917, the Senate began debate on a bill that would allow the president to supply defensive arms to American merchant ships. Fearing the legislation could lead the country into war, a small group of senators, including both progressive Republicans and Democrats, mounted a filibuster in the waning hours of the Congress, which effectively killed the bill. Furious, President Wilson blamed the defeat on "a little group of willful men" and called for reform of the Senate rules to enable the body to end a filibuster.]

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[December 6, 1915]

### **REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE**

December 6, 1915

The Conference was called to order at ten o'clock by the Chairman, Senator Gallinger, and the Secretary, Senator Kenyon, was directed to call the roll.

The following Senators responded to their names:

Senators Brandegee, Clark of Wyoming, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, du Pont, Gallinger, Gronna, Harding, Jones, Kenyon, Lodge, McCumber, Oliver, Page, Penrose, Sherman, Smoot, Sterling, Sutherland, Wadsworth, Warren, Weeks, and Works.

Senators Nelson, Poindexter, and Townsend entered after the roll call had been concluded.

On motion made and put by Senator Lodge, Senator Gallinger was chosen Chairman of the Conference.

DECEMBER 6, 1915

The Chairman suggested that the next thing in order was the election of a Secretary and Whip, and on motion of Senator Kenyon, Senator Elect Wadsworth was nominated; and there being no further nominations, Senator Elect Wadsworth was unanimously elected.

Senator Elect Wadsworth thereupon assumed the duties of the office, relieving Senator Kenyon as Secretary of the Conference.

Senator Smoot moved that Senator Gallinger be chosen as the Republican nominee for President Pro Tempore of the Senate, and said motion being put by Senator Smoot, was unanimously adopted.

Senator Lodge moved that the Chairman, Senator Gallinger, be authorized to appoint a Committee on Committees to consist of nine Senators, to serve during the 64th Congress, which was unanimously agreed to.

The Chairman stated that he would take a little time in naming the Committee, and announce the same later.

The question of procedure by the Democrats in the opening organization of the Senate being under consideration, Mr. Cummins moved, that the Conference insist on all Senators being sworn prior to the election of a President Pro Tempore, that they might thus be enabled to vote on that question, which was carried: and after further discussion, on motion of Senator Penrose, it was agreed: that Senators Gallinger and Lodge be authorized to confer with the Democratic leaders as to procedure governing the organization of the Senate, relating to the administration of the oath to new Senators, and the election of a President Pro Tempore, and to take such action in regard thereto on the floor of the Senate as might be rendered necessary.

On motion of Senator Smoot the Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

Acting under authorization of the Conference of December 6, 1915, the Chairman, Senator Gallinger, appointed the following Committee on Committees: Senators Lodge Chairman, Smoot, du Pont, Page, Cummins, Jones, Oliver, Gronna, and Curtis.

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[December 13, 1915]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
December 13, 1915

The Conference was called to order by Senator Gallinger, its Chairman, at eleven o'clock.

The roll was called by the Secretary and the following Senators responded to their names:

Senators Brandegee, Catron, Clark of Wyoming, Colt, Curtis, Dillingham, Fall, Gallinger, Gronna, Harding, Jones, Lippitt, Lodge, McCumber, Nelson, Norris, Oliver, Page, Poindexter, Sherman, Smoot, Sterling, Sutherland, Wadsworth, Warren, Weeks, and Works.

Senator Wadsworth resigned as Whip of the Minority, retaining the Secretaryship.

On motion of Senator Smoot, Senator Curtis was unanimously elected Whip.

The minutes of the previous Conference were adopted without reading.

Senator Lodge, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, made a report from that Committee (which is appended to these minutes in printed form). The report was adopted without modification.

On motion of Senator Lodge, the Conference then adjourned, subject to call of its Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

(Confidential)

**COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS OF REPUBLICAN SENATORS**  
Sixty-fourth Congress

(Matter in italic indicates new assignment.)

Mr. BORAH .....	Indian Depredations, chairman. Education and Labor. Expenditures in the Department of Justice. Foreign Relations. Interoceanic Canals. Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands. Judiciary.
Mr. BRADY .....	Agriculture and Forestry. Coast and Insular Survey. Conservation of National Resources. Expenditures in the Department of Commerce. Military Affairs. National Banks. Public Buildings and Grounds. Public Health and National Quarantine.
Mr. BRANDEGEE .....	Pacific Railroads, chairman. Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service.

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	<i>Foreign Relations.</i> Interoceanic canals. Judiciary. Patents. University of the United States.
Mr. BURLEIGH .....	Claims. Coast Defenses. Fisheries. Indian Depredations. Pacific Islands and Porto Rico. <i>Philippines.</i> Public Buildings and Grounds. Revolutionary Claims. Transportation Routes to the Seaboard.
Mr. CATRON .....	Claims. Coast Defenses. Expenditures in the Interior Department. Expenditures in the Department of Labor. Industrial Expositions. Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands. Military Affairs. Post Offices and Post Roads. Woman Suffrage.
Mr. CLAPP .....	Standards, Weights, and Measures, chairman. Indian Affairs. Interstate Commerce. Naval Affairs. Pacific Islands and Porto Rico. <i>Philippines.</i> Privileges and Elections. Woman Suffrage.
Mr. CLARK of Wyo. ....	Geological Survey, chairman. Conservation of National Resources. Finance. Judiciary. <i>National Banks.</i> Public Lands. <i>Railroads.</i>
Mr. COLT .....	Civil Service and Retrenchment. Five Civilized Tribes of Indians. Immigration. <i>Interoceanic Canals.</i> Military Affairs. Patents. Post Offices and Post Roads. Revision of the Laws of the United States (Joint). University of the United States.
Mr. CUMMINS .....	Mississippi River and its Tributaries, chairman.

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1915–1917)

	Census. Civil Service and Retrenchment. <i>Interoceanic Canals.</i> Interstate Commerce. Judiciary. Library. Manufactures. Rules.
Mr. CURTIS .....	<i>Appropriations.</i> <i>Canadian Relations.</i> <i>Enrolled Bills.</i> <i>Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service.</i> <i>Fisheries.</i> <i>Indian Affairs.</i> <i>Revolutionary Claims.</i>
Mr. DILLINGHAM .....	University of the United States, chairman. Appropriations. Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. District of Columbia. Expenditures in the Navy Department. Immigration. Judiciary. Privileges and Elections.
Mr. du PONT .....	<i>Expenditures in the War Department</i> , chairman. Census. Coast Defenses. Expenditures in the Department of Justice. <i>Library.</i> Military Affairs. Railroads. Standards, Weights, and Measures.
Mr. FALL .....	Expenditures in the Department of Commerce. Geological Survey. Indian Affairs. Mines and Mining. <i>Naval Affairs.</i> <i>Pacific Islands and Porto Rico.</i> <i>Philippines.</i> <i>Privileges and Elections.</i> <i>Public Buildings and Grounds.</i> Public Lands.
Mr. GALLINGER .....	Conference of the Minority, chairman. Appropriations. Finance. <i>Library.</i> Manufactures. Pacific Railroads.

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	Printing. Rules.
Mr. GOFF .....	Claims. Conservation of National Resources. Expenditures in the Department of Labor. <i>Immigration.</i> <i>Interoceanic Canals.</i> Military Affairs. Pacific Islands and Porto Rico. Pensions. Railroads. University of the United States.
Mr. GRONNA .....	Agriculture and Forestry. <i>Banking and Currency.</i> <i>Claims.</i> Conservation of National Resources. Expenditures in the Navy Department. Indian Affairs. Industrial Expositions. Private Land Claims.
Mr. HARDING .....	<i>Claims</i> <i>Coast Defenses.</i> <i>Commerce.</i> <i>Expenditures in the Treasury Department.</i> <i>Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands.</i> <i>Territories.</i> <i>Transportation and Sale of Meat Products.</i>
Mr. JONES .....	<i>Disposition of Useless Papers, Chairman.</i> Appropriations. <i>Commerce.</i> Conservation of National Resources. District of Columbia. Fisheries. Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands. Pacific Railroads. Territories. Woman Suffrage.
Mr. KENYON .....	Agriculture and Forestry. <i>Commerce.</i> District of Columbia. Education and Labor. Expenditures in the War Department. Patents. Philippines. Privileges and Elections.
Mr. LA FOLLETTE .....	Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia, chairman. Census. Civil Service and Retrenchment. Finance. Indian Affairs.

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1915–1917)

	Interstate Commerce. Manufactures.
Mr. LIPPITT .....	<i>Commerce.</i> Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia. Expenditures in the Department of Agri- culture. Expenditures in the Department of State. Interstate Commerce. Mines and Mining. Philippines. Territories.
Mr. LODGE .....	Private Land Claims, chairman. Finance. Foreign Relations. Immigration. Naval Affairs. Transportation Routes to the Seaboard.
Mr. MCCUMBER .....	Transportation Routes to the Seaboard, chairman. Finance. Foreign Relations. Indian Depredations. Pacific Railroads. Pensions. University of the United States.
Mr. MCLEAN .....	Banking and Currency. Census. Education and Labor. Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game. Manufactures. Philippines. <i>Post Offices and Post Roads.</i> Territories.
Mr. NELSON .....	Five Civilized Tribes of Indians, chairman. Banking and Currency. Commerce. Judiciary. Rules Territories.
Mr. NORRIS .....	Agriculture and Forestry. <i>[Commerce—crossed out] Banking and Cur-</i> <i>rency</i> [handwritten insert] Expenditures in the War Department. Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game. Geological Survey. <i>Industrial Expositions.</i> Public Lands.

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	Railroads.
Mr. OLIVER .....	Appropriations. Canadian Relations. Commerce. <i>Foreign Relations.</i> Industrial Expositions. Interstate Commerce. Manufactures. Railroads.
Mr. PAGE .....	<i>Transportation and Sale of Meat Products,</i> <i>chairman.</i> Agriculture and Forestry. <i>Banking and Currency.</i> Education and Labor. Indian Affairs. Interoceanic Canals. Naval Affairs. Printing.
Mr. PENROSE .....	Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress, chairman. Education and Labor. Expenditures in the Department of State. Finance. Immigration. Naval Affairs. Post Offices and Post Roads.
Mr. POINDEXTER .....	Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress. Expenditures in the Interior Department. <i>Interstate Commerce.</i> Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands. Mines and Mining. Naval Affairs. Pacific Islands and Porto Rico. Pensions. Public Buildings and Grounds.
Mr. SHERMAN. ....	<i>[Banking and Currency—crossed out]</i> Canadian Relations <i>Commerce [handwritten insert]</i> Disposition of Useless Papers in the Execu- tive Departments. District of Columbia. Expenditures in the Post Office Depart- ment. Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game. Pensions. Privileges and Elections. Transportation Routes to the Seaboard.
Mr. SMITH of Mich. ....	To Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service, chairman.



SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1915–1917)

	Commerce.
	Cuban Relations.
	Expenditures in the Post Office Department.
	Foreign Relations.
	<i>Industrial Expositions.</i>
	Naval Affairs.
	Private Land Claims.
Mr. SMOOT .....	Expenditures in the Interior Department, chairman.
	Appropriations.
	<i>Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.</i>
	Civil Service and Retrenchment.
	Finance.
	Pensions.
	Printing.
	Public Health and National Quarantine.
	Public Lands.
Mr. STERLING .....	Civil Service and Retrenchment.
	Coast and Insular Survey.
	Conservation of National Resources.
	<i>District of Columbia.</i>
	<i>Immigration.</i>
	Mines and Mining
	Mississippi River and its Tributaries.
	Pensions.
	Post Offices and Post Roads.
	Public Lands.
Mr. SUTHERLAND .....	Expenditures in the Department of Justice, chairman.
	Cuban Relations.
	Foreign Relations.
	Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.
	Judiciary.
	Privileges and Elections.
	Public Buildings and Grounds.
	Revision of the Laws of the United States (Joint).
	Woman Suffrage.
Mr. TOWNSEND .....	<i>Appropriations.</i>
	Census.
	Coast and Insular Survey.
	Interstate Commerce.
	Pacific Railroads.
	Post Offices and Post Roads.
	<i>Public Health and National Quarantine.</i>
Mr. WADSWORTH .....	<i>Agriculture and Forestry.</i>
	<i>Canadian Relations.</i>
	<i>Claims</i>

DECEMBER 13, 1915

	<i>Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture.</i> <i>Indian Depredations.</i> <i>Mississippi River and its Tributaries.</i>
Mr. WARREN .....	Engrossed Bills, chairman. Agriculture and Forestry. Appropriations. Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands. Military Affairs. Public Buildings and Grounds. Rules.
Mr. WEEKS .....	Banking and Currency. Coast Defenses. Conservation of National Resources. Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game. Indian Depredations. <i>Military Affairs.</i> Post Offices and Post Roads. Public Health and National Quarantine.
Mr. WORKS .....	Coast and Insular Survey. District of Columbia. Expenditures in the Treasury Department. Fisheries. Industrial Expositions. Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands. <i>Judiciary.</i> Public Health and National Quarantine. Public Lands.

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(Confidential)

#### REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

Note.—Names in *italic* indicate new assignments

**On Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress.** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. PENROSE, *Chairman*, POINDEXTER.

**On Agriculture and Forestry.** (Republicans, 7.)

Messrs. WARREN, PAGE, GRONNA, BRADY, NORRIS, KENYON, WADSWORTH.

**On Appropriations.\*** (Republicans, 8.)

Messrs. WARREN, GALLINGER, SMOOT, OLIVER, DILLINGHAM, JONES, *TOWNSEND, CURTIS.*

**To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. DILLINGHAM, *SMOOT.*

**On Banking and Currency.\*** (Republicans, 6.)

Messrs. NELSON, MCLEAN, WEEKS, *PAGE*, GRONNA, [*SHERMAN—crossed out*] NORRIS [*handwritten insert*].

**On Canadian Relations.** (Republicans, 4.)

Messrs. OLIVER, SHERMAN, *CURTIS*, WADSWORTH.

**On the Census.** (Republicans, 5.)

Messrs. LA FOLLETTE, CUMMINS, duPONT, MCLEAN, TOWNSEND.

**On Civil Service and Retrenchment.** (Republicans, 5.)

Messrs. CUMMINS, LA FOLLETTE, SMOOT, COLT, STERLING.

**On Claims.<sup>1</sup>** (Republicans, 6.)

Messrs. BURLEIGH, GOFF, GRONNA, CATRON, *HARDING*, WADSWORTH.

**On Coast and Insular Survey.** (Republicans, 4.)

Messrs. TOWNSEND, WORKS, BRADY, STERLING.

**On Coast Defenses.** (Republicans, 5.)

Messrs. du PONT, CATRON, WEEKS, BURLEIGH, *HARDING*.

**On Commerce.\*** (Republicans, 8.)

Messrs. NELSON, SMITH of Michigan, OLIVER, *JONES*, LIPPITT, KENYON, [*NORRIS—crossed out*] SHERMAN [*handwritten insert*], *HARDING*.

**On Conservation of National Resources** (Republicans, 7.)

Messrs. CLARK of Wyoming, JONES, GRONNA, BRADY, GOFF, STERLING, WEEKS.

**On Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia.** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. LA FOLLETTE, *Chairman*, LIPPITT.

**On Cuban Relations.<sup>2</sup>** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. SMITH of Michigan, SUTHERLAND.

**On Disposition of Useless papers in the Executive Departments.** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. *JONES*, *Chairman*, SHERMAN.

**On the District of Columbia.<sup>3</sup>** (Republicans, 6.)

Messrs. DILLINGHAM, JONES, WORKS, KENYON, SHERMAN, *STERLING*.

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\* Membership increased one place.

<sup>1</sup> Senators Norris and McLean resigned.

<sup>2</sup> Chairmanship taken by majority and membership decreased one.

<sup>3</sup> Senator Fall resigned.

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**On Education and Labor.** (Republicans, 5.)

Messrs. BORAH, PENROSE, PAGE, MCLEAN, KENYON.

**On Engrossed Bills.** (Republicans, 1.)

Mr. WARREN, *Chairman*.

**On Enrolled Bills.** (Republicans, 1.)

Mr. CURTIS.

**To Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service.** (Republicans, 3.)

Messrs. SMITH of Michigan, *Chairman*, BRANDEGEE, CURTIS.

**On Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture.** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. LIPPITT, WADSWORTH.

**On Expenditures in the Department of Commerce.** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. FALL, BRADY.

**On Expenditures in the Interior Department.** (Republicans, 3.)

Messrs. SMOOT, *Chairman*, CATRON, POINDEXTER.

**On Expenditures in the Department of Justice.** (Republicans, 3.)

Messrs. SUTHERLAND, *Chairman*, BORAH, du PONT.

**On Expenditures in the Department of Labor.** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. CATRON, GOFF.

**On Expenditures in the Navy Department.** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. GRONNA, DILLINGHAM.

**On Expenditures in the Post Office Department.** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. SMITH of Michigan, SHERMAN.

**On Expenditures in the Department of State.** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. PENROSE, LIPPITT.

**On Expenditures in the Treasury Department.** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. WORKS, *HARDING*.

**On Expenditures in the War Department.** (Republicans, 3.)

Messrs. *du PONT*, *Chairman*, KENYON, NORRIS.

**On Finance.** (Republicans, 7.)

Messrs. PENROSE, LODGE, MCCUMBER, SMOOT, GALLINGER, CLARK of Wyoming, LA FOLLETTE.

**On Fisheries.** (Republicans, 4.)

Messrs. WORKS, JONES, BURLEIGH, CURTIS.

**On the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians.** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. NELSON, *Chairman*, COLT.

**On Foreign Relations.** (Republicans, 7.)

Messrs. LODGE, SMITH of Michigan, MCCUMBER, SUTHERLAND, BORAH, *BRANDEGEE, OLIVER*.

**On Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game.** (Republicans, 4.)

Messrs. MCLEAN, NORRIS, WEEKS, SHERMAN.

**On the Geological Survey.** (Republicans, 3.)

Messrs. CLARK of Wyoming, *Chairman*, FALL, NORRIS.

**On Immigration.**<sup>4</sup> (Republicans, 6.)

Messrs. LODGE, DILLINGHAM, PENROSE, COLT, *GOFF, STERLING*.

**On Indian Affairs.**<sup>5</sup> (Republicans, 6.)

Messrs. CLAPP, LA FOLLETTE, PAGE, GRONNA, FALL, *CURTIS*.

**On Indian Depredations.** (Republicans, 5.)

Messrs. BORAH, *Chairman*, MCCUMBER, BURLEIGH, WEEKS, *WADSWORTH*.

**On Industrial Expositions.** (Republicans, 6.)

Messrs. OLIVER, GRONNA, WORKS, CATRON, *SMITH, W.A., NORRIS*.

**On Interoceanic Canals.** (Republicans, 6.)

Messrs. BRANDEGEE, BORAH, PAGE, *CUMMINS, COLT, GOFF*.

**On Interstate Commerce.**<sup>6</sup> (Republicans, 7.)

Messrs. CLAPP, CUMMINS, OLIVER, LIPPITT, TOWNSEND, LA FOLLETTE, *POINDEXTER*.

**To Investigate Trespassers Upon Indian Lands.**<sup>7</sup> (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. POINDEXTER, *HARDING*.

**On Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.** (Republicans, 6.)

Messrs. JONES, WARREN, SUTHERLAND, BORAH, WORKS, CATRON.

**On Revision of the Laws of the United States (Joint).** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. SUTHERLAND, COLT.

**On the Judiciary.** (Republicans, 8.)

Messrs. CLARK of Wyoming, NELSON, DILLINGHAM, SUTHERLAND, BRANDEGEE, BORAH, CUMMINS, *WORKS*.

**On the Library.** (Republicans, 3.)

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<sup>4</sup> Senator Gronna resigned.

<sup>5</sup> Senator Townsend resigned.

<sup>6</sup> Senator Brandegee resigned.

<sup>7</sup> Chairmanship taken by majority.

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Messrs. CUMMINS, *GALLINGER*, *du PONT*.

**On Manufactures.** (Republicans, 5.)

Messrs. OLIVER, LA FOLLETTE, CUMMINS, MCLEAN, GALLINGER.

**On Military Affairs.** (Republicans, 7.)

Messrs. du PONT, WARREN, CATRON, BRADY, GOFF, COLT, *WEEKS*.

**On Mines and Mining.** (Republicans, 4.)

Messrs. POINDEXTER, [SUTHERLAND—crossed out], FALL, *STERLING* [handwritten insert], LIPPITT.

**On the Mississippi River and its Tributaries.** (Republicans, 3.)

Messrs. CUMMINS, *Chairman*, STERLING, WADSWORTH.

**On National Banks.** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. BRADY, *CLARK of Wyoming*.

**On Naval Affairs.** (Republicans, 7.)

Messrs. PENROSE, LODGE, SMITH of Michigan, PAGE, POINDEXTER, *FALL*.

**On Pacific Islands and Porto Rico.** (Republicans, 5.)

Messrs. POINDEXTER, CLAPP, FALL, BURLEIGH, GOFF.

**On Pacific Railroads.** (Minority.) (Republicans, 5.)

Messrs. BRANDEGEE, *Chairman*, GALLINGER, MCCUMBER, JONES, TOWNSEND.

**On Patents.** (Republicans, 3.)

Messrs. BRANDEGEE, KENYON, COLT.

**On Pensions.** (Republicans, 6.)

Messrs. MCCUMBER, SMOOT, POINDEXTER, GOFF, STERLING, SHERMAN.

**On the Philippines.**<sup>8</sup> (Republicans, 6.)

Messrs. MCLEAN, LIPPITT, KENYON, *CLAPP*, *FALL*, *BURLEIGH*.

**On Post Offices and Post Roads.** (Republicans, 7.)

Messrs. PENROSE, TOWNSEND, CATRON, COLT, WEEKS, STERLING, *MCLEAN*.

**On Printing.** (Republicans, 3.)

Messrs. SMOOT, GALLINGER, PAGE.

**On Private Land Claims.** (Republicans, 3.)

Messrs. LODGE, *Chairman*, *SMITH of Michigan*, GRONNA.

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<sup>8</sup> Senator Weeks resigned.

**On Privileges and Elections.** (Republicans, 6.)

Messrs. DILLINGHAM, CLAPP, SUTHERLAND, KENYON, SHERMAN, FALL.

**On Public Buildings and Grounds.**<sup>9</sup> (Republicans, 7.)

Messrs. SUTHERLAND, WARREN, POINDEXTER, BURLEIGH, BRADY, FALL, WADSWORTH.

**On Public Health and National Quarantine.** (Republicans, 5.)

Messrs. SMOOT, WORKS, BRADY, WEEKS, TOWNSEND.

**On Public Lands.** (Republicans, 6.)

Messrs. SMOOT, CLARK of Wyoming, WORKS, FALL, NORRIS, STERLING.

**On Railroads.**<sup>10</sup> (Republicans, 5.)

Messrs. OLIVER, NORRIS, GOFF, du PONT, CLARK.

**On Revolutionary Claims.** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. BURLEIGH, CURTIS.

**On Rules.** (Republicans, 4.)

Messrs. [WARREN—crossed out], GALLINGER, WARREN [handwritten insert], NELSON, CUMMINS.

**On Standards, Weights, and Measures.** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. CLAPP, *Chairman*, du PONT.

**On Territories.** (Republicans, 5.)

Messrs. NELSON, MCLEAN, LIPPITT, JONES, HARDING.

**On Transportation Routes to the Seaboard.** (Republicans, 4.)

Messrs. MCCUMBER, *Chairman*, LODGE, BURLEIGH, SHERMAN.

**On Transportation and Sale of Meat Products.** (Republicans, 2.)

Messrs. PAGE, *Chairman*, HARDING.

**On the University of the United States.**<sup>11</sup> (Republicans, 6.)

Messrs. DILLINGHAM, *Chairman*, BRANDEGEE, MCCUMBER, GOFF, COLT.

**On Woman Suffrage.** (Republicans, 4.)

Messrs. SUTHERLAND, JONES, CLAPP, CATRON.

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<sup>9</sup> Senator du Pont resigned.

<sup>10</sup> Chairmanship taken by majority.

<sup>11</sup> Senator Clark resigned.

DECEMBER 13, 1915

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[March 25, 1916]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

March 25, 1916

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Gallinger, at 10:30 a.m. in the Minority Conference Room of the Senate Office Building.

The roll was called by the Secretary, and the following Senators responded to their names:

Senators Borah, Brandegee, Catron, Clark of Wyoming, Cummins, Curtis, Gallinger, Harding, Kenyon, Lippitt, Lodge, McCumber, Page, Poindexter, Sherman, Smoot, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Wadsworth, Weeks, and Works.

The duties of the minority in the present contingency, due to the Mexican situation, were discussed until 11:55 a.m., at which time the Conference adjourned, to meet again on Monday, March 27, 1916, at 10:30 a.m.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[March 27, 1916]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

March 27, 1916

The Conference was called to order at 10:30 a.m. by its Chairman, Senator Gallinger, and the roll being called, the following Senators responded to their names:

Senators Borah, Brandegee, Catron, Clark of Wyoming, Cummins, Curtis, du Pont, Gallinger, Gronna, Harding, Jones, Kenyon, Lippitt, Lodge, McCumber, Oliver, Page, Sherman, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, Weeks, and Works.

Senator Lodge, on behalf of a committee having the subject under consideration, presented a resolution bearing on the military situation connected with the troubles in Mexico, which was discussed; but no action was taken thereon.

On motion of Senator Lippitt, the Chairman, Senator Gallinger, was authorized to issue a public statement, setting forth the position of the Republican senators.



The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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The following statement was issued by Senator Gallinger, under authority of the action of the Republican Conference of March 27, 1916.

Republican Senators fully recognize that the duty of dealing with the present Mexican crisis rests with the President, and they have not at any time had any purpose of interfering with the Executive or any Department of the Government in that matter, but they have been, and are now, very solicitous that the military expedition in Mexico shall be adequately protected, and if necessary reinforced, and that the border line shall be provided with forces sufficient to prevent raids similar to the one that occurred at Columbus.

While realizing that their information may not be fully complete they believe that, upon the information which they do have, all available Regulars should be sent to the border, to be reinforced by detachments from the National Guard if circumstances demand it. Not only should Villa and his murderous band be captured and punished, but the lives and property of American citizens on both sides of the border should be fully protected, a thing which has not heretofore been done by our Government.

March 27, 1916

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[July 11, 1916]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

July 11, 1916

The Conference was called to order by the chairman, Senator Gallinger, at 9:30 a.m., pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Borah, Brady, Brandegee, Catron, Clark of Wyoming, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, du Pont, Gallinger, Gronna, Harding, Jones, Lippitt, Lodge, McCumber, Nelson, Oliver, Poindexter, Sherman, Smoot, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, Weeks, and Works.

Discussion was had upon the attitude of the minority with respect to the Democratic program of legislation.

It was generally agreed that the minority would not attempt to unduly prolong the session.

JULY 11, 1916

Discussion was also had upon the suggestion that the minority prepare, present and support substitute measures for the Democratic Revenue Bill and the Democratic Shipping Bill.

The Conference, on motion, requested the minority members of the Committee on Finance and the minority members of the Committee on Commerce to take under consideration the question of appropriate action by the minority upon the Revenue Bill and the Shipping Bill respectively.

The following Committee was appointed to confer with the Democratic Steering Committee as to the legislative program:

Messrs.

Gallinger  
Clark of Wyoming  
Townsend  
Cummins  
Harding

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[August 10, 1916]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

August 10, 1916

The Conference met at ten o'clock a.m., and a quorum being present, the chairman laid before the Conference a resolution presented by the Democratic steering committee, which read as follows:

Resolved—That it is the judgement of this committee that no seriously contested legislation should be undertaken during the present session except

- 1st. The appropriation bills and conference reports,
- 2nd. The shipping bill,
- 3rd. The revenue bill,
- 4th. The workmens compensation bill,

and that the Congress should adjourn sine die as soon as said matters are disposed of.

Extended discussion was had as to the proper action which the Republican Conference should take with respect to the above resolution, and—

On motion of the Senator from Illinois, Mr. Sherman, and the Senator from Idaho, Mr. Borah, the following resolution was adopted as expressing the attitude of the Republican Conference with respect to the conduct of the minority during the remainder of the session—

Resolved, That the power to control both legislation and adjournment rests with the Democratic majority in Congress. The Republican Senators reserve the right to support or oppose or request action on any legislation now pending, and they further urge that the Immigration Bill shall be taken up, considered and acted on at this session.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[January 5, 1917]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 5, 1917

Upon petition signed by certain Republican Senators the Chairman called a Conference which assembled at 11 o'clock a.m. Friday, January 5th, 1917, Senator Gallinger, its Chairman, presiding.

Those present were,

Senators Borah, Brady, Clark, Curtis, Dillingham, Gallinger, Gronna, Harding, Kenyon, Lippitt, Lodge, McCumber, McLean, Nelson, Oliver, Page, Sherman, Smoot, Sterling, Townsend, Wadsworth, Watson, Weeks, and Works.

Senate Resolution #298, pending before the Senate and known as the Hitchcock Peace Resolution, was discussed, and the Conference ordered the appointment by the Chairman of a committee to consist of five Senators, of which the Chairman should be a member; to consider and draft a substitute for the Hitchcock Resolution, which all Republican Senators would support:

and, the Chairman forthwith appointed the following Senators to constitute said committee: Mr. Gallinger, Mr. Lippitt, Mr. Gronna, Mr. Nelson, and Mr. Watson.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

Note: At 2 o'clock p.m. of the same day the Republican Senators reassembled without formal call in Senator Gallinger's office, agreed

JANUARY 5, 1917

to support the resolution drafted by their committee, and directed Senator Gallinger to report the same.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[February 6, 1917]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

February 6, 1917

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Gallinger, at 10 o'clock a.m. the following senators being present—

Senators Borah, Brady, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, du Pont, Fall, Gallinger, Gronna, Harding, Jones, Lippitt, Lodge, McCumber, Page, Penrose, Poindexter, Sherman, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, Weeks, and Works.

The Bill, Senate 8109, introduced by Senator Poindexter, "Providing for the construction of eighty coast submarines and twenty fleet submarines" was taken up, and after consideration, it was agreed by the Conference, that Republican Senators should support the same.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[February 23, 1917]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

February 23, 1917

Upon petition, the Acting Chairman, Senator Lodge, called a Conference, which met at 10 o'clock a.m. in Senator Gallinger's office at the Capitol.

The following Senators were present:

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1915–1917)

Messrs. Brady, Brandegee, Catron, Clark, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, du Pont, Fernald, Harding, Jones, Kenyon, La Follette, Lippitt, Lodge, McCumber, Nelson, Oliver, Page, Penrose, Poindexter, Sherman, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Sterling, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Works.

The general legislative situation existing in the Senate in its relation to the duty of the minority, was discussed, and—

at 11:15 the Conference adjourned.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.



## **Sixty-fifth Congress (1917–1919)**

[Editor's Note: In 1916 Woodrow Wilson won reelection as president, and in the Sixty-fifth Congress Republicans remained in the minority, with 42 members to 54 Democrats in the Senate. The House was more evenly divided, for the Democrats had 214 members to 215 Republicans but were able to organize the House with the help of 6 independents.]

Responding to President Wilson's outrage at the Senate's failure to pass the Armed Ship bill at the close of the previous Congress, the Senate, on March 8, 1917 during its special session, adopted the first cloture rule to make it possible to end a filibuster.

Less than a month later, President Wilson called Congress into extraordinary session to deal with the threat of war. On April 6, 1917, the U.S. Congress declared war on Germany, and the nation officially entered World War I. Senate Republicans rallied behind the president to enable the country to present a united front in prosecuting the war. After the armistice in November 1918, the Conference considered a proposal to establish six joint committees to deal with such postwar issues as demobilization, foreign trade, labor disputes, rising prices, and food production.]

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[March 6, 1917]

### **REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE**

March 6, 1917

The Conference met at 3:30 p.m. in the Minority Conference Room in the Senate Office Building, on call of the Acting Chairman, Senator Lodge, who presided.

The following Senators were present:

Mr. Borah, Brady, Brandegee, Calder, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Fernald, France, Frelinghuysen, Hale, Harding, Jones, Kellogg, Knox, Lodge, McCumber, McLean, Nelson, New, Page, Penrose, Poindexter, Sherman, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, Weeks.

Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire was chosen Chairman of the Minority and Senator Wadsworth was chosen Secretary of the Minority, and Senator Curtis was chosen whip.

The Acting Chairman was authorized to appoint a Committee on Committees consisting of nine members, to serve during the 65th Congress.

MARCH 6, 1917

The following Committee of Five Senators was authorized and appointed to confer with the Democratic Majority on the question of Rules:

Messrs. Lodge, Brandegee, Penrose, Cummins, and Borah.

The Conference then adjourned subject to call.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

Confidential Print of Proposed Amendment to Senate Rules

65th Congress,  
Special Session of the Senate.

S. .

In the Senate of the United States.  
March 7, 1917.

**AMENDMENT**

Intended to be proposed to the Senate rules.

At the close of Rule XXII add:

“Provided, however, That if at any time a motion, signed by sixteen Senators, to bring to a close the debate upon any pending measure is presented to the Senate, the presiding officer shall at once state the motion to the Senate, and one hour after the Senate meets on the following calendar day but one, he shall lay the motion before the Senate and direct that the Secretary call the roll, and, upon the ascertainment that a quorum is present, the presiding officer shall, without debate, submit to the Senate by an aye-and-nay vote the question:

“Is it the sense of the Senate that the debate shall be brought to a close?”

“And if that question shall be decided in the affirmative by a two-thirds vote of those voting, then said measure shall be the unfinished business to the exclusion of all other business until disposed of.

“Thereafter no Senator shall be entitled to speak in all more than one hour on the pending measure, the amendments thereto, and motions affecting the same, and it shall be the duty of the presiding officer to keep the time of each Senator who speaks. Except by unanimous consent, no amendment shall be in order after the vote to bring the debate to a close, unless the same has been presented and read prior to that time. No dilatory motion, or dilatory amendment, or amendment not germane, shall be in order. Points of order, including questions of relevancy, and appeals from the decision of the presiding officer, shall be decided without debate.”

The Acting Chairman of the Republican Conference appointed the following Committee on Committees to serve during the 65th Con-



gress, under authority given him by the Conference of March 6th, 1917:

Mr. Warren, Chairman, and Messrs. Smoot, Brandegee, Borah, Poindexter, Fall, Weeks, Harding, and Wadsworth.

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[March 7, 1917]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

March 7, 1917

The Conference was called to order at 4 o'clock p.m. in the Minority Conference Room, Senate Office Building, by the Acting Chairman, Senator Lodge:

The following Senators being present—

Messrs. Borah, Brady, Brandegee, Calder, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Fall, Fernald, France, Frelinghuysen, Hale, Harding, Jones, Kellogg, Knox, Lodge, McCumber, McLean, Nelson, New, Norris, Page, Penrose, Sherman, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Sterling, Sutherland, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Weeks.

The Acting Chairman, Senator Lodge, announced the appointment of the following Committee on Committees for the 65th Congress:

Mr. Warren, Chairman, and Messrs. Smoot, Brandegee, Borah, Poindexter, Fall, Weeks, Harding, and Wadsworth.

Senator Lodge, as Chairman of the Committee of five appointed to confer with the Democratic Majority on the subject of Rules, submitted a draft of a proposed change in the Senate Rules (copy of which appears opposite this page).\*

This rule was discussed, and two minor amendments suggested and tentatively agreed to by the Conference; and—

On motion by Senator Smoot, the Committee on Rules was instructed to report to the Committee on Rules of the Democratic Majority, that the proposed amendment met with the approval of the Republican Conference: the vote on Approval of the same being as follows:

For—Messrs. Borah, Brady, Brandegee, Calder, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Fall, Fernald, Frelinghuysen, Hale, Harding, Jones, Kellogg, Knox, Lodge, Nelson, New, Norris, Page, Penrose, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Sutherland, Sterling, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Weeks.

Total 30

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[See page 68.]

MARCH 7, 1917

Against—Messrs. France and Sherman.

Total 2

So the motion to approve was adopted.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[March 12, 1917]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

March 12, 1917

The Conference was called to order at 10:30 a.m. by Senator Lodge, the Acting Chairman, to consider the Report of the Committee on Committees.

The roll was called and the following senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Brady, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Fall, France, Frelinghuysen, Hale, Harding, Jones, Kellogg, Kenyon, Knox, Lodge, McCumber, McLean, Nelson, New, Page, Penrose, Poindexter, Smoot, Sterling, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, and Watson.

The report of the Committee on Committees (which is appended to these minutes) was presented by Senator Warren, the Chairman of the Committee, who explained the same.

After reading by the Secretary, the Report was adopted without objection.

The Conference then adjourned subject to call.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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#### **On Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress.**

Messrs. PENROSE, *Chairman*, SUTHERLAND.

#### **On Agriculture and Forestry.**

Messrs. WARREN, PAGE, GRONNA, BRADY, NORRIS, KENYON, WADSWORTH.

#### **On Appropriations.**

Messrs. WARREN, GALLINGER, SMOOT, DILLINGHAM, JONES, Washington, CURTIS, KENYON, SHERMAN.

**To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.**

Messrs. SMOOT, FRANCE.

**On Banking and Currency.**

Messrs. MCLEAN, WEEKS, PAGE, GRONNA, NORRIS, GOFF.

**On Canadian Relations.**

Messrs. SHERMAN, CURTIS, WADSWORTH, HALE.

**On the Census.**

Messrs. LA FOLLETTE, MCLEAN, TOWNSEND, SUTHERLAND, NEW.

**On Civil Service and Retrenchment.**

Messrs. CUMMINS, LA FOLLETTE, SMOOT, COLT, \_\_\_\_\_.

**On Claims.**

Messrs. GOFF, GRONNA, WADSWORTH, FERNALD, FRELINGHUYSEN, NEW.

**On Coast and Insular Survey.**

Messrs. TOWNSEND, STERLING, HALE, \_\_\_\_\_.

**On Coast Defenses.**

Messrs. WEEKS, FERNALD, NELSON, CALDER, FRELINGHUYSEN.

**On Commerce.**

Messrs. NELSON, SMITH, Michigan, JONES, Washington, SHERMAN, HARDING, FERNALD, CALDER, \_\_\_\_\_.

**On Conservation of National Resources.**

Messrs. GRONNA, BRADY, GOFF, STERLING, CALDER, HALE, FRANCE.

**On Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia.**

Messrs. LA FOLLETTE, *Chairman*, KNOX.

**On Cuban Relations.**

Messrs. SMITH, Michigan, KNOX.

**On Disposition of Useless Papers in the Executive Departments.**

Messrs. JONES, Washington, *Chairman*, FRANCE.

**On the District of Columbia.**

Messrs. DILLINGHAM, JONES, Washington, KENYON, SHERMAN, CALDER, NEW.

**On Education and Labor.**

Messrs. BORAH, PENROSE, PAGE, MCLEAN, KENYON.

**On Engrossed Bills.**

Mr. WARREN, *Chairman*.

MARCH 12, 1917

**On Enrolled Bills.**

Mr. CURTIS.

**To Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service.**

Messrs. SMITH, Michigan, *Chairman*, BRANDEGEE, CURTIS.

**On Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture.**

Messrs. WADSWORTH, FRANCE.

**On Expenditures in the Department of Commerce.**

Messrs. FALL, BRADY.

**On Expenditures in the Interior Department.**

Messrs. SMOOT, *Chairman*, POINDEXTER, NEW.

**On Expenditures in the Department of Justice.**

Messrs. BORAH, *Chairman*, FRELINGHUYSEN, HALE.

**On Expenditures in the Department of Labor.**

Messrs. GOFF, KELLOGG.

**On Expenditures in the Navy Department.**

Messrs. GRONNA, *Chairman*, DILLINGHAM.

**On Expenditures in the Post Office Department.**

Messrs. SMITH, Michigan, WATSON.

**On Expenditures in the Department of State.**

Messrs. PENROSE, HALE.

**On Expenditures in the Treasury Department.**

Messrs. HARDING, KNOX.

**On Expenditures in the War Department.**

Messrs. TOWNSEND, *Chairman*, NORRIS, CALDER.

**On Finance.**

Messrs. PENROSE, LODGE, MCCUMBER, SMOOT, GALLINGER, LA FOLLETTE, TOWNSEND.

**On Fisheries.**

Messrs. JONES, Washington, CURTIS, FERNALD, \_\_\_\_\_.

**On Five Civilized Tribes of Indians.**

Messrs. NELSON, *Chairman*, COLT.

**On Foreign Relations.**

Messrs. LODGE, SMITH, Michigan, MCCUMBER, BORAH, BRANDEGEE, FALL, KNOX.

**On Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game.**

Messrs. MCLEAN, *Chairman*, NORRIS, WEEKS, SHERMAN, NEW.

**On the Geological Survey.**

Messrs. FALL, *Chairman*, NORRIS, SUTHERLAND.

**On Immigration.**

Messrs. DILLINGHAM, PENROSE, COLT, GOFF, STERLING, \_\_\_\_\_.

**On Indian Affairs.**

Messrs. LA FOLLETTE, GRONNA, FALL, CURTIS, FERNALD, CALDER.

**On Indian Depredations.**

Messrs. POINDEXTER, *Chairman*, MCCUMBER, WADSWORTH, WATSON, FRELINGHUYSEN.

**On Industrial Expositions.**

Messrs. GRONNA, SMITH, Michigan, NORRIS, CALDER, SUTHERLAND, KELLOGG.

**On Interoceanic Canals.**

Messrs. BRANDEGEE, BORAH, PAGE, CUMMINS, COLT, GOFF.

**On Interstate Commerce.**

Messrs. CUMMINS, TOWNSEND, LA FOLLETTE, POINDEXTER, MCLEAN, WATSON, KELLOGG.

**To Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands.**

Messrs. HARDING, SUTHERLAND.

**On Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.**

Messrs. JONES, Washington, WARREN, BORAH, WEEKS, KELLOGG, \_\_\_\_\_.

**On Revision of the Laws of the United States (Joint).**

Messrs. COLT, KELLOGG.

**On the Judiciary.**

Messrs. NELSON, DILLINGHAM, BRANDEGEE, BORAH, CUMMINS, POINDEXTER, COLT, STERLING.

**On the Library.**

Messrs. GALLINGER, WEEKS, WADSWORTH.

**On Manufactures.**

Messrs. LA FOLLETTE, [CUMMINS—crossed out], GALLINGER, LODGE, KENYON [handwritten insert], FERNALD.

**On Military Affairs.**

Messrs. WARREN, BRADY, WEEKS, WADSWORTH, SUTHERLAND, NEW, FRELINGHUYSEN.

**On Mines and Mining.**

MARCH 12, 1917

Messrs. POINDEXTER, STERLING, BRADY, SUTHERLAND.

**On the Mississippi River and Its Tributaries.**

Messrs. CUMMINS, *Chairman*, STERLING, WADSWORTH.

**On National Banks.**

Messrs. BRADY, KELLOGG.

**On Naval Affairs.**

Messrs. PENROSE, LODGE, SMITH, Michigan, PAGE, POINDEXTER, HARDING, HALE.

**On Pacific Islands and Porto Rico.**

Messrs. POINDEXTER, FALL, FERNALD, HARDING, WATSON.

**On Pacific Railroads.**

Messrs. BRANDEGEE, *Chairman*, MCCUMBER, JONES, Washington, TOWNSEND, WATSON.

**On Patents.**

Messrs. BRANDEGEE, COLT, KNOX.

**On Pensions.**

Messrs. MCCUMBER, SMOOT, POINDEXTER, GOFF, SHERMAN, NEW.

**On the Philippines.**

Messrs. MCLEAN, KENYON, HARDING, GOFF, KNOX, \_\_\_\_\_.

**On Post Offices and Post Roads.**

Messrs. PENROSE, TOWNSEND, WEEKS, STERLING, MCLEAN, WATSON, FRANCE.

**On Printing.**

Messrs. SMOOT, GALLINGER, PAGE.

**On Private Land Claims.**

Messrs. LODGE, *Chairman*, SMITH, Michigan, GRONNA.

**On Privileges and Elections.**

Messrs. DILLINGHAM, KENYON, SHERMAN, FALL, KNOX, KELLOGG.

**On Public Buildings and Grounds.**

Messrs. WARREN, BRADY, FERNALD, CURTIS, SUTHERLAND, FRELINGHUYSEN, FRANCE.

**On Public Health and National Quarantine.**

Messrs. SMOOT, WEEKS, TOWNSEND, FRANCE, FRELINGHUYSEN.

**On Public Lands.**

Messrs. SMOOT, FALL, NORRIS, STERLING, BRADY, KELLOGG.

**On Railroads.**

Messrs. NORRIS, GOFF, CALDER, HALE, FRANCE.

**On Revolutionary Claims.**

Messrs. CURTIS, WATSON.

**On Rules.**

Messrs. GALLINGER, WARREN, NELSON, CUMMINS, KNOX.

**On Standards, Weights, and Measures.**

Messrs. KENYON, *Chairman*, HARDING.

**On Territories.**

Messrs. MCLEAN, JONES, Washington, HARDING, NEW, HALE.

**On Transportation and Sale of Meat Products.**

Messrs. PAGE, *Chairman*, FRELINGHUYSEN.

**On Transportation Routes to the Seaboard.**

Messrs. MCCUMBER, *Chairman*, LODGE, SHERMAN, WATSON.

**On the University of the United States.**

Messrs. DILLINGHAM, *Chairman*, BRANDEGEE, MCCUMBER, GOFF, COLT.

**On Woman Suffrage.**

Messrs. JONES, Washington, NELSON, CUMMINS, \_\_\_\_\_.

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[April 17, 1917]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

April 17, 1917

Upon petition, a Conference was called by the Chairman, Senator Gallinger, which met in the Minority Conference Room, Senate Office Building, at 10 o'clock a.m., April 17, 1917.

The following Senators were present:

Messrs. Brady, Brandegee, Calder, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Fall, Fernald, France, Frelinghuysen, Gallinger, Hale, Harding, Johnson of California, Jones, Kellogg, Kenyon, Knox, Lodge, McCumber, McLean, Nelson, New, Norris, Page, Penrose, Poindexter, Sherman, Smoot, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Wadsworth, Watson, and Weeks.

The Chairman was authorized to inform Democratic Leaders that it was the desire of the Republican Senators that general legislation not connected with the prosecution of the War should not be pressed

APRIL 17, 1917

at the present session, but that the Republican Senators earnestly hoped that a Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War be created to keep in touch with the expenditures of the Government during the recess of Congress.

The Conference entered a general discussion of the details of bond issues, and adjourned at 11:10 a.m.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[February 9, 1918]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
February 9, 1918

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Gallinger, at 10:20 a.m.

The following Senators being present:

Messrs. Borah, Calder, Colt, Curtis, Dillingham, France, Frelinghuysen, Gallinger, Gronna, Harding, Kellogg, Knox, Lodge, McCumber, McNary, Nelson, New, Norris, Poindexter, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Weeks.

After a general discussion, the Chairman was instructed by a vote of the Conference to issue the following statement:

The Conference was not called for the purpose of securing party action on war measures, and no such action will be taken. Republican Senators will as heretofore, give cordial support to all necessary legislation for the vigorous prosecution of the war to a successful issue.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[August 24, 1918]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
August 24, 1918

The Conference was called to order at 10:30 a.m. by Senator Lodge, the Acting Chairman.

The following Senators were present:



Messrs. Brandegee, Calder, Colt, Curtis, Dillingham, Fall, Fernald, France, Frelinghuysen, Hale, Jones, Kellogg, Kenyon, Knox, Lodge, McCumber, McNary, Nelson, New, Norris, Penrose, Poindexter, Sherman, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Sutherland, Sterling, Townsend, Wadsworth, and Weeks.

The question of the selection of a Chairman to succeed the late Senator from New Hampshire, Hon. Jacob H. Gallinger, being before the meeting, Senator Nelson moved that Senator Lodge be chosen Chairman, and the motion was unanimously adopted.

Senator Fall offered the following resolution which was carried on a viva voce vote:

Resolved: That the Republican members of the United States Senate in conference, urge that the consideration of House Joint Resolution 200, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extending the right of suffrage to women, should be proceeded with at the earliest possible moment;

And be it further resolved: That we shall insist upon such consideration immediately after the disposition of the pending unfinished business, H.R. 11945 with all amendments thereto, and shall also insist upon a final vote upon said House Joint Resolution 200 and all amendments pending or to be offered thereto at the earliest possible moment.

Provided: That this resolution shall not be construed as in any way binding the action or vote of any member of the Senate upon the merits of said suffrage amendment.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of its Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

65th Congress  
2d Session.

**S. CON. RES. 21.**

In the Senate of the United States.  
September 17, 1918.

Mr. Weeks submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was ordered to lie on the table.

**CONCURRENT RESOLUTION**

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there is hereby created a committee, to be known as the Joint Congressional Committee on Reconstruction, composed of six Senators and six Representatives in Congress. The members of said committee shall be selected as follows: Three Senators by the Democratic senatorial caucus, three Senators*

AUGUST 24, 1918

by the Republican senatorial conference, three Representatives in Congress by the Democratic House caucus and three Representatives in Congress by the Republican House conference: *Provided*, That only Senators and Representatives in Congress who have been elected to serve in the Sixty-sixth Congress shall be eligible for membership on said committee. Such membership shall terminate with the service in Congress of the Member, and vacancies shall be filled in the same manner as the original selections were made, respectively.

That said committee shall make an investigation of the following subjects, and report to Congress from time to time, with such recommendations, as to additional legislation or otherwise, as it may deem advisable:

1. Problems affecting labor, including—
  - (a) Unemployment which may follow war.
  - (b) Utilization of discharged soldiers and sailors in civil employments.
  - (c) Conciliation and arbitration of labor disputes.
  - (d) The relation of men and women in similar employments.
  - (e) Substitution of female employees for male, and vice versa.
  - (f) Feasibility of organizing permanent employment agencies.
  - (g) Requirements for labor after the war, both in agricultural and industrial occupations.
  - (h) Distribution of labor.
  - (i) Employment of surplus labor on public works of which the construction or completion has been suspended due to the war.
2. Problems affecting capital and credit, including—
  - (a) All matters relating to trusts and combinations.
  - (b) Federal loans to private enterprises.
  - (c) Federal supervision of capital issues.
3. Problems affecting public utilities, including—
  - (a) The establishment of a railroad policy after the war, and the relation of the Interstate Commerce Commission to the railroads.
  - (b) All questions relating to communication by wire.
4. Problems resulting from the demobilization of our industrial and military war resources, including—
  - (a) The disposal of surplus Government properties and supplies in this country and abroad.
  - (b) The conversion of munition industries into those of peace.
  - (c) The demobilization of the war strength of the Army and Navy, and the disposition of the men who have been in the service.
  - (d) The demobilization of civil war workers.
5. Problems affecting our foreign trade, including—

- (a) The development of new markets.
  - (b) Combinations for the purpose of increasing our selling facilities.
  - (c) Changes in our banking facilities necessary to cooperate with such trade.
6. Problems affecting the continuance of existing industries and the establishment of new industries, including—
- (a) The supply and control of raw materials.
  - (b) The encouragement of the production in the United States of articles that have not been made in this country heretofore.
  - (c) The encouragement of private enterprise in the development of the resources of the public domain.
  - (d) The utilization of a tariff on imports as a means to protect and encourage home industries.
7. Problems relating to agriculture, including—
- (a) The advisability of continuing after the war price fixing of food products.
  - (b) Federal loans to farmers.
  - (c) Distribution of food products.
  - (d) The allotment of lands to returned soldiers and sailors, and their establishment in new homes on the public domain.
8. Problems affecting the adequate production and effective distribution of coal, gasoline, and other fuels.
9. Problems relating to shipping, including shipyards, and especially in regard to the sale, continuance of ownership, or leasing of both yards and ships.
10. Housing conditions and the disposition of houses constructed by the Government during the war.
11. War legislation now on the statute books, with reference to its repeal, extension, or amendment.
12. And in general all matters necessarily arising during the change from the activities of war to the pursuits of peace, including those that may be referred to it by the Senate or House of Representatives.

That the committee is authorized to employ such clerical assistance as it may deem necessary, including the services of experts, and may, by subcommittee or otherwise, send for persons or papers, administer oaths, and employ stenographers, at a cost not to exceed \$1 per printed page, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject before it.

That the committee may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate and House of Representatives, and that expenses contracted hereunder shall be paid one-half from the contingent fund of the Senate and one-half from the contingent fund of the House upon the presen-

AUGUST 24, 1918

tation of vouchers approved by the chairman of said committee, until otherwise provided by law.

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[October 1, 1918]

## REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

October 1, 1918

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Lodge, at ten o'clock, after notice duly given.

The Secretary, Senator Wadsworth, called the roll and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Baird, Calder, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Drew, Fernald, France, Gronna, Hale, Jones, Kellogg, Kenyon, Lenroot, Lodge, McCumber, McNary, Nelson, Norris, New, Page, Penrose, Poindexter, Smoot, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Wadsworth, Watson, and Weeks.

The following Resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote:

Resolved: That the Republicans of the Senate in conference assembled declare by a unanimous vote that they are in favor of early action to be taken by Congress to prepare for measures of reconstruction following the close of the war.

The Republican Conference declares itself in favor of the early consideration by the Senate of the resolution of the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Weeks), Concurrent Resolution No. 21, and of prompt action by the Senate on the subject matter therein contained.

The Chairman was authorized to appoint a Committee of three Senators to urge early consideration of the measures referred to in the resolution adopted by the Conference.

Pursuant to this authority, the Chairman, Senator Lodge, appointed

Messrs. Watson, Poindexter, and Cummins.

Senator France gave notice that at the next meeting he would bring up for discussion a motion for the appointment of a committee on legislative program.

The conference then adjourned.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[November 19, 1918]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

November 19, 1918

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Lodge, at 10:30 a.m. pursuant to call.

Senator Wadsworth, the Secretary, being absent, the Chairman requested Senator Curtis to act in that capacity.

The minutes of the Conference of October 1, 1918, were read and approved.

The roll was called and the following senators answered to their names:

Messrs. Calder, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Frelinghuysen, Hale, Harding, Kellogg, Knox, Lenroot, Lodge, McCumber, McLean, Moses, Norris, Penrose, Poindexter, Sherman, Smoot, Sutherland, Townsend, Warren, Watson, and Weeks.

Senator Borah entered later.

Senator Lodge made a statement relating to the object of the administration in enacting such legislation as would prevent the necessity for calling an extra session of Congress after the 4th of March, 1919.

Senator Watson from the Committee on Reconstruction (appointed under authority of the Conference of October 1, 1918) submitted a report from said committee, which is appended to these minutes.

Senator Townsend moved:

That the Congress shall assert and exercise its normal and constitutional functions including legislation necessary for reconstruction:

Which motion was submitted and carried.

Senator Lenroot moved to amend the report of the Committee on Reconstruction by transferring subdivisions a and b of the First Committee's investigations to the Fourth Committee's subjects for investigation, which was agreed to.

After general discussion, Senator Harding moved the adoption of the Report, and the question on adoption being put, was carried.

Senator Curtis made a statement concerning the right of Senator [George B.] Martin [Democrat] of Kentucky to serve as a Senator,

NOVEMBER 19, 1918

and upon motion of Senator Penrose, Senator Curtis was authorized to ask unanimous consent in the Senate, when next the question arose, to have the same referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections for investigation and report.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] Charles Curtis  
Acting Secretary.

\* \* \*

65th Congress  
2d Session

**S. CON. RES. 25.**

In the Senate of the United States.  
November 21, 1918.

Mr. Cummins submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to  
the Committee on the Judiciary.

**CONCURRENT RESOLUTION**

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring),* That there are hereby created six committees, to be known as the Joint Congressional Committees on Reconstruction. Each of said committees shall be composed of five Senators and five Representatives in Congress. The members of said committees shall be selected as follows:

The Senators in the manner provided in the rules of the Senate for the selection of the standing committees of the Senate and the Representatives in the manner provided in the rules of the House for the selection of the standing committees of the House.

The members of these committees shall be subject to change from time to time by the Senate and House, respectively, as are said standing committees, and all vacancies shall be filled in the same manner as the original selections were made.

The said committees shall make, respectively, investigations of the subjects hereinafter named and herein assigned to them, respectively, and shall report to Congress from time to time with such recommendations as to additional legislation, or otherwise, as they, respectively, may deem advisable.

The first committee, which shall be known as the Joint Congressional Committee upon the Demobilization of the Army and Navy, shall so investigate and report upon the following matters, to wit:

- (a) The employment of discharged soldiers and sailors in civil pursuits.
- (b) The allotment of lands to returned soldiers and sailors and their establishment in homes upon the public domain.

- (c) All legislation which may be required in the proper care for those who have suffered the dangers of war, and especially those who have been disabled and whose ability to earn a livelihood has been impaired.

The second of the said committees, which shall be known as the Joint Congressional Committee upon Foreign Trade and Commerce, shall so investigate and report upon the following matters, to wit:

- (a) Duties on imports for the protection and encouragement of home industry.
- (b) The development of new foreign markets.
- (c) Combinations for the purpose of increasing our selling facilities.
- (d) Changes in our banking facilities necessary to cooperate with such trade.
- (e) Our merchant marine, including the construction of ships; the continuance of Government ownership and operation, and in general with respect to the various problems of transportation upon the high seas.

The third of said committees, which shall be known as the Joint Congressional Committee on Interstate Transportation, shall so investigate and report upon the following matters, to wit:

- (a) The permanent relation which the Government of the United States should sustain to the common carriers of the country.
- (b) Whether the systems of transportation now in possession of and being operated by the Government should be returned to their former owners and operated as heretofore, or whether Government operation should continue with or without Government ownership; or, if private ownership is to continue and private operation resumed, what system of regulation and control will be best adapted to secure efficiency in service, reasonable rates of transportation, and fairness to the capital invested.
- (c) The relation which should be established between inland water transportation and the railways, including the control of the former.
- (d) All questions relating to communication by wire.

The fourth of said committees, which shall be known as the Joint Congressional Committee on Domestic Business, shall so investigate and report upon the following matters, to wit:

- (a) To what extent, if any, should our laws relating to trusts and combinations be modified.
- (b) What cooperation should be permitted in order to increase efficiency, reduce cost, and enable this country to successfully meet foreign competition.
- (c) To what extent should the Government undertake to control prices.
- (d) Government loans to private enterprises.
- (e) Government supervision of capital issues.

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- (f) The supply and control of raw materials and encouragement in the production of articles that have not heretofore been manufactured in this country.

The fifth of said committees, which shall be known as the Joint Congressional Committee on Employers and Employees, shall so investigate and report upon the following matters, to wit:

- (a) Conciliation and arbitration in labor disputes.
- (b) The relation of men and women in similar employments.
- (c) Substitution of female employees for male employees, and vice versa.
- (d) The organization of permanent employment agencies.
- (e) The distribution of labor, including employment of surplus labor on public works.
- (f) The sanitary housing of employees and the disposition of houses constructed by the Government during the war.
- (g) The freedom of labor, and of employment in its relation to trade unionism; and wages, hours, and conditions of employment.

The sixth of said committees, which shall be known as the Joint Congressional Committee upon Natural Resources, shall so investigate and report on the following matters, to wit:

- (a) The encouragement of private enterprises in the development of the resources of the public domain.
- (b) The tendency toward urban population and the best means of checking it, including the requirements for farm labor and the best means of securing it.
- (c) Government loans to farmers.
- (d) The distribution of food products.
- (e) Our timber problems.
- (f) The adequate production and proper distribution of our mineral resources, including coal, petroleum, and other fuels.
- (g) The development and control of water power.

Each of said committees is empowered to take up and examine any other subject which in the course of its investigation it finds to be inseparably connected with the subjects herein assigned to it and which ought to be considered in view of the change from the activities of war to the pursuits of peace, and especially the demobilization of war commissions, administrations, bureaus, and other civilian war agencies, and the adjustment of the forces employed therein to private industry and commerce under normal peace conditions.

Each of said committees is authorized to employ such clerical assistance as it may deem necessary, including the services of experts, and may, by subcommittee or otherwise, send for persons or papers, administer oaths, and employ stenographers at a cost not to exceed \$1 per printed page to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject before it.



Each of said committees may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate and House of Representatives.

\* \* \*

65th Congress.  
2d Session

S. CON. RES. 21  
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

AMENDMENT

Amend Senate Concurrent Resolution 21, as follows, to wit: Beginning with the word “that” in line two, page one, strike out to and including the word “representatives” line six, page five, and in lieu of the part stricken out, insert the following:

“That there are hereby created      committees to be known as the Joint Congressional Committees on Reconstruction. Each of said committees shall be composed of five Senators and five Representatives in Congress. The members of said committees shall be selected, as follows:

“The Senators in the manner provided in the rules of the Senate for the selection of the standing committees of the Senate, and the Representatives in the manner provided in the rules of the House for the selection of the standing committees of the House.

“The members of these committees shall be subject to change from time to time by the Senate and House respectively, as are said standing committees, and all vacancies shall be filled in the same manner as the original selections were made.

**[The amendment continues virtually verbatim the text of S. Con. Res. 25 above through the description of the sixth committee. Then it continues:]**

“Each of said committees is empowered to take up and examine any other subject which, in the course of its investigation, it finds to be inseparably connected with the subjects herein assigned to it and which ought to be considered in view of the change from the activities of war to the pursuits of peace.”

Strike from line seven (7) page five (5) the words “that the committee” and insert in lieu thereof “Each of said committees.”

Amend by striking out in line fourteen (14) page five (5) the words “That the committee” and insert in lieu thereof “each of said committees.”

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[January 22, 1919]

## REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 22, 1919

The Conference was called to order at 10:30 a.m. by the Chairman, Senator Lodge.

The Secretary called the roll and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Calder, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, France, Frelinghuysen, Gronna, Hale, Harding, Johnson of California, Jones, Kellogg, Kenyon, Knox, Lenroot, Lodge, McCumber, McNary, Moses, Nelson, New, Norris, Page, Poindexter, Sherman, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, Weeks.

Following a brief discussion of the Newberry-Ford Election case, the Norris Res. S. 339 (which was the question for which the Conference was called) was discussed; as was also a suggestion on the same subject submitted by Senator Cummins.

Senator Lenroot moved that a Committee of five be appointed by the Chairman to consider the matter of Committees and report to the Conference at a later date.

The motion was agreed to, and the whole matter was referred to said Committee.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

Note: The Norris Resolution and suggestions of Senator Cummins are appended to these minutes.

Note: The Committee authorized by these minutes is contained in a letter of Senator Lodge, copy of which is hereto attached.

\* \* \*

65th Congress,  
2d Session.

**S. RES. 339.**

In the Senate of the United States.

November 18, 1918.

Mr. Norris submitted the following resolution; which was referred  
to the Committee on Rules.

**RESOLUTION.**

*Resolved*, That Rule XXV of the standing rules of the Senate be amended by adding thereto a new paragraph, as follows:

“3. After the fourth day of March, nineteen hundred and nineteen, any Senator who is chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, Finance, Foreign Relations, Interstate Commerce, Judiciary, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, or Post Offices and Post Roads, while holding such chairmanship, shall not be a member of any of the other of said committees.”

\* \* \*

Suggestions submitted to the Conference of Jan. 22, 1919 by Senator Cummins.

No Senator shall be a member of more than two of the following standing Committees of the Senate, viz: Appropriations, Agriculture and Forestry, Commerce, Finance, Foreign Relations, Inter State Commerce, Judiciary, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, Post Offices and Post Roads; no Senator being Chairman of either of the foregoing committees shall be appointed on a conference committee upon any bill reported by either of said standing committees unless it is reported by the committee of which he is chairman.

\* \* \*

Mr. Lodge, Chairman

United States Senate,  
Conference of the Minority.

January 22, 1919.

My dear Senator:

Finding it extremely difficult to make up a committee upon the subject involved in the Norris Resolution with a membership not exceeding five, I have taken the liberty to increase the committee to seven as was originally proposed because in this way I can secure a better representation of the differing views of the questions arising from the Norris Resolution. Of course, if there is any objection to this enlargement, I will immediately call another conference to pass upon it. I have as chairman, under the authority vested in me, appointed the following Senators members of the Committee: Mr. Lenroot, Mr. Cummins, Mr. Smoot, Mr. Norris, Mr. Harding, Mr. Knox, and Mr. Hale.

JANUARY 22, 1919

Very truly yours,

[signed] H.C. Lodge  
Chairman Minority Conference.

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[February 8, 1919]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

February 8, 1919

The Conference was called to order at 10:30 a.m. by the Chairman, Senator Lodge.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Fernald, France, Frelinghuysen, Hale, Harding, Jones, Kellogg, Lenroot, Lodge, McCumber, McNary, Moses, Nelson, New, Page, Poindexter, Sherman, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Weeks.

Senator Lenroot, from the Committee appointed by the Chairman, under authority of the Conference of January 22, 1919, to consider the subject matter of the Norris Resolution, submitted a report which was read; and after the adoption of an amendment by Senator Smoot, was agreed to.

Said resolution as agreed to is appended to these minutes.

Senator Jones of Washington moved:

That it is the Sense of the Conference that the Rules of the Senate be amended to provide that the memberships of no standing committee of the Senate should exceed seventeen in number, which was agreed to.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Conference that Rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate be amended by adding thereto a new paragraph, as follows:

III. After March 4, 1919, no Senator shall be a member of more than two of the following standing committees of the Senate, viz:

Appropriations,  
Agriculture and Forestry,  
Commerce,

Finance,  
Foreign Relations,  
Interstate Commerce,  
Judiciary,  
Military Affairs,  
Naval Affairs, and Post Offices and Post Roads.

No Senator being Chairman of either of the foregoing committees shall be appointed on a conference committee upon any bill reported by either of said standing committees unless it is reported by the committee of which he is chairman.

And be it further resolved, That it is the sense of the Conference that Rule 16 of the standing rules of the Senate be amended as follows:

After the words “to the Committee on Military Affairs” insert: “the Diplomatic and Consular Service Bill to the Committee on Foreign Relations.”

And be it further resolved, That it is the sense of this Conference that no chairman of any committee named in the foregoing proposed amendment of the Rules, who may be a ranking member of any committee, other than those named in said amendment, should be appointed on a conference committee upon any bill reported by the committee of which he is such ranking member, unless the majority members of such committee shall upon specific bills so recommend.

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[March 1, 1919]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

March 1, 1919

The Conference was called to order at 5:30 p.m. by the Chairman, Senator Lodge.

The Secretary called the roll and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Borah, Brandegee, Calder, Colt, Curtis, Fernald, France, Frelinghuysen, Harding, Jones, Kellogg, Kenyon, Knox, Lenroot, Lodge, McCumber, McNary, Moses, Nelson, New, Page, Penrose, Poindexter, Sherman, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Sutherland, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Weeks.

The question of the action to be taken by the Republicans on the Bond Bill, Naval Appropriation Bill, Army Appropriation Bill, Wheat Price Bill, Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, and General Deficiency Appropriation Bill, was discussed, but no conclusion was reached;

And, at 7 o'clock p.m. the Conference adjourned.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.



## **Sixty-sixth Congress (1919–1921)**

[Editor's Note: In the Sixty-sixth Congress Republicans regained control of both the Senate and House, in the Senate by the narrow margin of 49 Republicans to 47 Democrats. In the House, 240 Republicans faced 192 Democrats and 2 independents.]

During 1919 President Wilson's bitter opponent Henry Cabot Lodge, who chaired both the Republican Conference and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, led the party in blocking ratification of the Treaty of Versailles. The treaty—not mentioned in the minutes—was apparently not discussed in the Conference. Instead, the Conference focused on taking advantage of its majority status to fill such Senate offices as secretary of the Senate, sergeant at arms, and chaplain, as well as assigning committee posts and chairmanships. In one particularly contentious case, the Republican Conference, which usually met in private, held an unusual open meeting on May 27, 1919, to consider whether to permit Senator Boies Penrose of Pennsylvania to become chairman of the Finance Committee. The minutes include the verbatim transcript of that meeting.]

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[May 14, 1919]

### **REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE**

May 14, 1919

The Conference was called to order at 11 o'clock a.m. by the Chairman, Senator Lodge.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Ball, Borah, Brandegee, Calder, Capper, Colt, Curtis, Dillingham, Edge, Elkins, Fernald, France, Frelinghuysen, Hale, Harding, Johnson of California, Jones, Kellogg, Kenyon, Keyes, Knox, Lodge, McCormick, McCumber, McLean, McNary, Moses, Nelson, New, Newberry, Norris, Page, Penrose, Phipps, Poindexter, Sherman, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Sutherland, Wadsworth, Warren, and Watson.

Senator Knox nominated Senator Lodge for Chairman of the Conference, and the question being put was adopted unanimously.

Senator Calder nominated Senator Wadsworth for Secretary of the Conference, and the question being put was adopted.

Senator Sutherland nominated Senator Curtis for Whip, and the question being put was adopted.

MAY 14, 1919

Senator Brandegee moved that the Chairman be authorized to appoint a Committee on Committees to consist of nine members. The motion was carried.

Senator Lodge brought to the attention of the Conference the following motion which was adopted by a prior conference, which was readopted:

Resolved: That it is the sense of the Conference that the Rules of the Senate be amended to provide that the memberships of no standing committee of the Senate should exceed seventeen in number.

Senator Lodge also brought to the attention of the Conference the following resolution adopted by a prior conference, which was readopted:

Resolved: That it is the sense of this Conference that Rule XXV of the standing Rules of the Senate be amended by adding thereto a new paragraph, as follows:

III. After March 4, 1919, no Senator shall be a member of more than two of the following standing committees of the Senate, viz:

Appropriations	Judiciary
Agriculture and Forestry	Military Affairs
Commerce	Naval Affairs, Post Offices
Finance	& Post Roads
Foreign Relations	
Interstate Commerce	

No senator being chairman of either of the foregoing committees shall be appointed on a conference committee upon any bill reported by either of said standing committees unless it is reported by the committee of which he is chairman.

And be it further resolved, That it is the sense of the Conference that Rule 16 of the Standing Rules of the Senate be amended as follows:

After the words "to the committee on Military Affairs" insert: "The Diplomatic and Consular Service Bill to the Committee on Foreign Relations".

And be it further resolved: That it is the sense of this Conference that no chairman of any committee named in the foregoing proposed amendment of the Rules, who may be a ranking member of any committee, other than those named in said amendment, should be appointed on a conference committee upon any bill reported by the committee of which he is the ranking member, unless the majority members of such committee shall upon specific bills so recommend.



Senator McCumber moved that the Chairman be authorized to appoint a Committee on Order of Business to consist of nine members, and that the Chairman of the Conference shall be ex officio, a member of the Committee. The motion was carried.

Senator New moved that the Chairman of the Conference be authorized to appoint a Committee on Patronage to consist of three members. The motion was carried.

Senator Borah nominated Senator Cummins as President Pro Tempore of the Senate, and the question being put was adopted.

Senator Sherman nominated Mr. George A. Sanderson of Illinois for Secretary of the Senate, and Senator Calder nominated Mr. Fairchild of New York for the same office. The vote was as follows:

For Sanderson—37  
For Mr. Fairchild—5

On motion the vote was made unanimous, and Mr. Sanderson was nominated.

Senator Knox nominated Mr. David S. Barry of R.I. for Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, and Senator Spencer nominated Mr. W. L. Cole of Missouri for the same office. The vote was as follows:

Barry—34  
Cole—8

On motion the vote was made unanimous, and Mr. Barry was nominated.

Mr. Carl A. Loeffler of Pennsylvania was nominated for Assistant Doorkeeper of the Senate, and the nomination was unanimously carried.

Senator Norris offered the following resolution, which was rejected on a viva voce vote:

Resolved that the Committee on Committees be instructed that in making up the committees named in Senate Resolution 339 as reported in the 65th Congress, 2nd Session, no chairman of any of said committees shall be placed on any other of said committees until all other Republican Senators have been placed on two of said committees.

Senator Knox moved that the Chairman be instructed to notify the Chairman of the Democratic Conference that on all questions of organization of the Senate, pairs are “off” (cancelled) and that it is the sense of the Republican Conference that each Republican Senator notify his pair to the same effect except in case of sickness or death in the family.

The motion was carried.

MAY 14, 1919

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

Pursuant to authority, Senator Lodge appointed the following members of Committees for the 66th Congress.

Committee on Committees

Senators Brandegee, Calder, Watson, Curtis, Knox, Sterling, Harding, Gronna, and McNary.

Committee on Order of Business

McCumber, Chairman, La Follette, Wadsworth, Fernald, France, Frelinghuysen, Kellogg, McCormick, Lodge Ex Officio

Committee on Patronage

Senator New, Chairman, Sutherland, and Lenroot.

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[May 26, 1919]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

May 26, 1919

The Conference met at 10 o'clock a.m. pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Ball, Brandegee, Calder, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Edge, Elkins, Fall, Fernald, France, Frelinghuysen, Gronna, Hale, Harding, Johnson of California, Kellogg, Keyes, Knox, Lodge, McCormick, McCumber, McLean, McNary, Moses, Nelson, New, Newberry, Page, Penrose, Phipps, Poindexter, Sherman, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson.

Senator Brandegee, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, submitted a report (appended hereto) which was read by the Secretary.

Senator Johnson of California moved to strike out the name of Senator Penrose as Chairman of the Committee on Finance. The roll was called upon the question, resulting as follows:

Yeas—5

Nays—35

So the motion failed to carry.

Senator Brandegee informed the Conference that the Democratic Steering Committee requested an increase in the membership of the

Committee on Foreign Relations so as to permit the retention of Senator [Joseph T.] Robinson [of Arkansas] (Democrat) on that Committee.

Senator Knox moved that the question be referred to the Chairman of the Conference (Senator Lodge) and the Chairman of the Committee on Committees (Senator Brandegee) with power to act; and the motion was adopted.

The question recurring on the adoption of the Report of the Committee on Committees, the same was adopted.

Senator Curtis offered the following Resolution which was adopted:

Resolved:—That the Republican members of the United States Senate, in conference, urge that the consideration of House Joint Resolution 1, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extending the right of suffrage to women, should be proceeded with and urged to a final vote at the earliest possible moment.

Provided: That this resolution shall not be considered as in any way binding the action or vote of any members of the Senate upon the merits of said suffrage amendment.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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The Secretary read as follows:

On Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress: Messrs. Penrose, Sutherland, and Keyes.

On Agriculture and Forestry: Messrs. Gronna (chairman), Page, Norris, Kenyon, Wadsworth, France, McNary, Capper, and Keyes.

On Appropriations: Messrs. Warren (chairman), Smoot, Jones of Washington, Curtis, Kenyon, Sherman, Gronna, Hale, Spencer, Phipps, and Newberry.

To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate: Messrs. Calder (chairman), Smoot and France.

On Banking and Currency: Messrs. McLean (chairman), Page, Gronna, Norris, Frelinghuysen, Penrose, Calder, Newberry, and Keyes.

On Canadian Relations: Messrs. Hale (chairman), Sherman, Wadsworth, Spencer, and Newberry.

On the Census: Messrs Sutherland (chairman), La Follette, McLean, Townsend, New, Calder, and Moses.

On Civil Service and Retrenchment: Messrs. Sterling (chairman), Cummins, La Follette, Smoot, Colt, Ball, and Capper.

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On Claims: Messrs. Spencer (chairman), Gronna, Wadsworth, Fernald, Frelinghuysen, New, Keyes, and Capper.

On Coast and Insular Survey: Messrs. Edge (chairman), Townsend, Sterling, Hale, and Borah.

On Coast Defenses: Messrs. Frelinghuysen (chairman), Fernald, Nelson, Calder, Lenroot, and Ball.

On Commerce: Messrs. Jones of Washington (chairman), Nelson, Sherman, Harding, Fernald, Calder, Lenroot, Colt, McNary, Ball, and Edge.

On Conservation of National Resources: Messrs. Colt, Gronna, Calder, Hale, France, La Follette, Kellogg, and McCormick.

On Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia: Messrs. La Follette, Sherman, and Brandegee.

On Cuban Relations: Messrs. Johnson of California (chairman), Knox, and McCormick.

On Disposition of Useless Papers in the Executive Departments: Messrs. France, Warren, and McCumber.

On the District of Columbia: Messrs. Sherman (chairman), Dillingham, Jones of Washington, Calder, New, Ball, Capper, and Elkins.

On Education and Labor: Messrs. Kenyon (chairman), Borah, Page, McLean, Sterling, and Phipps.

On Engrossed Bills: Messrs. Warren and Elkins.

On Enrolled Bills: Messrs. Ball (chairman) and Curtis.

To Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service: Messrs. Brandegee, Nelson, Jones of Washington, and Elkins.

On Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture: Messrs. Capper (chairman), Wadsworth, and Keyes.

On Expenditures in the Department of Commerce: Messrs. Elkins (chairman), Fall, and McNary.

On Expenditures in the Interior Department: Messrs. Smoot, Poindexter, and La Follette.

On Expenditures in the Department of Justice: Messrs. Borah, Spencer, and France.

On Expenditures in the Department of Labor: Messrs. McCormick (chairman), Kellogg, and Kenyon.

On Expenditures in the Navy Department: Messrs. Dillingham, Lodge, and Newberry.

On Expenditures in the Post Office Department: Messrs. Keyes (chairman), Watson, and Edge.

On Expenditures in the Department of State: Messrs. Phipps (chairman), Penrose, and Hale.

On Expenditures in the Treasury Department: Messrs. Harding, Cummins, and Ball.

On Expenditures in the War Department: Messrs. Townsend, Norris, and Page.

On Finance: Messrs. Penrose (chairman), McCumber, Smoot, La Follette, Dillingham, McLean, Curtis, Watson, Calder, and Sutherland.

On Fisheries: Messrs. Newberry (chairman), Jones of Washington, Fernald, Moses, and McNary.

On the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians: Messrs. Norris, Colt, and Wadsworth.

On Foreign Relations: Messrs. Lodge (chairman), McCumber, Borah, Brandegee, Fall, Knox, Harding, Johnson of California, New, and Moses.

On Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game: Messrs. McLean, Sherman, New, Warren, and Edge.

On the Geological Survey: Messrs. Norris, Sutherland, Penrose, and Dillingham.

On Immigration: Messrs. Colt (chairman), Dillingham, Penrose, Sterling, Johnson of California, Keyes, and Edge.

On Indian Affairs: Messrs. Curtis (chairman), La Follette, Gronna, Fall, Fernald, McNary, Spencer, Nelson, and McCormick.

On Indian Depredations: Messrs. Poindexter, McCumber, Watson, Frelinghuysen, Warren, and Curtis.

On Industrial Expositions: Messrs. Gronna, Norris, Sutherland, Kellogg, Lodge, Kenyon, and Newberry.

On Interoceanic Canals: Messrs. Borah (chairman), Page, Cummins, Colt, Calder, Knox, Johnson of California, and Edge.

On Interstate Commerce, Messrs. Cummins (chairman), Townsend, La Follette, Poindexter, McLean, Watson, Kellogg, Fernald, Frelinghuysen, and Elkins.

To Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands: Messrs. Jones of Washington, Sutherland, and Townsend.

On Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands: Messrs. McNary (chairman), Jones of Washington, Borah, Johnson of California, Gronna, Fall, and Phipps.

On the Judiciary: Messrs. Nelson (chairman), Dillingham, Brandegee, Borah, Cummins, Colt, Sterling, Fall, Norris, and Kellogg.

On the Library: Messrs. Brandegee (chairman), Wadsworth, Moses, Johnson of California, and Knox.

On Manufactures: Messrs. La Follette (chairman), Lodge, Kenyon, Fernald, McNary, and Gronna.

On Military Affairs: Messrs. Wadsworth (chairman), Warren, Sutherland, New, Frelinghuysen, Johnson of California, Knox, Lenroot, Spencer, and Capper.

On Mines and Mining: Messrs. Poindexter (chairman), Sterling, Sutherland, McCormick, Phipps, and Newberry.

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On the Mississippi River and its Tributaries: Messrs. Cummins, Wadsworth, Nelson, and Spencer.

On National Banks: Messrs. Kellogg (chairman), Lenroot, and Elkins.

On Naval Affairs: Messrs. Page (chairman), Penrose, Lodge, Poindexter, Hale, Ball, McCormick, Newberry, and Keyes.

On Pacific Islands and Porto Rico: Messrs. Fall (chairman), Poindexter, Fernald, Harding, Watson, Kenyon, and McCormick.

On Pacific Railroads: Messrs. Brandegee, McCumber, Townsend, Watson, Lenroot, and Capper.

On Patents: Messrs. Norris (chairman), Brandegee, Knox, and Kellogg.

On Pensions: Messrs. McCumber (chairman), Smoot, Poindexter, Sherman, New, Elkins, and Ball.

On the Philippines: Messrs. Harding (chairman), Kenyon, Knox, Johnson of California, McNary, Curtis, Frelinghuysen, and Hale.

On Post Offices and Post Roads: Messrs. Townsend (chairman), Sterling, France, Poindexter, Moses, McCormick, Edge, Elkins, and Phipps.

On Printing: Messrs. Moses (chairman), Smoot, Page, New, and Capper.

On Private Land Claims: Messrs. Nelson, Townsend, Moses, and Edge.

On Privileges and Elections: Messrs. Dillingham (chairman), Kenyon, Sherman, Fall, Knox, Spencer, Wadsworth, Watson, and Edge.

On Public Buildings and Grounds: Messrs. Fernald (chairman), Warren, Curtis, Sutherland, Frelinghuysen, France, Lenroot, Spencer, and Keyes.

On Public Health and National Quarantine: Messrs. France (chairman), Townsend, Frelinghuysen, Penrose, Harding, and Ball.

On Public Lands: Messrs. Smoot (chairman), Fall, Norris, Sterling, Kellogg, McNary, McCumber, Poindexter, and Lenroot.

On Railroads: Messrs. Lenroot (chairman), Lodge, Warren, Dillingham, Phipps, and Newberry.

On Revolutionary Claims: Messrs. Lodge, Kellogg, and Lenroot.

On Rules: Messrs. Knox (chairman), Nelson, Cummins, Curtis, Hale, Moses, and McCormick.

On Standards, Weights, and Measures: Messrs. Harding, Borah, and Kellogg.

On Territories: Messrs. New (chairman), McLean, Jones of Washington, Harding, Hale, Borah, and Smoot.

On Transportation Routes to the Seaboard: Messrs. McCumber, Lodge, Sherman, Phipps, and Capper.

On Transportation and Sale of Meat Products: Messrs. Page, McLean, and France.

On the University of the United States: Messrs. Dillingham, Brandegee, McCumber, Colt, Sterling, and Elkins.

On Woman Suffrage: Messrs. Watson (chairman), Jones of Washington, Nelson, Cummins, and Johnson of California.

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[May 27, 1919]

## REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

May 27, 1919

The Conference met at 11:30 a.m. pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Borah, Brandegee, Calder, Capper, Colt, Dillingham, Edge, Elkins, Fall, Fernald, France, Frelinghuysen, Gronna, Hale, Harding, Johnson of California, Kenyon, Keyes, Knox, Lenroot, Lodge, McCormick, McCumber, McLean, McNary, Moses, Nelson, Newberry, New, Page, Phipps, Poindexter, Sherman, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson.

Senator Brandegee moved that the doors be opened and the public admitted.

The motion was carried, and the doors were opened, admitting the public, including representatives of the Press.

Senator Brandegee moved to reconsider the vote by which the report of the Committee on Committees was adopted; and the question being put was carried.

Senator Brandegee moved to reconsider the vote by which Senator Penrose was nominated for Chairman of the Committee on Finance; and this motion was carried.

Senators Borah, Kenyon, Spencer and Gronna discussed the issues involved in the naming of Senator Penrose as Chairman of the Finance Committee.

Senator Borah moved to strike the name of Senator Penrose from the Chairmanship of the Finance Committee; upon which the roll was called.

Those voting in the affirmative were:

Messrs. Borah, Capper, Cummins, Johnson of California, Kenyon, Lenroot, McCormick, and McNary.

Total 8

Those voting in the negative were:

Messrs. Brandegee, Calder, Colt, Dillingham, Edge, Elkins, Fall, Fernald, France, Frelinghuysen, Gronna, Hale, Har-

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ding, Newberry, Page, Phipps, Poindexter, Sherman, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, and Watson.

Total 34

So the motion was not agreed to.

Upon motion of Senator Fernald, the Conference then adjourned.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

### **Transcript**

The Open Conference of Republican Senators was called to order by the Chairman (Senator Lodge) at 11:55 a.m., Tuesday, May 27, 1919.

The Chairman. Those who have been admitted to the room will kindly take seats and preserve order.

Senator Brandegee. Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that several Senators were not in attendance upon the Conference yesterday who desire to express views upon the action taken by the Conference yesterday, I move that the action of the Conference by which the list of committees was accepted and approved be reconsidered.

The Chairman. The Senator from Connecticut moves that the vote by which the report of the Committee on Committees was adopted be reconsidered.

The motion was agreed to.

Senator Brandegee. Now I move that the action of the Conference in appointing Senator Penrose chairman of the Finance Committee be reconsidered.

The Chairman. The Senator from Connecticut moves that the vote by which the Conference adopted the name of Senator Penrose for chairman of the Committee on Finance also be reconsidered. If there is no objection it will be so ordered. The Chair hears no objection and it is so ordered.

Senator Borah. Mr. Chairman, this conference has been called I presume largely in deference to some of the Senators who were not present yesterday and who hold a view in controversy with the report of the Committee on Committees. We preferred to have this matter settled under such circumstances and surroundings that there shall not be any misunderstanding or mistake as to the position of those who are at variance with the report, and for that reason it was thought wise to have a reconsideration under conditions which would permit the consideration in open conference.

Mr. Chairman, I will be very brief in stating the position which some of us occupy. I think I speak for others as well as for myself with reference to this matter. There are two or three things which ought to be eliminated from the consideration of the subject, and it will clarify the situation both here and elsewhere if those things are specifically referred to. In the first place we do not wish it understood that the opposition which we have to Senator Penrose as chairman of the Finance Committee is based upon mere



personal objections. The question of personalities or of individuals with reference to these matters, if there be such questions, are for settlement in other forums and not for discussion in a Congress or in a committee of Congress which has to do with legislation concerning the public welfare. We are therefore not basing our opposition to Senator Penrose upon any question of personal antipathy. Neither do we desire it understood that we are challenging either the capacity or the intelligence or ability of Senator Penrose or the chairman of the Appropriations Committee. It is not a question of the capacity of these gentlemen at all. It is simply a difference of view and a very marked difference of view between particularly the view of Senator Penrose with reference to finance and taxation and the view of those who are opposed to his being chairman. Our opposition is based upon that principle and that alone. Had it been a mere question of individual liking or disliking we would not have asked for any conference here of this nature or any nature at all; neither would we have interposed any delay; but it involves what seems to us a matter of tremendous import not only to the Party but also to the Country.

While we had not supposed that we would effectuate any particular result at this particular time by taking the position which we have taken, we have taken it believing that by insistent and persistent urging of opposition the time would come in legislation when we would be able to effectuate a change of the policy which has been supposed to be the policy of the Senator from Pennsylvania; and we are not here seeking to do otherwise than to brace ourselves for what we believe will be the ultimate contest upon the question of taxation and finance in this country.

Mr. Chairman, I am going to be brief and yet I wish to say a word or two more in order that I may not be misunderstood. It has been a serious question for discussion with historians and financiers whether war superinduces greater suffering during the time that it is in progress or after the war is over and when the time comes to meet its burdens by reason of the system of taxation which has generally prevailed after wars in order to meet the burdens of war. I think it would be a matter of speculation whether the great wars of the world have caused more suffering and sorrow during the time they were in progress or after they were closed by reason of the system which has usually been adopted to pay the expenses of the war. It has been said by a great English historian—and he has furnished some startling facts and figures to support his position—that the suffering during the Napoleonic wars was not to be compared with the suffering which took place in Great Britain thereafter, when Great Britain adopted her vicious system with reference to paying the burdens of the war. That is the question which we will have to meet in this country at no very distant day.

If it were not for the question of the League of Nations at this time which is interesting the entire country as a matter of the most immediate concern, the question of taxation and the method of raising means by which to meet this stupendous indebtedness would be engaging the attention of this country from one end of it to the other. Just as soon as we shall dispose of the question of whether or not we are going to be an independent government at all and get to the proposition of what we are going to do with our domestic questions, just as soon as that is settled the most engaging proposition with which this country will have to do will be the question of raising revenue to meet the stupendous debt which is now upon us.

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The contest of 1917 over what is known as the Revenue Bill established a wide line of cleavage between those who are opposed to the Senator from Pennsylvania and some of those at least who are supporting him. We think that that bill was founded upon—I was going to use a stronger term—a supremely unjust principle, founded upon a principle which if carried out and finally established as the system in this country by which we are to pay this debt, will do more to breed Bolshevism and destroy American institutions than any one thing that we could mention in this assembly today. It is not, therefore, a mere question of personal likes or dislikes; it is the fact that we are at variance upon this question which we believe with the utmost sincerity—and we credit those who differ with us with the same sincerity—is of sufficient importance to engage our persistent effort upon every occasion to record our opposition to it.

Since the Senator from Pennsylvania has returned to Washington during the last two or three weeks he has announced what is supposed to be the policy of the party with reference to revenue, with reference to finance, and so forth. As I interpret his announcement, it is upon the same principle as that contained in the last two revenue bills which have been passed by Congress. It became absolutely necessary for those who are not in harmony with that view and who believe that it is unsafe as a policy both for the party and for the country to record our objections, and this is the first opportunity we have had to record them.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, we have asked that this conference might be called in order that we may here and now record what protest we may against the Senator from Pennsylvania being chairman of the Committee on Finance, knowing in advance the views which he will undertake to incorporate into a bill as chairman of that committee. I may say here—I speak for myself and I think I speak for others—that it is but fair to our colleagues to say that if this system of raising taxes to meet the burdens of the war is to be the policy of the party the split will come at some time where it will be necessary either to modify our policy or fail to receive the support of certain men who are now objecting to it. We must either modify it or we must face the proposition that there is a cleavage in the party upon one of the most fundamental questions in the country.

Mr. Chairman, I do not know that I need to say anything further. When others have spoken who desire to address the conference I shall move that we strike out the name of Senator Penrose from the report.

The Chairman. That motion the Chair will consider pending, if that is agreeable.

Senator Borah. Very well.

The Chairman. Are there any further remarks to be made.

Senator Kenyon. Mr. Chairman, I only wish to say that Senator Borah has voiced the sentiment of a number of Senators. We are not engaging in any personal matters at all, there being involved simply a fundamental difference of opinion as to the problem of taxation. We have voiced the sentiment which we hold, and we are done.

Senator Spencer. Mr. Chairman, I do not propose to have it understood that by my vote on this question there is any determination of the issues of how much revenue is needed or of the methods by which the revenue shall be

hereafter collected. I shall vote for Senator Penrose for the reason that the Committee on Committees has determined upon him as being the man most suitable for that position, but I do not propose to be put in the position of voting upon any issue which to my mind is not at all present at this gathering.

Senator Gronna. Mr. Chairman, in view of some of the statements of Senator Borah it becomes necessary for me to say a word or two. It is perhaps pretty well known that I have been among those who have protested against our methods of taxation, especially with reference to the raising of the revenue to defray the expenses of the war. I maintained a year ago that the position taken not only by our own party but by the other party, which was then in the majority, was unfair, that it was unscientific; but I disagree wholly with the Senator from Idaho that that question has anything to do with the perfection of this organization.

Mr. Chairman, I said when I accepted appointment as an humble member of the Committee on Committees that I had in the past, and that I propose in the future, to speak my own mind and voice my own sentiments. So far as I am personally concerned I do not know that I care a continental damn whether Senator Penrose is chairman of the Committee on Finance or not. I was here, Mr. Chairman, when the farmers of the great Northwest appeared before the Finance Committee and protested against the so-called Taft reciprocity bill. I am of the same opinion now that I was then; but there are Senators, I believe, who are opposing the selection of Senator Penrose today who were supporting that movement.

Mr. Chairman, I shall vote for Senator Penrose for chairman of the Committee on Finance because behind closed doors I have voted for him. I am not afraid to face my people and say to them that in the interest of party harmony, in the interest of better legislation than we have had during the last six years, I have found it absolutely necessary to stand by the Republican organization; and I shall do so.

The Chairman. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Idaho. Senator Brandegee. What is that motion?

The Chairman. To strike out the name of Senator Penrose from the list of committees as chairman of the Committee on Finance.

Senator Borah. Let us have a yea and nay vote.

The Chairman. Let the vote be taken as it was yesterday by a call of the roll, each Senator responding "yea" or "nay."

Senator Spencer. What is the question?

The Chairman. The question is whether the name of Senator Penrose shall be stricken from the list of committees as chairman of the Committee on Finance. The Chair is putting it as it was put yesterday. Those in favor of striking out the name of Senator Penrose will vote "Yea"; those in favor of retaining his name will vote "Nay." The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary (Senator Wadsworth) called the roll, which resulted as follows:

MAY 27, 1919

*Yeas:*

Borah  
Capper  
Cummins  
Johnson of California  
Kenyon  
Lenroot  
McCormick  
McNary

*Nays:*

Brandegee  
Calder  
Colt  
Dillingham  
Edge  
Elkins  
Fall  
Fernald  
France  
Frelinghuysen  
Gronna  
Hale  
Harding  
Keyes  
Knox  
Lodge  
McCumber  
McLean  
Moses  
Nelson  
New  
Newberry  
Page  
Phipps  
Poindexter  
Sherman  
Smoot  
Spencer  
Sterling  
Sutherland  
Townsend  
Wadsworth  
Warren  
Watson

Total 8

34

The Chairman. On this motion the yeas are eight (8) and the nays are thirty-four (34). The motion is lost. The question now recurs on the adoption of the report of the Committee on Committees.

The report of the Committee on Committees was adopted.

Senator Fernald. I move that the conference adjourn.

The motion was agreed to, and (at 12 o'clock and 10 minutes p.m.) the open conference of the Republican Senators adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[June 2, 1919]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

June 2, 1919

The Conference met pursuant to call at 10:30 a.m.

In the absence of Senator Lodge, the Chairman, Senator Curtis presided; and in the absence of Senator Wadsworth, the Secretary, Senator Spencer acted as Secretary Pro Tempore.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Ball, Brandegee, Calder, Capper, Cummins, Curtis, Fall, Fernald, France, Frelinghuysen, Gronna, Hale, Jones, Lenroot, McCumber, McNary, Moses, New, Newberry, Page, Phipps, Poindexter, Sherman, Smoot, Spencer, Sutherland, Warren, and Watson.

Senator New, Chairman of the Committee on Patronage, presented the report of that Committee, which appears as an appendix to these minutes.

On motion of Senator Smoot the Report of the Committee on Patronage was adopted.

On motion the Conference then adjourned.

[signed] Selden P. Spencer  
Secretary Pro Tempore.

\* \* \*

(Adopted by Republican Conference, June 2, 1919)

**(Confidential.)**

66th Congress,  
*1st Session.*

Senate Committee Print.  
SENATE PATRONAGE.

JUNE 2, 1919

**REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PATRONAGE TO THE  
REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE.**

(Printed for the use of the Senate.)

Your committee after numerous prolonged sessions have carefully considered the division of patronage to be made among the Republican Senators, and the allowance to be made to the Democratic Minority.

The committee recommends that there should be a roll known as the Efficiency Roll which shall include certain leading offices upon which, on account of their importance and proper conduct, the business of the Senate largely depends. They think that there is wisdom in the custom of retaining in the service those employees who, by efficient experience, capacity, and diligence, expedite business to the credit of the Senate. By this recommendation the following employees in the office of the Secretary of the Senate would be retained:

Reading clerk, J.C. Crockett .....	\$3,600
Financial clerk, C.F. Pace .....	3,000
Minute and journal clerk, Chas. L. Watkins (now chief book- keeper at \$2,500) .....	3,000
Printing clerk, Ansel Wold .....	2,500
Assistant financial clerk, Eugene Colwell .....	2,750
Clerk, P.M. Wilson (now chief clerk at \$3,250) .....	2,500
Clerk, H.H. Gilfry .....	2,220
Assistant in document room, J.M. Lambert .....	2,250
Librarian, E.C. Goodwin .....	2,500
First assistant librarian, W.G. Lieuallen .....	2,400
	<hr/>
	26,720
Principal clerk, T.W. Tulley (to be retained until July 1, 1919) .....	3,000
	<hr/>
	29,720
3 laborers, colored, \$840 .....	2,520
4 laborers, colored, \$720 .....	2,880
	<hr/>
	35,120
By this arrangement the following offices in the Secretary's Office would be filled by Democrats retained:	
Financial clerk, C.F. Pace .....	\$3,000
Minute and journal clerk, Chas. L. Watkins .....	3,000
Clerk, P.M. Wilson .....	2,500
Clerk, H.H. Gilfry .....	2,220
Assistant in Document Room, J.M. Lambert .....	2,250
	<hr/>
	12,970
Principal clerk, T.W. Tulley (to be retained until July 1, 1919) .....	3,000
	<hr/>
	15,970
The following offices in the Secretary's Office are now filled by Repub- licans retained by Democrats:	
Reading clerk, J.C. Crockett .....	\$3,600
Assistant financial clerk, Eugene Colwell .....	2,750

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS (1919–1921)

Printing clerk, Ansel Wold .....	2,500
Library, E.C. Goodwin .....	2,500
First assistant librarian, W.G. Lieuallen .....	2,400

13,750

Eliminating these exemptions, the following positions are subject to the appointment of the Secretary of the Senate on the nomination of Senators:

Chief clerk .....	\$3,250
Enrolling clerk .....	3,000
Executive clerk .....	2,750
File clerk .....	2,500
Chief bookkeeper .....	2,500
Assistant journal clerk .....	2,500
Clerks, 2 at \$2,500 .....	5,000
Clerks, 3 at \$2,220 .....	6,660
Clerks, 2 at \$2,100 .....	4,200
Clerk .....	1,800
Clerks, 2 at \$1,600 .....	3,200
Clerk .....	1,440
Messenger .....	1,440
Assistant messenger .....	1,200
Assistant in Document Room .....	2,250
Assistant in Document Room .....	1,440
Clerk in Document Room .....	1,440
Skilled laborer (Document Room) .....	1,200
Assistant librarian .....	1,800
Skilled laborer (Senate Library) .....	1,200
Keeper of stationery room .....	2,400
Assistant Keeper of stationery room .....	2,000
Assistant in stationery room .....	1,200

56,370

RECAPITULATION

In the office of the Secretary of the Senate, under the legislative appropriation act 1918–19, there are 49 positions amounting to \$105,990

Secretary (elected by Senate) .....	\$6,500
Assistant Secretary, H.M. Rose .....	5,000
Superintendent of Document Room, G.H. Boyd .....	3,000
11 employees retained on account of efficient experience .....	29,720
7 colored laborers .....	5,400
28 positions in patronage .....	56,370

105,990

OFFICE OF THE SERGEANT AT ARMS.

The committee recommends that the following employees be retained on account of long service and efficient experience:

Halsey, E.A., assistant on floor (request of Minority) .....	\$2,000
O'Toole, J.E., assistant on floor .....	2,000
Doherty, E.W., messenger, acting as assistant doorkeeper ....	1,800
Edwards, J.F., messenger, acting as assistant doorkeeper ....	1,800
Anderson, R.S., messenger .....	1,440
McGrain, J.J., storekeeper .....	2,220

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Eckstein, F.A., chief clerk, post office (now mail carrier at \$1,200) .....	1,800
Biffle, L.L., superintendent, folding room .....	1,600
Deards, J.W., assistant in folding room .....	1,400
Farden, Miss A.H., messenger .....	1,440
McKeever, Mrs. F.R., stenographer, etc. ....	1,200
Ransdell, W.J., messenger (now folder at \$1,000) .....	1,440
Sellers, J.F., messenger at card door (now messenger at \$1,440) .....	1,600
Maryman, Sam, elevator conductor .....	1,200
	<hr/>
	22,940
The following positions are now filled by Republicans, retained by Democrats:	
Messenger, acting as assistant doorkeeper (Doherty) .....	\$1,800
Assistant in folding room (Deards) .....	1,400
Mail carrier (Eckstein) .....	1,200
Messenger (Sellers) .....	1,440
Messenger for minority (McNeil) .....	1,440
Folder (Ransdell) .....	1,000
	<hr/>
	8,280
By this arrangement the following positions would be filled by Democrats retained:	
Floor Assistants (Halsey & O'Toole), at \$2,000 .....	\$4,000
Messenger acting as Assistant Doorkeeper (Edwards) .....	1,800
Messenger (Anderson) .....	1,440
Storekeeper (McGrain) .....	2,220
Superintendent folding room (Biffle) .....	1,600
Elevator conductor (Maryman) .....	1,200
	<hr/>
	12,260
Messenger (C.F. Lynch) Senate resolution of 1896 for supposed injuries received .....	1,440
	<hr/>
	13,700
Following positions now held by Republicans as Minority employees, to be assigned to Democrats:	
Messenger .....	\$1,440
Messenger .....	1,440
	<hr/>
	2,880
	<hr/>
	16,580
The following positions, 52 in number, amounting to \$46,510, exempted on account of character of service rendered:	
Clerk, official reporters .....	\$2,400.00
Superintendent Press Gallery .....	1,800.00
Assistant Superintendent Press Gallery .....	1,400.00
Messenger, Press Gallery .....	900.00
Upholsterer .....	1,440.00
Cabinetmaker .....	1,200.00
3 carpenters, at \$1,080 .....	3,240.00
Chief telephone operator .....	1,200.00



SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS (1919-1921)

3 telephone operators, at \$900 .....	2,700.00
Night telephone operator .....	720.00
4 skilled laborers, barbers, at \$1,000 .....	4,000.00
Laborer in charge private passage .....	840.00
3 attendants, women's rooms, Capitol, at \$720 .....	2,160.00
3 attendants, women's rooms, S.O.B., at \$720 .....	2,160.00
Wagonmaster .....	1,200.00
2 laborers, janitor's force, at \$800 .....	1,600.00
19 laborers, janitor's force, at \$720 .....	13, 680.00
Foreman, garage .....	990.00
4 helpers, garage, at \$720 .....	2,880.00

Old Soldiers Roll.

On July 14, 1911, the late Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, introduced the following resolution, which was adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate and the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate are hereby directed to retain in the employ of the Senate those persons who served in the Union Army during the late Civil War and whose service in the Senate is necessary and satisfactory and who are not otherwise provided for, and to continue such persons in their positions until cause for their removal shall have been reported to and approved of by the Senate and their removal directed.

Your committee believes that this resolution should be carried out in its full spirit, and to this end has restored these veterans of the Union Army of the Civil War on the Senate pay roll to their former salaries received before reductions were made by the Democrats. These veterans, in recognition of their patriotic services to the Union in the Civil War, and because of efficient service as employees of the Senate, are hereby restored to their former salaries. This is done in part through sentiment and in tribute to the Union soldier of the Civil War, who in our belief is entitled to full consideration, and to correct the monstrous injustice of which these veterans were the victims at the hands of the Democrats, which in our opinion was a gross and unjustifiable wrong. The list of those affected is as follows:

	Present salary	Proposed salary
Gallager, W.G., messenger .....	\$1,440.00	\$1,440.00
Corser, D.S., messenger .....	1,440.00	1,440.00
Hammond, John, laborer, doorkeeper .....	720.00	1,200.00
Coates, M.T., laborer, folding room .....	720.00	1,000.00
Dutton, R.R., laborer, folding room .....	720.00	1,440.00
Foster, E.W., laborer, doorkeeper .....	720.00	912.50
Crystal, J.A., mail carrier, doorkeeper .....	1,200.00	1,440.00
Gaston, A.D., riding page .....	912.50	1,440.00
Brewer, H.H., clerk, folding room .....	1,200.00	1,600.00
Bond, George H., folder, doorkeeper .....	1,000.00	1,440.00
Getchell, E.P., folder, doorkeeper .....	840.00	1,440.00
McArthur, James, folder, doorkeeper .....	840.00	1,440.00
Osbon, O.M., folder, doorkeeper .....	840.00	1,440.00

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	Present salary	Proposed salary
Williams, J.R., elevator conductor, Senate Office Building, doorkeeper .....	1,200.00	1,200.00
Abbott, J.A., police, Senate Office Building ..	1,050.00	1,800.00
Baer, Nathan, police, Senate Office Building	1,050.00	1,200.00
Burrows, J.A., police, Senate Office Building	1,050.00	1,050.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	16,942.50	22,922.50

This plan provides for restoring all above to their former salaries except Mr. Crystal, who was postmaster at \$2,250, and Mr. Brewer, who was foreman of Folding Room at \$1,440 (this place having been increased by law to \$1,600, and to which Mr. Brewer has been restored).

To restore these old soldiers to their former ratings, positions which would have been available under patronage for seven messengers at \$1,440 each are required. These messengerships have been held by Democrats and would have been included in Republican patronage.

Subtracting the aforementioned classes of exceptions the following positions are subject to the appointment of the Sergeant at Arms on the nomination of Senators:

Assistant Sergeant at Arms .....	\$2,500
Two messengers acting as assistant doorkeepers, at \$1,800 ..	3,600
21 messengers, at \$1,440 .....	30,240
Messenger .....	1,000
Janitor .....	1,200
Telephone operator .....	900
Telephone page .....	720
Laborer, folding room .....	800
15 laborers, folding room and post office, at \$720 .....	10,800
Postmaster .....	2,250
7 mail carriers, at \$1,200 .....	8,400
2 riding pages, at \$912.50 .....	1,825
6 folders, at \$1,000 .....	6,000
7 folders, at \$840 .....	5,880
22 elevator conductors, at \$1,200 .....	26,400
Lieutenant, police .....	1,200
2 special police, Capitol and Senate Office Building, at \$1,200 .....	2,400
39 policemen, Capitol and Senate Office Building, at \$1,050	40,950
5 policemen, Capitol, at \$840 .....	4,200
10 pages, at \$400 .....	4,000
	<hr/>
	155,265

#### RECAPITULATION

In the office of the Sergeant at Arms there are 241 positions, as follows:

Sergeant at Arms, elected .....	\$6,500.00
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SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS (1919–1921)

Assistant doorkeeper and acting assistant doorkeeper, elected, at \$3,000 .....	6,000.00
14 employees retained on account of long service and efficient experience .....	22,940.00
1 messenger (Lynch), Senate Resolution .....	1,440.00
2 messengers, allotted to minority, same having been allowed by Democrats to Republicans .....	2,880.00
6 pages allotted to minority, at \$400 each .....	2,400.00
52 employees exempted on account of character of service rendered .....	46,510.00
17 employees on Old Soldier's Roll, with proposed salaries ...	22,922.50
146 positions in patronage, including 10 pages .....	155,265.00
	<hr/>
	266,857.50
Deduct 16 pages, at \$400 (estimated salary) .....	6,400.00
	<hr/>
	260,457.50

Assuming that the recommendations of the committee are adopted, each Republican Senator will be entitled to recommend appointments to offices or positions the salaries of which will amount in the aggregate to \$4,319 a year. The committee recommends that the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, the Secretary of the Senate and the Superintendent of the Capitol, respectively, after consultation with the Committee on Patronage, readjust the distribution of those offices to which appointments are made on recommendation, so that each Republican Senator shall receive as nearly as practicable the number of appointments due to him under this plan.

Under the Democrats, Republicans in the Secretary's office held 5 positions, with salaries totaling \$13,750, and in the Sergeant at Arms' office, 6 positions totaling \$8,280, a grand total of \$22,030.

The Republicans now allow the Democrats 6 positions in the Secretary's office, \$15,970 (less 1 position at \$3,000 after July 1), and 10 positions in the Sergeant at Arms' office, \$16,580, a grand total of \$32,550 at present time and \$29,550 after July 1, 1919.

PATRONAGE TO BE AVAILABLE.

Secretary's Office:	
Total appropriation for salaries .....	\$105,990
Total amount of exemptions for all causes .....	49,620
	<hr/>
Balance .....	56,370.00
Sergeant at Arms' Office:	
Total appropriation for salaries .....	\$265,257.50
Deduct appropriation for 16 pages .....	4,800.00
	<hr/>
	260,457.50
Adding 16 pages at \$400 .....	6,400.00
	<hr/>
	266,857.50
Total amount of exemptions for all causes .....	111,592.50
	<hr/>
Balance .....	155,265.00

JUNE 2, 1919

Total amount of patronage, both offices .....	211,635.00
Divided among 49 Republican Senators .....	4,319.00

LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATION ACT, 1818-19.

Office of the Secretary .....	\$94,410.00
Document Room .....	11,580.00

	\$105,990.00
Office of the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper .....	\$144,720.00
Police force, Senate Office Building .....	18,000.00
Post office .....	17,587.50
Folding room .....	17,080.00

Under Superintendent of Capitol:

10 elevator conductors, Capitol .....	12,000.00
14 elevator conductors, Senate Office Building .....	16,800.00

Contingent expenses:

Maintaining motors (\$7,000).

Salaries foreman and 4 helpers .....	3,870.00
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Superintendent Folding room, payable out of Miscellaneous items fund, authority Senate resolution .....	1,600.00
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Capitol police (\$65,550), captain, \$1,800; 1 lieutenant, \$1,200; 1 special officer, \$1,200; 24 privates, at \$1,050; 5 privates, at \$840 .....	33,600.00
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265,257.50

Deduct appropriation for 16 pages .....	4,800.00
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260,457.50

[May 22, 1920]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

May 22, 1920

The Conference was called to order, pursuant to notice, by the Chairman, Senator Lodge.

The roll was called and the following Senators answered to their names:

Messrs. Ball, Brandegee, Calder, Capper, Curtis, Dillingham, Edge, Fernald, France, Hale, Harding, Jones of Washington, Kellogg, Keyes, Knox, Lenroot, Lodge, McCormick, McCumber, McLean, McNary, New, Page, Poindexter, Sherman, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Townsend, Wadsworth, and Warren.

After discussion, the Conference, on motion of Senator Kellogg, adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Conference that Appropriation Bills and Conference Reports should have preference in the order of business of the Senate.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[January 21, 1921]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 21, 1921

The Conference was called to order at 10:30 a.m. by the Chairman, Senator Lodge, and the roll being called, the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Ball, Brandegee, Calder, Capper, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Edge, Elkins, Fernald, France, Gooding, Gronna, Hale, Johnson of California, Jones, Kellogg, Kenyon, Keyes, Knox, Lenroot, Lodge, McCormick, McCumber, Moses, Nelson, New, Page, Penrose, Phipps, Poindexter, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Willis.

On motion of Senator Warren, the title of “Whip” was changed to “Vice Chairman and Whip,” the same to apply to the present incumbent of said office (Senator Curtis).

Nominations for Chaplain of the Senate being in order, Senator Jones of Washington nominated Rev. J.J. Muir, Senator New nominated Rev. James S. Montgomery, Senator Nelson nominated Rev. Chas. Butler, Senator Calder nominated Rev. U.T. Stevenson, Senator Kenyon nominated Rev. Lucien Clark, and Senator Willis nominated Rev. Mitchell.

Rev. J.J. Muir was nominated on the third ballot, having received twenty-one votes, being a majority of all the votes cast.

The ballot stood as follows:

Dr. Muir—21

Dr. Montgomery—17

Dr. Clark—2

Total 40

Necessary to nominate 21.

The Conference adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.



## **Sixty-seventh Congress (1921–1923)**

[Editor's Note: The 1920 election increased the Republican margins in both houses of Congress and placed Senator Warren G. Harding in the White House. In the Senate the Republican margin grew to 59 to 37 Democrats, while in the House there were 302 Republicans to 131 Democrats with 2 independents. After the special session of the Senate met in March to review presidential nominations, President Harding called an extraordinary session of Congress in April 1921 to consider an emergency agricultural tariff. Congress then remained in session for most of the next two years, from April to November 1921, from December 1921 to September 1922, and November 1922 to March 1923.

Among the measures passed during this Congress were the Budget and Accounting Act that created the General Accounting Office and the Bureau of the Budget, the Capper-Volstead Cooperative Marketing Act, tariff legislation, and creation of the World War Foreign Debt Commission to negotiate agreements on repayment of war costs.]

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[March 5, 1921]

### **REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE**

March 5, 1921

The Conference was called to order at 3:00 p.m. by the Chairman, Senator Lodge, pursuant to call and notice of postponement.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Ball, Borah, Brandegee, Calder, Cameron, Capper, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Edge, Elkins, Ernst, Fernald, France, Frelinghuysen, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Johnson of California, Jones of Washington, Kellogg, Kenyon, Keyes, Knox, Ladd, Lenroot, Lodge, McCormick, McCumber, McKinley, McNary, Moses, Nelson, New, Nicholson, Oddie, Page, Penrose, Phipps, Poindexter, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Stanfield, Sterling, Sutherland, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, Weller, and Willis.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was chosen Chairman.

Senator Charles Curtis was chosen Vice Chairman and Whip.

Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr. was chosen Secretary.

Senator Brandegee moved that a committee of nine senators is hereby authorized to be appointed by the Chairman to make a tentative assignment of senators to the Committees of the Senate; such ten-

MARCH 5, 1921

tative assignment list to be submitted for approval to a Conference of Republican Senators to be called at the proper time by the Chairman of the Republican Conference: which was agreed to.

On motion of Senator Kellogg, the Chairman was authorized to appoint a Committee on Order of Business, to consist of nine senators, including the Chairman and Whip.

On motion of Senator Sutherland, the Chairman was authorized to appoint a Committee on Patronage.

On motion of Senator Kellogg, Senator Albert B. Cummins of Iowa, was chosen by the Conference for the office of President of the Senate pro tempore.

On motion of Senator Curtis, Mr. George A. Sanderson of Illinois was chosen for the office of Secretary of the Senate.

On motion of Senator Knox, Mr. David S. Barry of Rhode Island, was chosen for the office of Sergeant at Arms of the Senate.

On motion of Senator Curtis, Mr. Carl A. Loeffler, of Pennsylvania, was chosen for the office of Assistant Doorkeeper of the Senate.

On motion of Senator Curtis, Rev. J.J. Muir of the District of Columbia, was chosen for Chaplain of the Senate.

The following resolution was submitted by Senator Edge and carried:

Resolved, that the Committee on Committees, in making their assignments of Senators to Committees for the sixty-seventh Congress, is hereby instructed to consider not only the number of assignments which may be given to any Senator but also the importance of such assignments.

On motion of Senator Knox, it was ordered, that the Marble Room of the Senate should be used and set apart as a general Retiring Room for Senators.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

Pursuant to authority vested in him by the Conference of March 5, 1921, Senator Lodge, Chairman of the Conference, appointed the following Committees.

Committee on Committees  
Senator Brandegee, Chairman



SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS (1921–1923)

Calder  
Watson  
Curtis  
Sterling  
McNary  
McCumber  
Moses  
Elkins

Committee on Order of Business

Senator Lodge, Ex Officio

Curtis, Ex Officio  
La Follette  
Wadsworth  
Fernald  
France  
Frelinghuysen  
Kellogg  
McCormick

Committee on Patronage

Senator Sutherland, Chairman

Lenroot  
Hale

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[April 12, 1921]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

April 12, 1921

The Conference was called to order at 4:30 p.m. by the Chairman, Senator Lodge, the time for assembling having been postponed from 10:00 a.m.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Ball, Brandegee, Bursum, Cameron, Capper, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Elkins, Ernst, France, Gooding, Harreld, Jones, Kellogg, Kenyon, Keyes, Knox, Ladd, Lodge, McCormick, McCumber, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Moses, Nelson, New, Nicholson, Norbeck, Norris, Penrose, Phipps, Poindexter, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Stanfield, Sterling, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, Weller, and Willis.

Senator Brandegee, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, presented a printed report of the Committee on Committees, including a proposed amendment to the Senate Rules.

APRIL 12, 1921

Senator McCumber moved that the Committee on Banking and Currency be increased from 13 to 15 members, to provide for one additional Republican assignment and one additional Democratic assignment, which was carried.

Senator Kellogg moved that the report of the Committee on Committees, proposing amendments to the Rules of the Senate relating to size of certain Committees and providing that Committees of the Senate shall continue and have power to act until their successors are appointed, be adopted; which was carried.

Senator Kellogg moved that the Report of the Committee on Committees, providing for the assignments of Republican members, be adopted; which was carried.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[From *Congressional Record* of April 13, 1921]

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I gave notice yesterday that I would make a motion today to amend the rules. I make a motion that Rule XXV be amended by the adoption of the resolution which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The Assistant Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

*Resolved*, That Rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate be, and it is hereby, amended so as to read as follows:

“1. The following standing committees shall be appointed at the commencement of each Congress, with leave to report by bill or otherwise:

“Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, to consist of 16 Senators.

“Committee on Appropriations, to consist of 16 Senators.

“Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to consist of five Senators, to which shall be referred all resolutions directing the payment of money out of the contingent fund of the Senate or creating a charge upon the same.

“Committee on Banking and Currency, to consist of 13 Senators.

“Committee on Civil Service, to consist of 11 Senators.

“Committee on Claims, to consist of 13 Senators.

“Committee on Commerce, to consist of 16 Senators.

“Committee on the District of Columbia, to consist of 13 Senators.

“Committee on Education and Labor, to consist of 11 Senators.

“Committee on Enrolled Bills, to consist of three Senators, which shall examine all bills, amendments, and joint resolutions before they go out

of the possession of the Senate, and which shall have power to act jointly with the same committee of the House of Representatives, and which, or some one of which, shall examine all bills or joint resolutions which shall have passed both Houses, to see that the same are correctly enrolled, and, when signed by the Speaker of the House and President of the Senate, shall forthwith present the same, when they shall have originated in the Senate, to the President of the United States in person, and report the fact and date of such presentation to the Senate.

“Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, to consist of seven Senators.

“Committee on Finance, to consist of 16 Senators.

“Committee on Foreign Relations, to consist of 16 Senators.

“Committee in Immigration, to consist of 11 Senators.

“Committee on Indian Affairs, to consist of 11 Senators.

“Committee on Interoceanic Canals, to consist of 11 Senators.

“Committee on Interstate Commerce, to consist of 16 Senators.

“Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, to consist of 11 Senators.

“Committee on the Judiciary, to consist of 16 Senators.

“Committee on the Library, to consist of seven Senators, which shall have power to act jointly with the same committee of the House of Representatives.

“Committee on Manufactures, to consist of 11 Senators.

“Committee on Military Affairs, to consist of 16 Senators.

“Committee on Mines and Mining, to consist of nine Senators.

“Committee on Naval Affairs, to consist of 16 Senators.

“Committee on Patents, to consist of seven Senators.

“Committee on Pensions, to consist of 11 Senators.

“Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, to consist of 16 Senators.

“Committee on Printing, to consist of seven Senators, which shall have power to act jointly with the same committee of the House of Representatives.

“Committee on Privileges and Elections, to consist of 13 Senators.

“Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to consist of 13 Senators, which shall have power to act jointly with the same committee of the House of Representatives.

“Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, to consist of 13 Senators.

“Committee on Revision of the Laws, to consist of three Senators.

“Committee on Rules, to consist of 12 Senators.

“Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions, to consist of 13 Senators.

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“2. The said committees shall continue and have the power to act until their successors are appointed.”

[From the *Congressional Record* of April 18, 1921]

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I offer the amendments to the resolution which I sent to the desk the other day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The first amendment proposed to the resolution by the Senator from Connecticut will be stated.

The Assistant Secretary. On page 2, line 2, before the word “Senators,” it is proposed to strike out “13” and to insert “15,” so as to read: “Committee on Banking and Currency, to consist of 15 Senators.”

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Connecticut.

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The next amendment proposed by the Senator from Connecticut will be stated.

The Assistant Secretary. On page 4 it is proposed to strike out lines 19 and 20, as follows: “Committee on Revision of the Laws, to consist of three Senators”.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to. The question now is on agreeing to the resolution as amended.

[From the *Congressional Record* of April 18, 1921]

The VICE PRESIDENT. The order proposed by the Senator from Massachusetts will be read.

The Assistant Secretary read as follows:

*Resolved*, That the following shall constitute the standing committees of the Senate of the Sixty-seventh Congress:

*On Agriculture and Forestry (16)*: Messrs. Norris (chairman), Page, Kenyon, Wadsworth, McNary, Capper, Keyes, Gooding, Ladd, Norbeck, Smith, Ransdell, Kendrick, Harrison, Heflin, Caraway.

*On Appropriations (16)*: Messrs. Warren (chairman), Smoot, Jones of Washington, Curtis, Kenyon, Hale, Spencer, Phipps, Newberry, McKinley, Overman, Owen, Culberson, Harris, Glass, Jones of New Mexico.

*To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate (5)*: Messrs. Calder (chairman), McCormick, France, Jones of New Mexico, McKellar.

*On Banking and Currency (14)*: Messrs. McLean (chairman), Page, Frelinghuysen, Penrose, Calder, Newberry, Weller, Norbeck, Owen, Hitchcock, Pomerene, Fletcher, Kendrick, Glass.

*On Civil Service (11)*: Messrs. Sterling (chairman), Cummins, Colt, Ball, Nicholson, Stanfield, Bursum, McKellar, Ransdell, Wolcott, Heflin.

*On Claims (13)*: Messrs. Spencer (chairman), Frelinghuysen, New, Capper, Gooding, Harreld, Ernst, Stanfield, Robinson, Trammell, Wolcott, Broussard, Watson of Georgia.

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*On Commerce (16):* Messrs. Jones of Washington (chairman), Nelson, Fernald, Calder, Lenroot, McNary, Ball, Edge, Willis, Weller, Fletcher, Ransdell, Sheppard, Simmons, Dial, Caraway.

*On the District of Columbia (13):* Messrs. Ball (chairman), Dillingham, Jones of Washington, Capper, Elkins, Gooding, Cameron, Weller, Pomerene, King, Sheppard, Glass, Stanley.

*On Education and Labor (11):* Messrs. Kenyon (chairman), Borah, Sterling, Phipps, Warren, Kellogg, Shortridge, Jones of New Mexico, McKellar, Wolcott, Walsh of Massachusetts.

*On Enrolled Bills (3):* Messrs. Sutherland (chairman), Ball, Dial.

*On Expenditures in the Executive Departments (7):* Messrs. McCormick (chairman), Moses, Willis, Oddie, Underwood, Swanson, Robinson.

*On Finance (16):* Messrs. Penrose (chairman), McCumber, Smoot, La Follette, Dillingham, McLean, Curtis, Watson, Calder, Sutherland, Simmons, Williams, Jones of New Mexico, Gerry, Reed, Walsh of Massachusetts.

*On Foreign Relations (16):* Messrs. Lodge (chairman), McCumber, Borah, Brandegee, Knox, Johnson, New, Moses, Kellogg, McCormick, Hitchcock, Williams, Swanson, Pomerene, Pittman, Shields.

*On Immigration (11):* Messrs. Colt (chairman), Dillingham, Penrose, Sterling, Johnson, Keyes, Willis, King, Harris, Harrison, Watson of Georgia.

*On Indian Affairs (11):* Messrs. Curtis (chairman), La Follette, McNary, Spencer, Harreld, Cameron, Ladd, Ashurst, Owen, Walsh of Montana, Kendrick.

*On Interoceanic Canals (11):* Messrs. Borah (chairman), Page, Colt, Knox, Johnson, Edge, McKinley, Walsh of Montana, Simmons, Trammell, Ransdell.

*On Interstate Commerce (16):* Messrs. Cummins (chairman), Townsend, La Follette, Poindexter, McLean, Watson, Kellogg, Fernald, Frelinghuysen, Elkins, Smith, Pomerene, Myers, Underwood, Wolcott, and Stanley.

*On Irrigation and Reclamation (11):* Messrs. McNary (chairman), Jones of Washington, Phipps, Gooding, Cameron, Oddie, Shortridge, Sheppard, Walsh of Montana, Kendrick, and Pittman.

*On the Judiciary (16):* Messrs. Nelson (chairman), Dillingham, Brandegee, Borah, Cummins, Colt, Sterling, Norris, Ernst, Shortridge, Culberson, Overman, Reed, Ashurst, Shields, and Walsh of Montana.

*On the Library (7):* Messrs. Brandegee (chairman), Wadsworth, Jr., Knox, McCumber, Williams, McKellar, and Broussard.

*On Manufactures (11):* Messrs. La Follette (chairman), Kenyon, Fernald, McNary, McKinley, Nicholson, Weller, Smith, Pomerene, Jones of New Mexico, Reed.

*On Military Affairs (16):* Messrs. Wadsworth (chairman), Warren, Sutherland, New, Frelinghuysen, Lenroot, Spencer, Capper, Cameron, Bursum, Hitchcock, Fletcher, Myers, Sheppard, McKellar, Robinson.

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*On Mines and Mining (9):* Messrs. Poindexter (chairman), Sutherland, Newberry, Oddie, Nicholson, Norbeck, Walsh of Montana, Ashurst, Pittman.

*On Naval Affairs (16):* Messrs. Page (chairman), Penrose, Lodge, Poindexter, Hale, Ball, Newberry, Keyes, France, Nicholson, Swanson, Pittman, Walsh of Montana, Gerry, Trammell, King.

*On Patents (7):* Messrs. Johnson (chairman), Norris, Brandegee, Ernst, Smith, Stanley, and Broussard.

*On Pensions (11):* Messrs. McCumber (chairman), Smoot, Elkins, Townsend, Colt, Weller, Bursum, Walsh of Montana, King, Walsh of Massachusetts, and Gerry.

*On Post Offices and Post Roads (16):* Messrs. Townsend (chairman), Sterling, France, Moses, Edge, Elkins, Phipps, Harreld, Oddie, Stanfield, McKellar, Walsh of Massachusetts, Dial, Heflin, Watson of Georgia, and Broussard.

*On Printing (7):* Messrs. Moses (chairman), Capper, Nelson, Townsend, Fletcher, Ransdell, and Robinson.

*On Privileges and Elections (13):* Messrs. Dillingham (chairman), Spencer, Wadsworth, Watson, Edge, Ernst, Shortridge, Bursum, Pomerene, Reed, Walsh of Montana, King, and Wolcott.

*On Public Buildings and Grounds (13):* Messrs. Fernald (chairman), Warren, Frelinghuysen, France, Lenroot, Keyes, McKinley, Harreld, Reed, Ashurst, Culberson, Trammell, and Swanson.

*On Public Lands and Surveys (13):* Messrs. Smoot (chairman), Norris, Poindexter, Lenroot, Ladd, Stanfield, Norbeck, Bursum, Myers, Pittman, Jones of New Mexico, Kendrick, and Walsh of Montana.

*On Revision of the Laws (3):* Messrs. Ernst (chairman), Kellogg, and \_\_\_\_.

*On Rules (12):* Messrs. Knox (chairman), Nelson, Curtis, Hale, Moses, McCormick, Watson, Overman, Owen, Underwood, Harrison, and Robinson.

*On Territories and Insular Possessions (13):* Messrs. New (chairman), McLean, Cummins, Knox, Johnson, McCormick, Willis, Ladd, Pittman, Owen, Robinson, Harris, and Broussard.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the order. Is there objection? The Chair hears no objection. The question is on agreeing to the order.

The order was agreed to.

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[January 18, 1922]

## REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 18, 1922

The Conference met in the room of the Senate Committee on Finance, room 310 Senate Office Bldg., at 10:30 a.m., pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators answered to their names:

Messrs. Ball, Borah, Brandegee, Bursum, Calder, Cameron, Capper, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Edge, Ernst, Fernald, France, Frelinghuysen, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Jones, Kellogg, Kenyon, Keyes, Ladd, Lodge, McCumber, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Moses, Nelson, New, Newberry, Oddie, Page, Pepper, Phipps, Poindexter, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Stanfield, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, Weller, and Willis.

Total 47.

On motion of Senator McCumber that it is the sense of the Conference that the Senate take up and dispose of the bill, H.R. 8762, "To create a commission authorized under certain conditions to refund or convert obligations of foreign Governments owing to the United States of America, and for other purposes," the yeas were 45, and the nays 0, so the motion was unanimously adopted; the vote thereon being as follows:

Yeas: Messrs. Ball, Brandegee, Bursum, Calder, Cameron, Capper, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Edge, Ernst, Fernald, Frelinghuysen, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Jones, Kellogg, Kenyon, Keyes, Ladd, Lodge, McCumber, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Moses, New, Newberry, Nicholson, Oddie, Page, Pepper, Phipps, Poindexter, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Stanfield, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, Weller, and Willis. Total, 45.

Nays, 0.

On motion of Senator McCumber, that it is the sense of the Conference that a Soldiers' Bonus Bill be taken up in the Senate after the Foreign Debt Bill, the yeas were 37, and the nays 3, so the motion was adopted; the vote thereon being as follows:

Yeas: Messrs. Ball, Brandegee, Bursum, Cameron, Capper, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Fernald, France, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Jones, Kellogg, Keyes, Ladd, Lodge, McCumber, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Moses, New, Newberry, Nicholson, Oddie, Page, Poindexter, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Stanfield, Townsend, Watson, Weller, and Willis. Total, 37.

Nays: Messrs. Pepper, Phipps, and Wadsworth. Total, 3.

The Conference then took a recess to meet again at 10:30 a.m., on Thursday, January 19, 1922.

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The Conference reconvened in the room of the Committee on Finance, No. 310 Senate Office Bldg., at 10:39 a.m., January 19, 1922, after recess from the previous day.

JANUARY 18, 1922

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Ball, Bursum, Cameron, Capper, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, du Pont, Edge, Ernst, France, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Jones, Kellogg, Keyes, Ladd, Lenroot, Lodge, McCumber, McLean, McNary, Moses, New, Newberry, Nicholson, Oddie, Page, Pepper, Phipps, Poindexter, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Townsend, Wadsworth, and Watson. Total 40.

House Bill 8762, "To create a commission authorized under certain conditions to refund or convert obligations of foreign Governments owing to the United States of America, and for other purposes," being before the Conference:

Senator Harreld proposed to amend the same by inserting on line 16, page 2, after the word "America," of the bill as reported to the Senate, the following: "Except that interest payments may not be deferred by the Commission for a longer term than three years."

The amendment was disagreed to, yeas 2, nays 40; the vote being as follows:

Yeas: Messrs. Capper and Harreld. Total 2;

Nays: Messrs. Ball, Bursum, Calder, Cameron, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, du Pont, Edge, Ernst, France, Gooding, Hale, Jones, Kellogg, Keyes, Ladd, Lenroot, Lodge, McCumber, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Moses, New, Newberry, Nicholson, Oddie, Page, Pepper, Phipps, Poindexter, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Townsend, Wadsworth, and Watson. Total 40.

Senator France proposed to amend the bill by striking out all of lines 3 to 8, inclusive, on page 1, and in line 9 of the same page, strike out the words "Subject to the approval of," and in line 10, strike out the words "The Commission created by section 1," and in line 11 restore the words "From time to time;" also on page 2, lines 21 and 22, strike out the word "Commission," and insert the word "President," and change the numbering of the sections accordingly; the object of said amendments being to place sole power in the hands of the President in lieu of a commission.

The hour being 11:55, the Conference took a recess until 4:00 p.m. of the same afternoon.

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The Conference reconvened at 4:00 p.m., January 19, 1922, after recess.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:



Messrs. Ball, Bursum, Calder, Cameron, Colt, Curtis, Dillingham, Edge, France, Frelinghuysen, Gooding, Hale, Johnson, Jones, Kellogg, Keyes, Ladd, Lenroot, Lodge, McCumber, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Moses, Nelson, Newberry, Nicholson, Oddie, Page, Pepper, Phipps, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Weller. Total 39.

The vote on the France amendment was taken, yeas 7, nays 31, so the amendment was defeated; the poll being as follows:

Yeas: Messrs. France, Jones, Lenroot, Moses, Newberry, Spencer, Townsend. Total 7;

Nays: Messrs. Ball, Bursum, Calder, Cameron, Colt, Curtis, Dillingham, Frelinghuysen, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Johnson, Kellogg, Keyes, Ladd, Lodge, McCumber, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Nelson, Nicholson, Oddie, Page, Pepper, Phipps, Shortridge, Smoot, Wadsworth, Warren, and Watson. Total 31.

Senator Phipps moved to strike out the proviso at the bottom of page 2, being the Committee amendment, as follows:

“Provided, That nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize or empower the Commission to extend the time of maturity of any such bonds or obligations due the United States by any foreign Government beyond June 15, 1947.”

The roll was called upon this amendment and it was decided in the negative, yeas 5, nays 32; the vote being as follows:

Yeas: Messrs. Moses, Nicholson, Oddie, Phipps, and Warren. Total 5;

Nays: Messrs. Ball, Bursum, Calder, Cameron, Colt, Curtis, Dillingham, France, Frelinghuysen, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Johnson, Jones, Kellogg, Keyes, Ladd, Lenroot, Lodge, McCumber, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Nelson, Page, Pepper, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Townsend, Wadsworth, and Watson. Total 32.

Senator Smoot moved to add to the proviso, at the bottom of page 1 the following:

“Or to fix the rate of interest at less than five per cent per annum.”

Upon this amendment the roll was called and resulted in yeas 14, nays 24, so the amendment was defeated; the vote being as follows:

Yeas: Messrs. Ball, Capper, Curtis, France, Jones, Lodge, McKinley, McNary, Nelson, Nicholson, Oddie, Shortridge, Smoot, and Townsend. Total 14.

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Nays: Messrs. Bursum, Calder, Cameron, Colt, Edge, Frelinghuysen, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Kellogg, Keyes, Ladd, McCumber, McLean, Moses, Newberry, Page, Pepper, Phipps, Spencer, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Weller. Total 24.

Senator Shortridge moved to add to the proviso at the bottom of page 2 the following:

“Or to fix the rate of interest at less than that fixed by existing law.”

The roll was called upon the Shortridge amendment and the same was carried, yeas 22, nays 8, the vote being as follows:

Yeas: Messrs. Ball, Capper, Colt, Curtis, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Jones, Lodge, McKinley, McNary, Nelson, Newberry, Nicholson, Oddie, Page, Phipps, Shortridge, Smoot, Townsend, Watson, and Weller. Total 22.

Nays: Messrs. Bursum, Cameron, Edge, Keyes, McCumber, Moses, Spencer, and Wadsworth. Total 8.

On a rising vote it was unanimously agreed to oppose the insertion of a provision for the semi-annual payment of interest by the foreign debtor Governments.

On the motion to report the bill as amended and press the same for action in the Senate the roll was called and it was adopted unanimously, the vote being as follows:

Yeas: Messrs. Ball, Bursum, Calder, Cameron, Colt, Curtis, Edge, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Jones, Kellogg, Keyes, Lenroot, Lodge, McCumber, McKinley, McNary, Moses, Nelson, New, Newberry, Nicholson, Oddie, Page, Phipps, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Weller. Total 34.

Nays: None.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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Calendar No. 408.

67th Congress,  
2d Session.

**H.R. 8762.**  
(Report No. 400.)

In the Senate of the United States

October 20 (calendar day, October 25), 1921.

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Finance.

January 16, 1922.

Reported by Mr. McCumber, with amendments.

(Omit the part [in bold brackets] and insert the part printed in italic.)

### AN ACT

To create a commission authorized under certain conditions to refund or convert obligations of foreign Governments owing to the United States of America, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That a World War Foreign Debt Commission is hereby created consisting of five members, one of whom shall be the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall serve as chairman, and four of whom shall be appointed by the President.[which appointments when other than Cabinet officers shall be made] *by and* with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Sec. 2. That, subject to the approval of the President, the commission created by section 1 is hereby authorized, [from time to time,] to refund or convert, and to extend the time of payment of the principal or the interest, or both, of any obligation of any foreign Government now owing to the United States of America, or any obligation of any foreign Government hereafter received by the United States of America (including obligations held by the United States Grain Corporation, the War Department, the Navy Department, or the American Relief Administration), arising out of the World War, into bonds or other obligations of such foreign Government[, and from time to time to receive bonds and obligations of any foreign Government] in substitution for the bonds or obligations of such Government now or hereafter held by the United States of America, in such form and of such terms, conditions, date or dates of maturity, and rate or rates of interest, and with such security, if any, as shall be deemed for the best interests of the United States of America, and to adjust and settle any and all claims, not now represented by bonds or obligations, which the United States of America now has or hereafter may have against any foreign Government and to accept securities therefor: *Provided, That nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize or empower the commission to extend the time of maturity of any such bonds or obligations due the United States by any foreign Government beyond June 15, 1947.*

Sec. 3. That this Act shall not be construed to authorize the exchange of bonds or other obligations of any foreign Government for those of any other foreign Government, or cancellation of any part of such indebtedness except through payment thereof.

Sec. 4. That the authority granted by this Act shall cease and determine at the end of three years from the date of the passage of this Act.

Sec. 5. That the annual report of this commission shall be included in the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances.

Passed the House of Representatives October 24, 1921.

JANUARY 18, 1922

Attest:

WM. TYLER PAGE,  
*Clerk.*

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[April 18, 1922]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

April 18, 1922

The Conference met in the Marble Room of the Senate at 10:30 a.m., pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bursum, Calder, Capper, Curtis, du Pont, Edge, Elkins, Fernald, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Jones, Keyes, Lenroot, Lodge, McCormick, McKinley, McNary, Moses, Nelson, Newberry, Nicholson, Norbeck, Oddie, Page, Pepper, Phipps, Poindexter, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Townsend, Wadsworth, Watson, Weller, and Willis. Total 37.

After discussion as to the necessity of Republican Senators attending the daily sessions of the Senate in order to expedite the passage of the Tariff Bill;

Senator Smoot made the following motion, which was carried unanimously:

“That it is the sense of the Conference that the Senate proceed without further delay with consideration of the Tariff Bill.”

Senator Lenroot moved:

“That it is the sense of this Conference that the Senate should, at this session, pass a soldier bonus bill and that the Republican members of the Finance Committee be requested to report such a bill within three weeks from date.”

Senator Fernald moved to insert in lieu of the words, “within three weeks from date,” the words, “within a reasonable time,” and the question being put was carried on a rising vote.

The question recurring on the motion of Mr. Lenroot as amended, the yeas and nays were had as follows:

Those voting in the affirmative were:

Messrs. Bursum, Capper, Curtis, du Pont, Elkins, Fernald, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Kellogg, Keyes, Lenroot, Lodge, McCormick, McKinley, McNary, Nicholson, Norbeck, Oddie, Page, Shortridge, Spencer, Sutherland, Townsend, Watson, and Willis. Total 26.

Those voting in the negative were:

Messrs. Calder, Edge, Moses, Nelson, Newberry, Pepper, Sterling, Wadsworth, and Weller. Total 9.

So the motion was carried.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[May 25, 1922]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

May 25, 1922

The Conference met at 10 o'clock a.m. in the Marble Room of the Senate pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Ball, Bursum, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Edge, Elkins, Ernst, France, Frelinghuysen, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Kellogg, Ladd, Lenroot, Lodge, McCumber, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Moses, Nelson, Newberry, Nicholson, Oddie, Page, Pepper, Phipps, Rawson, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren.

Total 39.

Senators Calder and Capper entered after the Roll had been concluded.

Following a discussion of "Absenteeism," Senator Curtis offered a resolution (see appendix No. 1) which was unanimously adopted.

On motion of Senator Gooding it was agreed that when the Conference adjourned, it should be to meet again at ten o'clock a.m. on Friday, May 26, 1922.

Senator Kellogg offered a Resolution proposing an amendment to the Rules of the Senate which was ordered to be printed (see appendix No. 2).

MAY 25, 1922

On motion of Senator Spencer, that the Conference adjourn, it was carried, and the Conference adjourned until ten o'clock a.m. May 26, 1922.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

Note: The order previously made to meet on May 26, was postponed by general consent until May 27.

\* \* \*

Republican Conference May 25, 1922  
Exhibit No. 1.

Whereas the Republicans have a membership of 60 in the United States Senate, which gives them a majority of 24 in the Senate.

Whereas there is and has been a much larger absenteeism than is justified under existing circumstances, and it is important that all Senators whose health will permit should be present at all sessions of the Senate; therefore be it

*Resolved by this Conference of Republican Senators,* That it is the sense of this conference that the chairman be, and he is hereby, instructed to notify all Republican Senators who are absent from Washington and those who are in the city but have been missing roll calls of the Senate that it is important that absentees at once return to their duties, and that those who are in the city be requested to remain within call of the Senate during its sessions: Be it further

*Resolved,* That if the absentees fail or refuse to report for duty at once that proper steps be taken to have the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate compel the attendance of such Senators.

(Offered by Senator Curtis and unanimously adopted by the Republican Conference of May 25, 1922.)

\* \* \*

Republican Conference May 25, 1922  
Exhibit No. 2.

Notice is hereby given in accordance with the provisions of Rule XL of the Standing Rules of the Senate that upon the next calendar day of the session of the Senate a motion will be made to amend Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate by adding at the end thereof the following:

At any time after a bill for raising revenue or an appropriation bill shall have been under consideration before the Senate upon five calendar days, if a motion signed by sixteen Senators to limit the debate thereon is presented to the Senate, the presiding officer shall at once state the motion to the Senate, and one hour after the Senate meets on the following calendar day but one, he shall lay the motion before the Senate and direct that the Secretary call the roll, and upon ascertaining that a quorum is present, the presiding officer shall, without debate, submit to the Senate, by an aye and nay vote, the question: "Is it the sense

of the Senate that the debate shall be limited?" And if that question shall be decided in the affirmative by a majority of those voting, then thereafter no Senator shall be entitled to speak in all more than one hour upon the bill, nor more than ten minutes upon any amendment or debatable motion affecting the same, and all debate shall be confined to the question before the Senate.

A motion to lay an amendment upon the table shall be privileged and in order at any time.

No dilatory motion, or dilatory amendment, or amendment not germane, shall be in order. Points of order, including questions of relevancy, and appeals from the decision of the presiding officer, shall be decided without debate.

(Presented to the Republican Conference of May 25, 1922, by Senator Kellogg.)

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[May 27, 1922]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

May 27, 1922

The Conference met at ten o'clock in the Marble Room of the Senate.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bursum, Calder, Capper, Cummins, Curtis, Dillingham, Elkins, Ernst, France, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Jones, Kellogg, Ladd, Lenroot, Lodge, McCormick, McCumber, McKinley, McNary, Moses, Nelson, New, Newberry, Nicholson, Norbeck, Oddie, Page, Pepper, Phipps, Rawson, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Wadsworth, and Warren. Total 38.

After debate, Senator McCumber moved that a Committee of five senators be appointed by the Chairman to consider and report on the advisability of presenting to the Senate at this time, a rule limiting debate on Revenue and Appropriation Bills and to consider the draft of such an amendment.

Senator Townsend offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Conference that the Rules of the Senate be so amended as to provide for a limitation of debate on appropriation and revenue bills by a majority vote.

MAY 27, 1922

At eleven o'clock and five minutes the Conference adjourned to meet again at ten o'clock a.m. on Wednesday, May 31, 1922.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[May 31, 1922]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
May 31, 1922

The Conference met in the Marble Room of the Senate at ten o'clock a.m.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bursum, Calder, Capper, Cummins, Curtis, du Pont, Edge, Ernst, Frelinghuysen, Hale, Gooding, Kellogg, Keyes, Lenroot, Lodge, McCumber, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Nelson, Newberry, Nicholson, Norbeck, Oddie, Page, Rawson, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, and Watson. Total 34.

The Resolution of Senator Townsend was amended to read as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Conference that the Rules of the Senate be so amended as to provide for a limitation of debate on appropriation and revenue bills by a majority vote, the time for the presentation of such amendment to be determined at a future conference.

Upon agreeing to the same, the vote was taken by ayes and nays:

Those voting in the affirmative were:

Messrs. Bursum, Calder, Capper, Cummins, Curtis, du Pont, Edge, Ernst, Frelinghuysen, Gooding, Hale, Kellogg, Keyes, Lenroot, Lodge, McCumber, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Nelson, Newberry, Nicholson, Norbeck, Oddie, Page, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Townsend, Warren, and Watson. Total 32

Those voting in the negative were:

Mr. Wadsworth. Total 1

So the Resolution was agreed to.

The question coming on the adoption of Senator McCumber's motion, it was adopted unanimously by a viva voce vote, as follows:

Moved, That a Committee of five Senators be appointed by the Chairman to consider and report on the advisability of pre-



senting to the Senate at this time, a rule limiting debate on Revenue and Appropriation Bills and to consider the draft of such an amendment.

The Chairman appointed the following Senators to serve on the Committee on Limitation of Debate Rule:

Messrs. Kellogg  
Jones  
McNary  
Lenroot  
Ball

The Conference then adjourned subject to call.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[June 19, 1922]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

June 19, 1922

The Conference met at ten o'clock in the Marble Room of the Senate, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Brandegee, Bursum, Calder, Cameron, Capper, Colt, Curtis, Dillingham, Edge, Ernst, Fernald, Gooding, Harreld, Jones, Kellogg, Lenroot, Lodge, McCormick, McCumber, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Nelson, Newberry, Nicholson, Norbeck, Oddie, Phipps, Poindexter, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Willis. Total 39.

Senator Curtis offered the following resolution which was later withdrawn:

Resolved: That it is the sense of this Republican Conference that at the conclusion of the consideration of the Tariff Bill, H.R. 7456 in the Senate the Bill, H.R. 10874, the Adjusted Compensation Bill be made the unfinished business of the Senate and that it be continued as such until it is finally disposed of at this session.

On motion of Senator McCumber, that the Tariff Bill, be laid aside and the Adjusted Compensation Bill be taken up, it was decided in the negative, the yeas and nays being as follows:

JUNE 19, 1922

Yeas: Messrs. Capper, Harreld, Jones, Kellogg, Lenroot, McCumber, Nicholson, Sutherland, and Townsend. Total 9.

Nays: Messrs. Brandegee, Bursum, Calder, Cameron, Colt, Curtis, Dillingham, Edge, Ernst, Fernald, Gooding, Lodge, McCormick, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Nelson, Newberry, Norbeck, Oddie, Phipps, Poindexter, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Willis. Total 30.

Senator McCumber offered the following Resolution.

Whereas, At a Conference of the Republican members of the Senate held on the 18th day of April, 1922, it was moved and carried "that it is the sense of the Conference that the Senate proceed without further delay with the consideration of the tariff bill, and that it is the sense of this Conference that the Senate should at this session pass a soldiers compensation bill, and that the Finance Committee be requested to report such a bill within a reasonable time"; and

Whereas, The amended soldiers compensation bill was reported to the Senate by the Finance Committee on the 8th day of June, 1922, and is now on the Senate Calendar for the action of the Senate; and

Whereas, Reports have been made and circulated to the effect that the soldiers compensation bill might be abandoned at this session; and

Whereas, Such reports are without any foundation whatever, and the position taken by the Republican Conference on the 18th day of April, 1922, has been in no respect modified or changed;

Now, Therefore, For the purpose of correcting such reports and to reassure the country and the American soldier that there has been no change of purpose on the part of the Republican members of the Senate; Be It Resolved by this Conference that as soon as the vote is taken on the passage of the Tariff bill the soldiers compensation bill shall be immediately taken up and made the unfinished business and its consideration proceeded with to the exclusion of any other business except when temporarily laid aside for matters of immediate exigency and continued the unfinished business until it is finally disposed of.

And be it further Resolved, That both the said bills shall be pressed to their final disposition as expeditiously as possible and that there shall be no final adjournment of this Congress or any recess over until both these proposed measures are finally disposed of.

Senator Ernst offered the following substitute, which was withdrawn after discussion:

Resolved: That the Senate continue its discussion of the Tariff bill until finally disposed of and that the Soldiers Compensation bill be next taken up and considered until finally disposed of at this session.

The question coming on the adoption of the McCumber resolution, the Chair (Senator Lodge) stated before putting the vote that no Senator was bound to vote for or against the Compensation Act, was free to offer any amendment he saw fit and that all that the pending motion of the Senator from North Dakota determined was the order of business.

The yeas and nays were taken as follows:

Yeas: Messrs. Bursum, Cameron, Capper, Colt, Curtis, Gooding, Harreld, Jones, Kellogg, Lenroot, Lodge, McCormick, McCumber, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Nicholson, Oddie, Poindexter, Shortridge, Spencer, Sterling, Sutherland, Townsend, Warren, Watson, and Willis. Total 27.

Nays: Messrs. Brandegee, Calder, Dillingham, Edge, Ernst, Fernald, Nelson, Newberry, Norbeck, Phipps, and Wadsworth. Total 11.

So the Resolution was adopted.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[November 28, 1922]

#### INFORMAL REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

November 28, 1922

(Held in the Senate Chamber)

At 4:20 p.m. following the adjournment of the Senate, the Chairman, Senator Lodge, called an informal conference of those Republican Senators in and about the Senate Chamber.

After discussion, Senator Watson moved that the Bill, H.R. 13, "To assure persons within the jurisdiction of every state the equal protection of the laws, and to punish the crime of lynching," be pressed.

The roll was ordered called and the vote was as follows:

NOVEMBER 28, 1922

Yeas: Messrs. Ball, Cameron, Capper, Curtis, Edge, Frelinghuysen, Gooding, Harreld, Jones of Washington, Lodge, McKinley, McNary, New, Nicholson, Pepper, Phipps, Rawson, Reed, Shortridge, Smoot, Stanfield, Sutherland, Townsend, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Willis. Total 27.

Nays: None.

So the motion was declared carried.

The conference then adjourned.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[December 2, 1922]

#### INFORMAL REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

December 2, 1922

The conference met in the Marble Room of the Senate at 3 p.m., Senator Lodge, its Chairman presiding, and Senator Spencer acting as Secretary in the absence of Senator Wadsworth.

Following a discussion in regard to the condition of the business of the Senate due to the Democratic filibuster on the Anti Lynching Bill,

Senator Fernald moved and it was adopted by a majority vote,

That the Chairman be authorized to give assurance that the Republicans of the Senate will make no further attempt to take up the Bill, H.R. 13, the Dyer Anti Lynching Bill, so called, during this special session or during the next session of Congress.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] Selden P. Spencer  
Acting Secretary.

## **Sixty-eighth Congress (1923–1925)**

[Editor's Note: Republicans continued to control the government in the Sixty-eighth Congress, although the margin in the Senate had declined slightly to 52 Republicans to 42 Democrats and 2 Farmer-Laborites. In the House Republicans had 225 members to 207 Democrats and 3 independents. Vice President Calvin Coolidge succeeded to the presidency on August 3, 1923, after the death of President Harding.

At the beginning of the Sixty-eighth Congress in December 1923, the Republican Conference faced a crisis when a group of progressive Senate Republicans stayed away from the Conference and then on the Senate floor opposed the reelection of Albert B. Cummins of Iowa as chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce. The progressives objected to giving two powerful positions to the conservative Cummins, who was over seventy years old and also served as president pro tempore. This group of progressives—William Borah (ID), Smith W. Brookhart (IA), Lynn Frazier and Edwin F. Ladd (ND), Robert M. La Follette (WI), and George Norris, (NE)—joined by two Farmer-Labor senators from Minnesota, Magnus Johnson and Henrik Shipstead, voted first for their progressive colleague La Follette, who was the next ranking Republican on the committee. When he failed to garner sufficient votes to win because the regular Republicans refused to vote for him, a month-long deadlock ensued. Finally, after thirty-one ballots, the Senate took the unusual step of electing the ranking committee Democrat, Ellison D. Smith (SC) as chairman. The incident demonstrated clearly to the Republican Conference members that the progressives held the balance of power in the Senate.

The split continued in 1924 when Senator La Follette ran for president on the Progressive party ticket in opposition to the Republican candidacy of Calvin Coolidge. Although Coolidge won easily, La Follette and his running mate, Montana Democratic Senator Burton K. Wheeler, gained 16 percent of the popular vote. After the election, in November 1924, the Conference debated punishing La Follette and Republican Senators Brookhart, Ladd, and Frazier, who had supported his candidacy. The Conference voted not to invite the four to Conference meetings and not to appoint them to Republican committee vacancies.]

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[December 1, 1923]

### **REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE**

December 1, 1923

The Conference was called to order at 10:30 a.m. by the Chairman, Senator Lodge, pursuant to call, in the Marble Room of the Senate.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

DECEMBER 1, 1923

Messrs. Ball, Brandegee, Cameron, Capper, Cummins, Curtis, Dale, Edge, Ernst, Fernald, Fess, Gooding, Greene, Hale, Harreld, Howell, Johnson of California, Jones of Washington, Keyes, Lenroot, Lodge, McCormick, McKinley, McNary, Moses, Oddie, Pepper, Phipps, Reed, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, Weller, Willis.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was nominated for Chairman of the Conference by Senator Watson and elected.

Senator Curtis was nominated for Vice Chairman and Whip by Senator Moses, and elected.

Senator Wadsworth was nominated for Secretary by Senator McNary, and elected.

On motion of Senator Brandegee, the Chairman was authorized to appoint a committee of nine Senators to constitute the Committee on Committees.

On motion of Senator Curtis, the Chairman was authorized to appoint a Committee on Order of Business.

On motion of Senator Lenroot, the Chairman was authorized to appoint a Committee of three Senators to constitute the Committee on Patronage.

Each of these motions were put to the question when made, and severally carried.

Senator McCormick nominated Mr. George A. Sanderson for the office of Secretary of the Senate, and said motion was carried.

Senator Curtis nominated Mr. David S. Barry for the Office of Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, and said motion was carried.

Senator Curtis nominated Mr. Carl A. Loeffler for the Office of Assistant Doorkeeper of the Senate, and said motion was carried.

Senator Jones nominated Rev. J.J. Muir for the Office of Chaplain of the Senate, and said motion was carried.

On motion of Senator Curtis, the Conference adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J. W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

By authority of the Conference of December 1, 1923, Senator Lodge appointed the following Committees:

Committee on Committees  
Senator Brandegee, Chairman

Watson  
Curtis  
Sterling  
McNary  
Moses  
Elkins  
Wadsworth  
McCormick

Committee on Order of Business

Senator Lodge, Ex Officio

Curtis, Ex Officio  
Wadsworth  
Fernald  
McCormick  
Watson  
Ladd

Committee on Patronage

Senator Lenroot, Chairman

Hale  
McKinley

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[December 10, 1923]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

December 10, 1923

The Conference was called to order by its Chairman, Senator Lodge, in the Marble Room of the Senate at 10:00 a.m., pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Ball, Brandegee, Bursum, Cameron, Capper, Colt, Couzens, Curtis, Dale, Elkins, Ernst, Fernald, Fess, Frazier, Gooding, Greene, Hale, Harreld, Keyes, Ladd, Lenroot, Lodge, McCormick, McLean, McNary, Moses, Norbeck, Oddie, Pepper, Reed of Pennsylvania, Smoot, Spencer, Stanfield, Sterling, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, Weller, and Willis.

On motion of Senator Watson, the Chairman was authorized to present the name of Senator Cummins as the Republican candidate for President Pro Tempore in the event a situation arises in the Senate calling for the presentation of a Candidate.

The Report of the Committee on Committees was presented by its Chairman, Senator Brandegee, and was adopted with certain changes in the relative order of senators on the Committee on Finance.

DECEMBER 10, 1923

This report also included the assignments of the Farmer-Labor members as such; these members having requested the majority party to perform that function.

The Conference authorized the presentation of an order in the Senate, increasing the membership of certain committees.

The Report of the Patronage Committee was presented by Senator Lenroot, its Chairman, and adopted with instructions concerning the appointments to be allowed to Senators belonging to the Farmer-Labor Party.

The Committee on Patronage was authorized to add one person to the efficiency roll under certain circumstances.

On motion of Senator Curtis the Sergeant at Arms and the Secretary of the Senate were authorized to dismiss employees for incompetency or other good cause, the appointing senator to fill the vacancy.

The conference then adjourned.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

*(Confidential)*

68th Congress  
1st Session

Senate Committee Print  
SENATE PATRONAGE.

**REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PATRONAGE TO THE  
REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE**

December, 1923.

Your committee has carefully considered the division of patronage to be made among the Republican Senators and the allowance to be made to the Democratic minority.

The committee had before it the Secretary, the Sergeant at Arms, and the Architect of the Capitol and went through all the lists of employees, ascertaining the distribution of the patronage among the Republican Senators of the last Congress and what would be available for distribution among the Republican senators of the present Congress.

The Republican patronage committee, which considered this subject at the beginning of the Sixty-seventh Congress, made certain recommendations as to retaining in the service of the Senate those employees who by efficient experience, capacity, and diligence expedited business to the credit of the



SIXTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS (1923-1925)

Senate. This committee follows the action of its predecessor in recommending the retention of this roll, to be known as the efficiency roll.

Secretary's Office.

Efficiency Roll.

Crockett, John C., reading clerk .....	\$4,500
Pace, Chas. F., financial clerk .....	4,500
Lieuallen, W.G., superintendent document room .....	3,500
Colwell, Eugene, assistant financial clerk .....	3,600
Watkins, Chas. L., minute and journal clerk .....	3,600
Goodwin, E.C., librarian .....	3,000
Wilson, P.M., clerk .....	2,500
Lambert, J.W., first assistant document room .....	2,500
Gilfry, Henry H., clerk .....	2,220

Total .....	29,920
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By this arrangement the following places in the Secretary's office are now filled by Democrats retained:

Financial clerk, C.F. Pace (salary under Democrats, \$3,000) .....	4,500
Minute and journal clerk, Chas.L. Watkins .....	3,600
Clerk, P.M. Wilson .....	2,500
Clerk, H.H. Gilfry .....	2,220
First assistant in document room, J.M. Lambert (salary under Democrats, \$2,250) .....	2,500

Total .....	15,320
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By this arrangement the following places in the Secretary's office are now filled by Republicans who were retained by Democrats:

Reading clerk, J.C. Crockett (salary under Democrats, \$3,600) .....	\$4,500
Assistant financial clerk, Eugene Colwell (salary under Democrats, \$2,750) .....	3,600
Librarian, E.C. Goodwin (salary under Democrats, \$2,500) .....	3,000
Superintendent document room, W.G. Lieuallen (salary under Democrats, \$2,500) .....	3,500

Total .....	14,600
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Minority Employees.

In addition to the positions on the efficiency roll, now held by Democrats, the following is allotted to the minority:

First assistant librarian (Ruskin McArdle) .....	\$2,400
Employee of the Secretary, not charged as patronage: Clerk-accountant-stenographer and typist, disbursing office, Harvey Schmidt .....	\$2,100

Colored Employees.

1 laborer in stationery room .....	\$1,200
1 messenger in library .....	1,000
3 laborers, at \$840 .....	2,520
2 laborers, at \$720 .....	1,440

Total .....	6,160
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DECEMBER 10, 1923

Patronage, or positions available as patronage, Secretary's office.

20 positions in the patronage of Republican Senators .....	\$39,010
3 positions temporarily filled or vacant .....	8,500
23 Total .....	47,510

#### Recapitulation.

In the office of the Secretary of the Senate, under the legislative appropriation act 1923-24, there are 43 positions amounting to \$100,090.

Secretary (elected by Senate) .....	\$6,500
Assistant secretary, H.M. Rose .....	5,500
9 employees retained on account of efficient experience .....	29,920
1 minority employee .....	2,400
1 employee, not charged as patronage .....	2,100
7 colored employees .....	6,160
20 positions in patronage .....	39,010
3 positions temporarily filled or vacant .....	8,500
Total .....	100,090

#### Appropriation Acts, 1923-24.

Legislative:

Office of the Secretary .....	\$89,510
Document room .....	10,080
Deficiency, approved Mar. 4, 1923: Increased salary, Crockett .....	500
Total .....	100,090

#### Offices of the Sergeant at Arms and Architect of the Capitol.

The committee recommends that the following employees be retained on account of long service and efficient experience:

Halsey, E.A., assistant on floor (request of minority) .....	\$3,600
Anderson, R.S., messenger .....	1,440
McGrain, J.J. storekeeper .....	2,500
Eckstein, F.A., postmaster .....	2,500
Biffle, L.L., superintendent folding room .....	1,600
Deards, J.W., foreman folding room .....	1,600
McKeever, Mrs. F.R., assistant in folding room .....	1,400
Sellers, J.F., messenger at card door .....	1,600
Maryman, Sam, elevator conductor .....	1,200
McNeil, Robert J., messenger acting as assistant doorkeeper .....	1,800
Total .....	19,240

By this arrangement the following positions are now filled by Democrats retained:

Floor assistant (salary under Democrats, \$2,000) (Halsey) ..	\$3,600
Messenger (Anderson) .....	1,440
Storekeeper (McGrain) (salary under Democrats, \$2,220) ....	2,500
Superintendent folding room (Biffle) .....	1,600

SIXTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS (1923-1925)

Elevator conductor (Maryman) .....	1,200
Total .....	10,340
By this arrangement the following positions are now filled by Republicans who were retained by Democrats:	
Postmaster (Eckstein) (salary under Democrats, \$1,200) .....	\$2,500
Foreman folding room (Deards) (salary under Democrats, \$1,400) .....	1,600
Messenger (Sellers) (salary under Democrats, \$1,440) .....	1,600
Assistant, folding room (McKeever) (salary under Democrats, \$1,200) .....	1,400
Messenger acting as assistant doorkeeper (McNeil) (salary under Democrats, \$1,440) .....	1,800
Total .....	8,900

Minority Employees.

In addition to the positions on the efficiency roll now held by Democrats the following are allotted to the minority:

Messenger acting as assistant doorkeeper (John R. Perry) ..	\$1,800
Messenger (H.F. Keegan) .....	1,440
Messenger (Philip J. Roche) .....	1,440
6 pages, at \$400 .....	2,400
Total .....	7,080

In addition the following Democrat is on the roll:

Messenger, C.F. Lynch, Senate resolution of 1896, for supposed injuries received .....	\$1,440.00
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The following positions, 57 in number, amounting to \$53,522.50, exempted on account of character of service rendered:

Clerk, official reporters .....	\$2,800.00
Superintendent Press Gallery .....	2,500.00
Assistant superintendent Press Gallery .....	1,600.00
Messenger, Press Gallery .....	1,000.00
Upholsterer .....	1,440.00
Cabinetmaker .....	1,200.00
3 carpenters, at \$1,080 .....	3,240.00
Chief telephone operator .....	1,800.00
4 telephone operators, at \$900 .....	3,600.00
1 riding page (acting as telephone operator) .....	912.50
4 skilled laborers, barbers, at \$1,000 .....	4,000.00
Laborer in charge private passage .....	1,100.00
3 attendants, women's rooms, Capitol, at \$1,000 .....	3,000.00
3 attendants, women's room, Senate Office Building, at \$720 .....	2,160.00
Wagon master .....	1,200.00
2 laborers, janitor's force, at \$800 .....	1,600.00
22 laborers, janitor's force, at \$720 .....	15,840.00
1 laborer in charge of toilet room, old library space .....	660.00
Foreman, garage .....	990.00
4 helpers, garage, at \$720 .....	2,880.00

DECEMBER 10, 1923

Total .....	53,522.50
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#### Old Soldier's Roll

On July 14, 1911, the late Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, introduced the following resolution, which was adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate and the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate are hereby directed to retain in the employ of the Senate those persons who served in the Union Army during the Civil War and whose service in the Senate is necessary and satisfactory and who are not otherwise provided for, and to continue such persons in their positions until cause for their removal shall have been reported to and approved of by the Senate and their removal directed.

This roll is as follows:

Abbott, J.A., messenger, acting as assistant doorkeeper .....	\$1,800.00
Gallager, W.G., messenger .....	1,440.00
Corser, D.S., messenger .....	1,440.00
Dutton, R.R., messenger .....	1,440.00
Crystal, J.A., messenger .....	1,440.00
Bond, George H., messenger .....	1,440.00
Getchell, E.P., messenger (absent) .....	1,440.00
Baer, Nathan, messenger (absent) .....	1,440.00
Hammond, John, messenger .....	1,440.00
Williams, J.R., messenger .....	1,440.00
Coates, M.T., mail carrier .....	1,200.00
Foster, E.W., riding page (absent) .....	912.50
Total .....	16,872.50

#### Employees of the Sergeant at Arms not Charged as Patronage.

Messenger (clerk and stenographer) (Grace Genzberger) .....	\$1,440.00
Janitor (Frank M. Smith) .....	1,200.00
Stenographer (J. Mark Trice) .....	1,200.00
Total .....	3,840.00

#### Personal Appointees of the Sergeant at Arms.

2 private police, at \$1,050 .....	\$2,100.00
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#### Patronage, or Positions Available as Patronage.

117 places under the Sergeant at Arms and Architect of the Capitol in the patronage of Republican Senators .....	\$130,682.50
32 additional places under the Sergeant at Arms and Architect of the Capitol now available for patronage .....	33,840.00
Total .....	164,522.50

#### Recapitulation.

In the offices of the Sergeant at Arms and Architect of the Capitol there are 246 positions, as follows:

Sergeant at Arms, elected .....	\$6,500.00
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SIXTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS (1923–1925)

Assistant doorkeeper and acting assistant doorkeeper, elected, at \$4,200 .....	8,400.00
10 employees retained on account of long service and effi- cient experience .....	19,240.00
3 messengers allotted to minority, same having been al- lowed by Democrats to Republicans .....	4,680.00
6 pages allotted to minority, at \$400 each .....	2,400.00
1 messenger (Lynch), Senate resolution .....	1,440.00
57 employees exempted on account of character of service rendered .....	53,522.50
12 employees on old soldier's roll .....	16,872.50
3 employees of the Sergeant at Arms, not charged as pa- tronage .....	3,840.00
2 personal appointees of the Sergeant at Arms .....	2,100.00
117 positions in patronage, including 10 pages .....	130,682.50
32 positions available for patronage .....	33,840.00
Total .....	283,517.50

Appropriation Acts, 1923–24.

Legislative:	
Office of the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper .....	\$157,580.00
Police force, Senate Office Building .....	18,000.00
Post office .....	17,837.50
Folding room .....	17,080.00
Under Architect of the Capitol—	
10 elevator conductors, Capitol .....	12,000.00
14 elevator conductors, Senate Office Building .....	16,800.00
8 employees, Senate Office Building, maintenance roll .....	9,840.00
Contingent expenses—	
Maintaining motors, etc. (\$10,000); salaries, fore- man and helpers .....	3,870.00
Superintendent folding room, payable out of mis- cellaneous items fund, authority Senate resolu- tion .....	1,600.00
Capitol police (\$42,450), captain, \$1,800; 1 lieutenant, \$1,200; special officer, \$1,200; 17 privates at \$1,050 .....	22,050.00
Protection of the Capitol (\$15,000), police sergeant, \$1,100; 4 privates, \$1,050 .....	5,300.00
Deficiency approved February 20, 1923:	
Increased salaries, 2 officers and 3 employees, Senate floor .....	3,600.00
	285,557.50
Deduct appropriation for 16 pages .....	8,440.00
	277,117.50
Add 16 pages at \$400 (estimated salary for patronage)	6,400.00
Total .....	283,517.50

Patronage, or Positions Available as Patronage.

Secretary's office .....	47,510.00
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Sergeant at Arms and Architect .....	164,522.50
Total .....	212,032.50
Patronage allotted to two Farmer-Labor Senators .....	2,880.00
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	209,152.50

Divided among 51 Republican Senators, \$4,100.

Assuming that the recommendations of the committee are adopted, each Republican Senator will be entitled to recommend appointments to offices or positions the salaries of which will amount in the aggregate to \$4,100 a year. The committee recommends that the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, the Secretary of the Senate, and the Architect of the Capitol, respectively, after consultation with the committee on patronage, readjust the distribution of those offices to which appointments are made on recommendation, so that each Republican Senator shall receive as nearly as practicable the number of appointments due him under this plan.

Positions Available as Patronage.

Under the Secretary:

Principal clerk .....	\$3,000
Enrolling clerk .....	3,000
Clerk .....	2,500
	<hr/>
Total .....	\$8,500

Under the Sergeant at Arms:

6 messengers, at \$1,440 .....	8,640
Special officer .....	1,200
8 private police, at \$1,050 .....	8,400
3 folders, at \$1,000 .....	3,000
1 folder .....	840
4 laborers, post office, at \$720 .....	2,880
4 laborers, folding room, at \$720 .....	2,880
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Total ..... 27,840

Under Architect of the Capitol: 5 elevator conductors, at \$1,200 .....

6,000

Grand total ..... 42,340

Your committee recommends that before the enactment of the legislative appropriation act for the fiscal year 1924-25 the salary list should be revised in order to make it more in conformity with the duties performed in individual cases. It is also deemed essential that provision be made for retiring on a pension those employees on the soldiers' roll who are already incapacitated and those who will become so in the very near future on account of old age and physical infirmities, so that their places may be filled in order to provide an efficient staff for the conduct of the business of the Senate. The number of employees so incapacitated is now so large that the number of efficient doorkeepers and other classes of employees is below that absolutely required.

Details.

Your committee has instructed the Secretary, the Sergeant at Arms, and the Architect of the Capitol hereafter to adhere strictly to the rule contained in the report of the committee on committees adopted by the Republican caucus June 13, 1911, prohibiting the detail of any of their employees for the committee service of individual Senators.

Irvine L. Lenroot, Chairman  
Frederick Hale  
William B. McKinley

\* \* \*

Adopted by the Conference of December 10, 1923.

*Resolved*, That the following shall constitute the standing committees of the Senate of the Sixty-eighth Congress.

**On Agriculture and Forestry (17).**

Messrs. NORRIS, *Chairman*, MCNARY, CAPPER, KEYES, GOODING, LADD, NORBECK, HARRELD, MCKINLEY; *JOHNSON, Minn.*<sup>1</sup>

**On Appropriations (18).**

Messrs. WARREN, *Chairman*, SMOOT, JONES, Wash., CURTIS, HALE, SPENCER, PHIPPS, MCKINLEY, LENROOT, KEYES.

**To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate (5)**

Messrs. KEYES, *Chairman*, FESS, GREENE.

**On Banking and Currency (15).**

Messrs. MCLEAN, *Chairman*, WELLER, NORBECK, SHORTRIDGE, EDGE, PEPPER, PHIPPS, GREENE.

**On Civil Service (11).**

Messrs. STANFIELD, *Chairman*, STERLING, BALL, COUZENS, DALE, HOWELL.

**On Claims (14).**

Messrs. CAPPER, *Chairman*, SPENCER, GOODING, HARRELD, STANFIELD, ELKINS, BROOKHART; *JOHNSON, Minn.*

**On Commerce (16).**

Messrs. JONES, Wash., *Chairman*, FERNALD, MCNARY, EDGE, WILLIS, WELLER, BALL, LADD, COUZENS.

**On the District of Columbia (13).**

Messrs. BALL, *Chairman*, JONES, Wash., CAPPER, EDGE, ELKINS, GOODING, WELLER.

**On Education and Labor (11).**

Messrs. BORAH, *Chairman*, STERLING, PHIPPS, BROOKHART, COUZENS, DALE.

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<sup>1</sup> [The names in italics at the end of some committees are Farmer-Labor party members.]

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**On Enrolled Bills (3).**

Messrs. WATSON, *Chairman*, BALL.

**On Expenditures in the Executive Departments (7).**

Messrs. MCCORMICK, *Chairman*, WILLIS, MOSES, WADSWORTH.

**On Finance (17).**

Messrs. SMOOT, *Chairman*, LA FOLLETTE, MCLEAN, CURTIS, WATSON, REED, Pa., ELKINS, MCCORMICK, ERNST, STANFIELD.

**On Foreign Relations (18).**

Messrs. LODGE, *Chairman*, BORAH, BRANDEGEE, JOHNSON, Calif., MOSES, MCCORMICK, WADSWORTH, LENROOT, WILLIS, PEPPER; *SHIPSTEAD*.

**On Immigration (11).**

Messrs. COLT, *Chairman*, STERLING, JOHNSON, Calif., KEYES, WILLIS, REED, Pa.

**On Indian Affairs (11).**

Messrs. HARRELD, *Chairman*, CURTIS, LA FOLLETTE, MCNARY, CAMERON, FRAZIER.

**On Interoceanic Canals (12).**

Messrs. EDGE, *Chairman*, BORAH, BROOKHART, COUZENS, GREENE, HOWELL; *JOHNSON, Minn.*

**On Interstate Commerce (17).**

Messrs. CUMMINS, *Chairman*, LA FOLLETTE, MCLEAN, WATSON, FERNALD, ELKINS, GOODING, COUZENS, FESS, HOWELL.

**On Irrigation and Reclamation (15).**

Messrs. MCNARY, *Chairman*, JONES, Wash., PHIPPS, GOODING, CAMERON, ODDIE, SHORTRIDGE, BURSUM.

**On the Judiciary (16).**

Messrs. BRANDEGEE, *Chairman*, BORAH, CUMMINS, COLT, STERLING, NORRIS, ERNST, SHORTRIDGE, SPENCER.

**On the Library (7).**

Messrs. PEPPER, *Chairman*, BRANDEGEE, FESS, HOWELL.

**On Manufactures ([13—crossed out] 12 [handwritten insert]).**

Messrs. LA FOLLETTE, *Chairman*, MCNARY, MCKINLEY, WELLER, REED, Pa., BROOKHART, [WADSWORTH—crossed out]; *JOHNSON, Minn.*

**On Military Affairs (16).**

Messrs. WADSWORTH, Jr., *Chairman*, WARREN, CAPPER, CAMERON, BURSUM, REED, Pa., BROOKHART, JOHNSON, Calif., GREENE.

**On Mines and Mining (9).**



Messrs. ODDIE, *Chairman*, ELKINS, PHIPPS, CAMERON, FRAZIER.

**On Naval Affairs** (16).

Messrs. HALE, *Chairman*, LODGE, BALL, PEPPER, ODDIE, COLT, NORBECK, SHORTRIDGE, WELLER.

**On Patents** (8).

Messrs. ERNST, *Chairman*, NORRIS, BRANDEGEE, COLT; *SHIPSTEAD*.

**On Pensions** (12).

Messrs. BURSUM, *Chairman*, SMOOT, FERNALD, NORBECK, FRAZIER, DALE; *SHIPSTEAD*.

**On Post Offices and Post Roads** (16).

Messrs. STERLING, *Chairman*, MOSES, EDGE, PHIPPS, HARRELD, ODDIE, STANFIELD, FRAZIER, DALE.

**On Printing** (8).

Messrs. MOSES, *Chairman*, CAPPER, PEPPER, FESS; *SHIPSTEAD*.

**On Privileges and Elections** (13).

Messrs. SPENCER, *Chairman*, WADSWORTH, Jr., WATSON, ERNST, SHORTRIDGE, BURSUM, GREENE.

**On Public Buildings and Grounds** ([15—crossed out] 14 [handwritten insert]).

Messrs. FERNALD, *Chairman*, WARREN, LENROOT, KEYES, MCKINLEY, HARRELD, [JONES, Wash.—crossed out], FESS; *SHIPSTEAD*.

**On Public Lands and Surveys** (13).

Messrs. LENROOT, *Chairman*, SMOOT, LADD, STANFIELD, NORBECK, BURSUM, CAMERON.

**On Rules** (12).

Messrs. CURTIS, *Chairman*, HALE, MOSES, MCCORMICK, WATSON, JOHNSON, Calif., DALE.

**On Territories and Insular Possessions** (13)

Messrs. JOHNSON, Calif., *Chairman*, MCLEAN, CUMMINS, MCCORMICK, WILLIS, LADD, REED, Pa.

**Select Committee. On Revision of the Laws** (3).

Messrs. ERNST, *Chairman*, PEPPER.

DECEMBER 10, 1923

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[April 14, 1924]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

April 14, 1924

The Conference met in the Marble Room of the Senate at 10:30 a.m. pursuant to call.

The Chairman, Senator Lodge, presided.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Ball, Brandegee, Bursum, Cameron, Capper, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dale, Edge, Elkins, Ernst, Fernald, Fess, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Howell, Johnson of California, Jones of Washington, Keyes, Lodge, McKinley, McNary, Moses, Norbeck, Oddie, Pepper, Phipps, Reed of Pennsylvania, Shortridge, Smoot, Stanfield, Sterling, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, Weller, and Willis.

The question of Immigration (being the subject pending before the Senate) was discussed, after which the Conference adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[May 5, 1924]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

May 5, 1924

The Conference was called to order at 10:30 a.m. by its Chairman, Senator Lodge.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Ball, Borah, Brandegee, Bursum, Cameron, Capper, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dale, Edge, Ernst, Fernald, Fess, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Howell, Jones of Washington, Keyes, Lodge, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Moses, Norbeck, Oddie, Pepper, Phipps, Reed of Pennsylvania, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Willis.

Discussion was had upon holding evening sessions of the Senate in order to expedite business including the Revenue Bill, Farm legislation and the Appropriation Bills.

Mr. Edge moved that it be the sense of the Conference that the Senate hold night sessions beginning Tuesday, and the said motion was carried.

Mr. Sterling moved that it be the sense of the Conference that upon the conclusion of the Revenue and necessary supply bills, the Senate proceed before final adjournment, to the consideration of Farm Relief legislation,

And said motion was carried.

Mr. Phipps addressed the Conference on the status of the so-called surplus carried in the Treasury to the credit, supposedly, of the District of Columbia, and urged the passage of legislation declaring the surplus, about four and one half millions of dollars, to be a free balance available for use in meeting the expenses of the District of Columbia.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[May 6, 1924]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

May 6, 1924

The Conference was called to order at eleven o'clock a.m. by the Chairman, Senator Lodge.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

MAY 6, 1924

Messrs. Ball, Brandegee, Bursum, Cameron, Capper, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Dale, Edge, Ernst, Fernald, Fess, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Howell, Jones of Washington, Keyes, Lodge, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Oddie, Pepper, Phipps, Reed of Pennsylvania, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Stanfield, Sterling, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Willis.

The situation on the Revenue Bill came up for consideration and discussion.

Senator Spencer moved that it be the sense of the Conference that Senator Smoot be authorized to offer an amendment to the surtax rates containing a 32% maximum.

The roll was called on this question and the result was announced, yeas 29, nays 3, present and not voting 3, as follows:

Yeas: Messrs. Ball, Brandegee, Bursum, Cameron, Colt, Curtis, Edge, Fernald, Fess, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Keyes, Lodge, McKinley, McLean, Oddie, Pepper, Phipps, Reed of Pennsylvania, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Stanfield, Sterling, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Willis.

Nays: Messrs. Capper, Cummins, McNary.

Not voting: Messrs. Ernst, Howell, Jones of Washington.

Senator Gooding moved that it be the sense of the Conference that in the event a 32% maximum surtax rate is defeated, the Conference support the House rates on income tax, being a 37-1/2% maximum. The question was put to a viva voce vote and carried.

The Conference on motion, adjourned to meet again at ten o'clock the following day, Wednesday, May 7, 1924.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[May 7, 1924]

## REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

May 7, 1924

The Conference was called to order at ten o'clock by the Vice Chairman, Senator Curtis, the Chairman, Senator Lodge, being absent.

The roll was called and the following Senators answered to their names:

[Messrs.] Ball, Brandegee, Bursum, Cameron, Capper, Colt, Cummins, Curtis, Edge, Ernst, Fernald, Fess, Frazier, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Howell, Jones of Washington, Keyes, Ladd, McKinley, McLean, Moses, Norbeck, Oddie, Pepper, Phipps, Reed of Pennsylvania, Shortridge, Smoot, Sterling, Wadsworth, Watson, and Willis.

Senators Lodge, Dale, and Warren entered later.

Discussion was had on the Revenue Bill and legislation for the relief of the farmers, but no action was taken.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[November 28, 1924]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

November 28, 1924

The Conference was called to order by Senator Curtis, the Vice Chairman and Whip, at eleven o'clock a.m. in the Marble Room of the Senate, pursuant to call. (Senator Lodge, the Chairman having died during the recess of Congress).

The roll was called and the following Senators answered to their names:

Messrs. Ball, Bursum, Butler, Capper, Couzens, Cummins, Curtis, Dale, Edge, Elkins, Ernst, Fess, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Howell, Keyes, Ladd, McCormick, McKinley, McNary, Metcalf, Moses, Norbeck, Oddie, Pepper, Reed of Pennsylvania, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Weller.

Total 34, a quorum being present.

Senator Warren, as senior Senator, was called to the Chair.

Senator Warren, in assuming the chair, stated that he was not a candidate for the Chairmanship of the Conference and requested that he be not voted for on the roll call.

Senator Ernst offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED; That it is the sense of this Conference that Senator Robert M. La Follette and those Senators who, elected to the Senate of the United States as Republicans, supported Senator La Follette in his campaign for President of the United States, and with Senator La Follette opposed the Republican nominees for President and Vice President, have forfeited all

NOVEMBER 28, 1924

claim or right to recognition as Republican members of the Senate,

AND FURTHER: That they have forfeited all priority or other rights as Republican members of the Senate Committees of which they are now members and all claim or right to recognition as Republicans in future assignments to any Committees of the Senate.

Senator Reed of Pennsylvania raised the point of order that the regular order should proceed, being the Election of a Chairman.

The Point of Order was sustained.

Senator Capper nominated Senator Curtis of Kansas for Chairman of the Conference, and Senator Elkins seconded the nomination.

Senator Watson moved that Senator Curtis' election be made by acclamation, and said action was carried unanimously.

Senator Curtis was thereupon elected and assumed the Chair.

Senator Reed moved that the election of Vice Chairman and Whip be postponed to a later Conference.

Senator Ernst moved to amend Mr. Reed's motion by proceeding to the election of a Vice Chairman.

On this question the roll was called and the result was as follows:

Those voting yea:

Messrs. Bursum, Butler, Couzens, Cummins, Dale, Edge, Elkins, Ernst, Fess, Gooding, Harreld, Howell, Keyes, McNary, Metcalf, Moses, Oddie, Shortridge, Spencer, Watson, and Weller.

Total yeas 21

Those voting nay:

Messrs. Ball, Capper, Hale, Ladd, McCormick, McKinley, Pepper, Reed, Smoot, Wadsworth, and Warren.

Total nays 11

So Senator Ernst's amendment was carried.

Senator Ernst nominated Senator Watson as Vice Chairman, and Senator Gooding seconded the nomination.

Thereupon, there being no further nominations, Senator Watson was elected unanimously,

Senator Reed offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED: That it is the sense of the Conference that Senators La Follette, Ladd, Brookhart and Frazier be not invited to future Republican Conferences, and be not named to fill any Republican vacancies on Senate Committees.

Senator Ernst offered the following amendment as a substitute:

RESOLVED: That it is the sense of this Conference that Senator Robert M. La Follette and those Senators who, elected to the Senate of the United States as Republicans, supported Senator La Follette in his campaign for President of the United States, and with Senator La Follette opposed the Republican nominees for President and Vice President, have forfeited all claim or right to recognition as Republican members of the Senate,

AND FURTHER: That they have forfeited all priority or other rights as Republican members of the Senate Committees of which they are now members and all claim or right to recognition as Republicans in future assignments to any Committees of the Senate.

Senator Howell moved to lay the resolution on the table, and said action was defeated.

The question recurring on Senator Ernst's amendment, was put and defeated.

Senator Spencer offered an amendment authorizing the Chairman to appoint a Committee to report recommendations on the subject, and the question being put on this amendment, it was defeated.

Senator Harreld moved to amend the resolution by striking out the names of Brookhart, Ladd, and Frazier, and the question being put on this amendment, it was defeated.

Senator Cummins requested that the two propositions in the Reed Resolution be divided, which was done.

A vote was thereupon taken on the first portion of the resolution and carried.

A vote was then taken on the second part of the resolution and carried.

And Mr. Reed's resolution, as proposed, was adopted.

The Chairman was then authorized to appoint a Senator as Whip.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

NOVEMBER 28, 1924

Note: Pursuant to authority given by the Conference of November 28, 1924, the Chairman, Senator Curtis, appointed Senator W.L. Jones of Washington to be Republican Whip.

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[December 3, 1924]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

December 3, 1924

The Conference was called to order by Senator Curtis, the Chairman, at 11 o'clock a.m. in the Marble Room of the Senate.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Butler, Cummins, Curtis, Edge, Ernst, Fernald, Fess, Gooding, Greene, Hale, Howell, Jones of Washington, Keyes, McKinley, McNary, Means, Metcalf, Moses, Oddie, Pepper, Phipps, Reed of Pennsylvania, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Stanfield, Sterling, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Willis.

Total 31, a quorum being present.

By unanimous consent, the Chairman was authorized to reorganize the Committee on Order of Business (so called Steering Committee).

It was also agreed by unanimous consent, that the enrollment clerk of the Senate be taken from the patronage list of the Senate, and that the Secretary of the Senate be requested to appoint an enrollment clerk and reorganize the Office of the Secretary.

Senator Watson, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, submitted the following report, which was adopted by the Conference.

### *ORDERED*

That the following Senators are hereby relieved from further service upon the following Committees:

The Junior Senator from Idaho (Mr. Gooding) from the Committee on Claims.

The Junior Senator from Vermont (Mr. Dale) from the Committee on Education and Labor.

The Senior Senator from Connecticut (Mr. McLean) from the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

The Senior Senator from Colorado (Mr. Phipps) from the Committee on Mines and Mining.

The Senior Senator from New Jersey (Mr. Edge) from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

The Senior Senator from California (Mr. Johnson) from the Committee on Military Affairs.



That the following Senators are hereby assigned to membership on the following Committees:

The Junior Senator from Colorado (Mr. Means) to the Committee on Claims; to the Committee on Immigration; to the Committee on the Judiciary; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

The Junior Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. Metcalf) to the Committee on Education and Labor; to the Committee on the Library; to the Committee on Naval Affairs; to the Committee on Patents.

The Senior Senator from Connecticut (Mr. McLean) to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The Senior Senator from New Jersey (Mr. Edge) to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The Junior Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Butler) to the Committee on the Judiciary; to the Committee on Naval Affairs; to the Committee on Patents.

That the Senior Senator from Idaho (Mr. Borah) is hereby relieved from further service as Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor.

That the Senior Senator from California (Mr. Johnson) is hereby relieved from further service as Chairman of the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions.

That the following Senators are hereby appointed to be Chairmen of the following Committees:

The Senior Senator from Colorado (Mr. Phipps) to be Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor.

The Senior Senator from Idaho (Mr. Borah) to be Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The Senior Senator from California (Mr. Johnson) to be Chairman of the Committee on Immigration.

The Senior Senator from Iowa (Mr. Cummins) to be Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary.

The Senior Senator from Ohio (Mr. Willis) to be Chairman of the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.

Secretary.

Note: Pursuant to authority granted by the Conference of December 3, 1924, the Chairman, Senator Curtis, named the following Committee on Order of Business: Senator Wadsworth, Chairman, Senators McKinley, Pepper, Willis, Gooding, Norbeck, Butler.

DECEMBER 3, 1924

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James W. Wadsworth, Jr., Chairman  
R.E. Devendorf, Clerk.

United States Senate,  
Committee on Military Affairs.

December 11, 1924

MY DEAR SENATOR:

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held on Monday, December 8th, made a careful examination of the bills now pending upon the Senate Calendar, and decided to suggest the wisdom of taking up and disposing of the following measures:

Calendar No.	Bill No.	Title
499	S. 2570	To provide for the establishment, operation, and maintenance of foreign-trade zones in ports of entry of the United States, to expedite and encourage foreign commerce, and for other purposes.
556	S. 3173	To provide for the construction of a memorial bridge across the Potomac River from a point near the Lincoln Memorial in the City of Washington to an appropriate point in the State of Virginia, and for other purposes.
694	S. 3316	To amend an Act entitled "An Act to provide for the consolidation of national banking associations," approved November 7, 1918; to amend Sec. 5136 as amended, Sec. 5137, Sec. 5138 as amended, Sec. 5142, Sec. 5150, Sec. 5155, Sec. 5190, Sec. 5200 as amended, Sec. 5202 as amended, Sec. 5208 as amended, Sec. 5211 as amended, of the Revised Statutes of the United States, etc.
702	S.J.Res.109	Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the adoption of amendments thereto.
810	H.R. 2869	For the establishment of a United States Industrial Reformatory.
383	S. 2060	To amend the Judicial Code, further to define the jurisdiction of the Circuit Courts of Appeals and of the Supreme Court, and for other purposes.
668	S. 2061	To give the Supreme Court of the United States authority to make and publish rules in common-law actions.

SIXTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS (1923–1925)

Calendar No.	Bill No.	Title
569	S. 1005	To make valid and enforceable written provisions or agreements for arbitration of disputes arising out of contracts, maritime transactions, or commerce among the States or Territories or with foreign nations.
422	S. 56	For the allowance of certain claims for indemnity for spoliations by the French prior to July 31, 1801, as reported by the Court of Claims.
479	S. 3011	To amend the Act entitled “An Act for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, and for other purposes,” approved May 22, 1920, and Acts in amendment thereof.
787	S. 3445	To provide for the reorganization and more effective coordination of the executive branch of the Government, to create the Department of Education and Relief, and for other purposes.

The Committee suggests that these bills be taken up in the order in which they are set forth above. You will note that priority is suggested for those measures in connection with which there will be the least opposition or debate.

I might add that the absence from this list of measures for agricultural relief is due to the belief of the Committee that the consideration of such measures should be postponed until the Agricultural Commission appointed by President Coolidge has made its report. The Committee has also omitted, and will continue to omit in its suggestions in the future, all of the general appropriation bills, it being the general custom to give such bills the right of way in a short session.

The Committee has no intention of attempting to dictate a program. It makes these suggestions in the hope that, if approved by the Republican Senators, they will be effective in securing the passage of desirable legislation and in expediting, generally, the work of the Senate. The situation in the Senate will, of course, change from time to time during the remainder of the session, and the Committee expects to keep abreast with these changes and to make such further suggestions as may seem desirable.

Sincerely yours,  
 [signed] J. W. Wadworth, Jr.  
 Chairman, Committee on Order of  
 Business.

DECEMBER 3, 1924

\* \* \*

James W. Wadsworth, Jr., Chairman.  
R.E. Devendorf, Clerk.

United States Senate,  
Committee on Military Affairs

February 4, 1925.

MY DEAR SENATOR:

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held on Monday, February 2nd, made a careful examination of the bills now pending on the Senate Calendar, and decided to suggest the wisdom of taking up and disposing of the following measures:

In Executive Session

The German Commercial Treaty, as soon as possible after report by the Committee on Foreign Relations.

In Legislative Session

Calendar No.	Bill No.	Title
980	S. 3772	A bill to authorize the reduction of, and to fix the rate of interest to be paid by carriers upon notes or other evidences of indebtedness heretofore issued under the provisions of Sec. 207 of the Transportation Act, 1920, or Sec. 210 of said Act as amended by an act approved June 5, 1920.
479	S. 3011	A bill to amend the act entitled "An act for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, and for other purposes," approved May 22, 1920, and acts in amendment thereof.
930	H.R. 9634	An act to provide for the creation, organization, administration, and maintenance of a Naval Reserve and a Marine Corps Reserve.
(If and when reported from the Committee on Banking and Currency)	H.R. 8887	To amend an act entitled "An Act to provide for the consolidation of national banking associations," approved November 7, 1918, etc.

SIXTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS (1923–1925)

Calendar No.	Bill No.	Title
653	S. 2913	A bill for the establishment of migratory-bird refuges to furnish in perpetuity homes for migratory birds, the establishment of public shooting grounds to preserve the American system of free shooting, the provision of funds for establishing such areas and the furnishing of adequate protection for migratory birds, and for other purposes.
787	S. 3445	A bill to provide for the reorganization and more effective coordination of the executive branch of the Government, to create the Department of Education and Relief, and for other purposes.
422	S. 56	A bill for the allowance of certain claims for indemnity for spoliation by the French prior to July 31, 1801, as reported by the Court of Claims.
702	S.J.Res.109	Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the adoption of amendments thereto.

These suggestions are the result of an examination of the Senate Calendar and also of the general legislative situation in the Senate as it now appears. The Committee suggests that the bills noted above be taken up in the order in which they are listed. The Committee also believes that measures for agricultural relief emanating from the Commission appointed by the President should be added to this preferred list if and when they are reported by the standing committees of the Senate to which they have been referred.

The Committee has omitted mention of the Isle of Pines Treaty for the reason that it already occupies a position of preference in open executive session of the Senate. It has also omitted all mention of appropriation bills with the understanding that these measures for the support of the Government have the right of way.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Chairman, Committee on Order of  
Business.

\* \* \*

February 12, 1925.

DECEMBER 3, 1924

Calendar No.	Bill No.	Title
479	S. 3011	A bill to amend the act entitled "An act for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, and for other purposes," approved May 22, 1920, and acts in amendment thereof.
930	H.R. 9634	An act to provide for the creation, organization, administration, and maintenance of a Naval Reserve and a Marine Corps Reserve.
1096	H.R. 8887	To amend an act entitled "An Act to provide for the consolidation of national banking associations," approved November 7, 1918, etc.
653	S. 2913	A bill for the establishment of migratory-bird refuges to furnish in perpetuity homes for migratory birds, etc.
767	S. 3445	A bill to provide for the reorganization and more effective coordination of the executive branch of the Government, to create the Department of Education and Relief, and for other purposes.
422	S. 56	A bill for the allowance of certain claims for indemnity for spoliations by the French prior to July 31, 1801, as reported by the Court of Claims.
702	S.J.Res.109	Joint Resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the adoption of amendments thereto.
1114	H.R.6645	An act to amend the national prohibition act, to provide for a bureau of prohibition in the Treasury Department, and to define its powers and duties.
548	H.R. 6896	An act to amend an act entitled "The classification act of 1923," approved March 4, 1923.

Legislative program suggested by Committee on Order of Business.

*Measures to have the right of way.*

Conference report—Interior Department Appropriation Bill.  
 Conference report—Independent Offices Appropriation Bill.  
 Emergency Appropriation bills—Deficiency.  
 Conference report—Postal Salary-Rate Bill.

SIXTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS (1923–1925)

Calendar No.	Other measures to receive preference.	
	Bill No.	Title
1096	H.R. 8887	To amend an act entitled “An Act to provide for the consolidation of national banking associations,” approved November 7, 1918, etc.
991	S. 3314	A bill granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil and Mexican wars and to certain widows, former widows, minor children, and helpless children of said soldiers and sailors, and to widows of the War of 1912, and to certain Indian war veterans and widows, and to certain Spanish war soldiers and widows, and certain maimed soldiers, and for other purposes.
1274	S. 4300	A bill to create a Federal cooperative marketing board, to provide for the registration of cooperative marketing, clearing house, and terminal market organizations, etc.
1215	H.R.11472	An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.
653	S. 2913	A bill for the establishment of migratory-bird refuges to furnish in perpetuity homes for migratory birds, etc.
114	H.R. 6645	An act to amend the national prohibition act, to provide for a bureau of prohibition in the Treasury Department, and to define its powers and duties.
422	S. 56	A bill for the allowance of certain claims for indemnity for spoliations by the French prior to July 31, 1801, as reported by Court of Claims.
1020	S. 4151	A bill to provide for aided and directed settlement on Government land in irrigation projects.
1137	H.R. 2688	An act providing for sundry matters affecting the naval service, and for other purposes.
1156	H.R.11791	An act to provide for the construction of certain public buildings, and for other purposes.

JANUARY 22, 1925

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[January 22, 1925]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 22, 1925

The Conference was called to order by Senator Curtis, the Chairman, at 11 o'clock a.m., in the Marble Room of the Senate.

The roll was called and the following Senators answered to their names:

Messrs. Ball, Bingham, Bursum, Butler, Cameron, Capper, Cummins, Curtis, Dale, Ernst, Fess, Greene, Hale, Harreld, Jones of Washington, Keyes, McCormick, McKinley, McNary, Means, Metcalf, Moses, Oddie, Pepper, Phipps, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Wadsworth, Warren, and Watson.

Total 32, a quorum being present.

There was a formal discussion of Senate bill S. 3674, The Postal Salary and Rate Bill, by Senators Moses, Sterling, and others, in explanation and criticism of the same.

Senator Smoot moved that it be the sense of the Conference that the retroactive feature of the postal salary legislation be confined to January 1, 1925, and said motion was carried.

Senator McCormick moved that it be the sense of the Conference that the amendment introduced by Senator Butler to Senate bill 3674 be adopted, and said motion was defeated.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[February 10, 1925]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

February 10, 1925

The Conference was called to order by Senator Curtis, the Chairman, at eleven o'clock a.m., pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:



Messrs. Ball, Bingham, Bursum, Cameron, Capper, Cummins, Curtis, Ernst, Fernald, Fess, Gooding, Greene, Hale, Harreld, Howell, Jones of Washington, Keyes, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Moses, Norbeck, Oddie, Pepper, Phipps, Reed of Pennsylvania, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Stanfield, Sterling, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, and Willis.

Total 35.

Upon the suggestion of Senator Curtis and by the request of the Secretary of the Senate, the position of the Index Clerk, at present held by James M. Cannon, was excluded from patronage.

Senator Moses moved that the Republican members of the Foreign Relations Committee confer and select a Senator to take charge of the Isle of Pines Treaty and consult with the Chairman of that Committee, and said motion was agreed to.

The legislative program and recommendations of the Committee on Order of Business were discussed but no action taken thereon.

Senator Shortridge moved that it is the sense of the Conference that commencing Monday, February 16, 1925, the Senate hold night sessions, and the said motion was agreed to.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[February 14, 1925]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

February 14, 1925

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Curtis, at eleven o'clock a.m., in the Marble Room of the Senate, pursuant to notice.

In the absence of the Secretary (Senator Wadsworth) the Chair designated Senator Edge to act in his place.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Ball, Bingham, Bursum, Butler, Couzens, Curtis, Dale, Edge, Fess, Gooding, Greene, Hale, Harreld, Howell, Jones of Washington, Keyes, Lenroot, McKinley, McLean, McNary, Metcalf, Moses, Norbeck, Oddie, Pepper, Phipps, Reed of Pennsylvania, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Stanfield, Sterling, Watson, and Willis.

Total 34, a quorum being present.

FEBRUARY 14, 1925

Senator Smoot explained his revised bill (S. 3445, calendar No. 787) to provide for the reorganization and more effective coordination of the executive branch of the Government, to create the Department of Education and Relief, and for other purposes.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Walter E. Edge  
Secretary pro tempore.

## Sixty-ninth Congress (1925–1927)

[Editor's Note: After the 1924 election, the Republicans still controlled the presidency and both houses of Congress, holding 54 Senate seats to 41 Democrats and one Farmer-Labor member. The House had 247 Republicans to 183 Democrats and 5 independents.

The intraparty conflict experienced in the previous Congress continued throughout the Sixty-ninth Congress, as Republicans enforced the disciplinary action against the four senators who had supported the Progressive party's presidential ticket in 1924, treating the renegades as independents for purposes of committee assignments. (Both Robert La Follette and Edwin Ladd died in June 1925; in the Seventieth Congress the two surviving members, Lynn Frazier and Smith Brookhart, were restored to their Republican seniority, and Frazier even served as a committee chairman.) Although it disciplined these members for turning their backs on the Republican party in the 1924 election, the Conference did adopt a resolution reiterating its position that actions taken by the Conference were not binding on its members.

For the first time since the post of whip was created in 1915, the Conference did not elect anyone to the office but in late November 1924 authorized the Conference chairman to appoint a whip. The Conference continued this arrangement of having an appointed whip until 1935, when the party's numbers in the Senate were so low that the position was dispensed with as unnecessary.]

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[March 5, 1925]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

March 5, 1925

The Conference was called to order at 11 o'clock a.m., in the Marble Room of the Senate, by Senator Warren.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bingham, Butler, Cameron, Capper, Couzens, Cummins, Curtis, Deneen, du Pont, Edge, Ernst, Fernald, Fess, Gillett, Goff, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Howell, Johnson, Jones of Washington, Keyes, McKinley, McLean, McMaster, McNary, Means, Metcalf, Moses, Oddie, Pepper, Phipps, Pine, Reed of Pennsylvania, Sackett, Schall, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Stanfield, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, Weller, and Willis.

Total 45, a quorum being present.

MARCH 5, 1925

Senator Watson nominated Senator Curtis for Chairman of the Republican Conference and Floor Leader, and he was unanimously chosen.

Senator Smoot nominated Senator Watson for Vice Chairman of the Republican Conference, and he was unanimously chosen.

Senator McKinley nominated Senator Wadsworth for Secretary of the Republican Conference, and he was unanimously chosen.

The Chairman of the Conference was authorized to appoint the Whip.

The Chairman of the Conference was authorized to fill vacancies on the Committee on Committees.

The Chairman of the Conference was authorized to fill vacancies on the Committee on Order of Business.

The Chairman of the Conference was authorized to fill vacancies on the Committee on Patronage.

Senator Cummins nominated Senator Moses as the candidate of the Republican Majority for President pro tempore of the Senate, and he was nominated by acclamation.

On motion by Senator McKinley, Mr. George A. Sanderson, of Illinois, was chosen for the office of Secretary of the Senate.

On motion by Senator Hale, Mr. David S. Barry, of Rhode Island, was chosen for the office of Sergeant at Arms of the Senate.

On motion by Senator Reed of Pennsylvania, Mr. Carl A. Loeffler, of Pennsylvania, was chosen for the office of Assistant Doorkeeper of the Senate.

On motion by Senator Jones of Washington, Rev. J.J. Muir, of the District of Columbia, was chosen for Chaplain of the Senate.

The Conference then adjourned to meet at eleven o'clock a.m. on Friday, March 6, 1925.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

Pursuant to authority given him by the Conference of March 5, 1925, Senator Curtis appointed Senator Wesley L. Jones as "Whip" and unofficially requested Senator Fess to act as assistant to the Whip.

Senator Curtis also filled all vacancies on the Committee on Committees, the Committee on Order of Business, and the Committee on Patronage for the 69th Congress, which are as follows:

SIXTY-NINTH CONGRESS (1925–1927)

*Committee on Committees*

Watson, Chairman  
McNary  
Moses  
Smoot  
Reed  
McKinley  
Cameron  
Ernst  
Means

*Committee on Order of Business*

Wadsworth, Chairman  
Pepper  
Gooding  
Butler  
Willis  
Norbeck  
Dale

*Committee on Patronage*

Lenroot, Chairman  
Shortridge  
Bingham

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[March 6, 1925]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

March 6, 1925

The Conference was called to order at eleven o'clock a.m., in the Marble Room of the Senate, by Senator Curtis, its Chairman.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bingham, Butler, Cameron, Couzens, Cummins, Curtis, Deneen, du Pont, Edge, Ernst, Fess, Gillett, Goff, Hale, Howell, Jones of Washington, Keyes, McKinley, McLean, McMaster, McNary, Means, Moses, Norbeck, Oddie, Pepper, Phipps, Reed of Pennsylvania, Sackett, Schall, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Wadsworth, Watson, Weller, and Willis.

Total 37, a quorum being present.

Senator Watson stated that the report of the Committee on Committees was ready, but in view of the fact that the Democratic Committee had not finished its work the report would be withheld for the present.

Senator Gooding moved that it be the sense of the Conference that the nomination of Mr. Charles B. Warren to be Attorney General be considered as in open executive session.

After debate, the roll was called.

Those voting in the affirmative were:

Messrs. Capper, Couzens, Cummins, Gooding, Howell, Jones of Washington, McLean, McMaster, McNary, Shortridge, and Willis.  
Total 11

Those voting in the negative were:

MARCH 6, 1925

Messrs. Bingham, Butler, Cameron, Curtis, Deneen, du Pont, Edge, Ernst, Fess, Gillett, Goff, Hale, Keyes, McKinley, Means, Moses, Norbeck, Oddie, Pepper, Phipps, Reed of Pennsylvania, Sackett, Schall, Smoot, Spencer, Wadsworth, Watson, and Weller.  
Total 28

So the motion was rejected.

On motion by Senator Watson, the Conference then adjourned until ten o'clock a.m. on Saturday, March 7, 1925.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[March 7, 1925]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

March 7, 1925

The Conference was called to order at ten o'clock a.m. in the Marble Room of the Senate, by Senator Curtis, its Chairman.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bingham, Butler, Cameron, Capper, Couzens, Cummins, Curtis, Dale, Deneen, du Pont, Ernst, Fess, Gillett, Goff, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Jones of Washington, McKinley, McLean, McMaster, McNary, Means, Metcalf, Moses, Norbeck, Oddie, Pepper, Pine, Reed of Pennsylvania, Sackett, Shortridge, Spencer, Stanfield, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, Weller, and Willis.

Total 39, a quorum being present.

Senator Watson reported from the Committee on Committees the list of assignments of Republican Senators as recommended by said Committee. The report included the proposed assignments of Senators La Follette, Brookhart, Ladd, and Frazier. The report (copy of which is appended to these minutes) was unanimously adopted.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

(Confidential)

Report of the Committee on Committees as Unanimously Adopted at  
the Republican Conference of March 7, 1925

**STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE**

Sixty-ninth Congress

(To be submitted to the Republican Conference)

**On Agriculture and Forestry**

Messrs. NORRIS, *Chairman*, MCNARY, CAPPER, KEYES, GOODING,  
NORBECK, HARRELD, DENEEN, SACKETT; LADD.<sup>1</sup>

**On Appropriations**

Messrs. WARREN, *Chairman*, SMOOT, JONES, Wash., CURTIS,  
HALE, SPENCER, PHIPPS, MCKINLEY, LENROOT, KEYES.

**To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate**

Messrs. KEYES, *Chairman*, FESS, GREENE.

**On Banking and Currency**

Messrs. MCLEAN, *Chairman*, WELLER, NORBECK, EDGE, PEPPER,  
PHIPPS, SACKETT, \_\_\_\_\_; FRAZIER.

**On Civil Service**

Messrs. COUZENS, *Chairman*, STANFIELD, DALE, HOWELL, DU-  
PONT, PINE, \_\_\_\_\_.

**On Claims**

Messrs. MEANS, *Chairman*, CAPPER, STANFIELD, HOWELL,  
DENEEN, GOFF, PINE, \_\_\_\_\_; BROOKHART.

**On Commerce**

Messrs. JONES, Wash., *Chairman*, FERNALD, MCNARY, EDGE,  
WILLIS, WELLER, COUZENS, JOHNSON, BINGHAM; LADD.

**On the District of Columbia**

Messrs. CAPPER, *Chairman*, JONES, Wash., WELLER, HARRELD,  
MCKINLEY, DUPONT, SACKETT, \_\_\_\_\_.

**On Education and Labor**

Messrs. PHIPPS, *Chairman*, BORAH, COUZENS, METCALF, BING-  
HAM, GILLET, \_\_\_\_\_; BROOKHART.

**On Enrolled Bills**

Messrs. GREENE, *Chairman*, GILLET.

**On Expenditures in the Executive Departments**

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<sup>1</sup>[The names following semicolons are those of the Farmer-Labor party senators and the “re-  
egade” Republicans, who were being treated as independents for purposes of committee assign-  
ments.]

MARCH 7, 1925

Messrs. REED, Pa., *Chairman*, MOSES, WADSWORTH, Jr., SACKETT.

**On Finance**

Messrs. SMOOT, *Chairman*, MCLEAN, CURTIS, WATSON, REED, Pa., ERNST, STANFIELD, WADSWORTH, Jr., MCKINLEY, SHORTRIDGE; LA FOLLETTE.

**On Foreign Relations**

Messrs. BORAH, *Chairman*, JOHNSON, Calif., MOSES, LENROOT, WILLIS, PEPPER, MCLEAN, EDGE, CAPPER, BUTLER, \_\_\_\_; SHIPSTEAD.

**On Immigration**

Messrs. JOHNSON, *Chairman*, KEYES, WILLIS, REED, Pa., MEANS, BINGHAM, \_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_.

**On Indian Affairs**

Messrs. HARRELD, *Chairman*, CURTIS, MCNARY, CAMERON, SCHALL, MCMASTER, \_\_\_\_; LA FOLLETTE.

**On Interoceanic Canals**

Messrs. EDGE, *Chairman*, COUZENS, GREENE, HOWELL, SCHALL, PINE, \_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_; BROOKHART.

**On Interstate Commerce**

Messrs. WATSON, *Chairman*, CUMMINS, FERNALD, GOODING, COUZENS, FESS, HOWELL, GOFF, PINE, SACKETT, \_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_; LA FOLLETTE.

**On Irrigation and Reclamation**

Messrs. MCNARY, *Chairman*, JONES, Wash., PHIPPS, GOODING, CAMERON, ODDIE, SHORTRIDGE, JOHNSON, \_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_.

**On the Judiciary**

Messrs. CUMMINS, *Chairman*, BORAH, NORRIS, ERNST, SPENCER, MEANS, HARRELD, DENEEN, GILLETT, \_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_.

**On the Library**

Messrs. FESS, *Chairman*, PEPPER, HOWELL, GILLETT.

**On Manufactures**

Messrs. MCKINLEY, *Chairman*, MCNARY, WELLER, MCLEAN, METCALF; LA FOLLETTE, BROOKHART.

**On Military Affairs**

Messrs. WADSWORTH, Jr., *Chairman*, WARREN, CAMERON, REED, Pa., GREENE, BINGHAM, GOFF, MCMASTER, PINE; BROOKHART.

**On Mines and Mining**

Messrs. ODDIE, *Chairman*, CAMERON, MEANS, DUPONT, GOFF; FRAZIER.



**On Naval Affairs**

Messrs. HALE, *Chairman*, PEPPER, ODDIE, NORBECK, SHORTRIDGE, WELLER, BUTLER, METCALF, SCHALL, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_.

**On Patents**

Messrs. ERNST, *Chairman*, NORRIS, BUTLER, METCALF; SHIPSTEAD.

**On Pensions**

Messrs. NORBECK, *Chairman*, FERNALD, DALE, WADSWORTH, GOODING, SCHALL, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_; FRAZIER, SHIPSTEAD.

**On Post Offices and Post Roads**

Messrs. MOSES, *Chairman*, PHIPPS, ODDIE, STANFIELD, DALE, METCALF, DUPONT, SCHALL, MCMASTER; FRAZIER.

**On Printing**

Messrs. PEPPER, *Chairman*, MOSES, FESS, MCKINLEY; SHIPSTEAD.

**On Privileges and Elections**

Messrs. SPENCER, *Chairman*, WATSON, ERNST, SHORTRIDGE, GREENE, DENEEN, GOFF.

**On Public Buildings and Grounds**

Messrs. FERNALD, *Chairman*, WARREN, LENROOT, KEYES, HARRELD, FESS, MCMASTER; SHIPSTEAD.

**On Public Lands and Surveys**

Messrs. STANFIELD, *Chairman*, SMOOT, NORBECK, CAMERON, SPENCER, ODDIE, DALE; LADD.

**On Rules**

Messrs. CURTIS, *Chairman*, HALE, MOSES, WATSON, DALE, SMOOT, SPENCER.

**On Territories and Insular Possessions**

Messrs. WILLIS, *Chairman*, JOHNSON, CUMMINS, REED, Pa., LENROOT, BUTLER, BINGHAM; LADD.

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[March 12, 1925]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
March 12, 1925

The Conference was called to order at eleven o'clock a.m. in the Marble Room of the Senate, by the Chairman, Senator Curtis.

In the absence of Senator Wadsworth, Senator Fess acted as Secretary.

MARCH 12, 1925

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Borah, Bingham, Butler, Cameron, Capper, Cummins, Curtis, Dale, Deneen, du Pont, Fess, Gillett, Goff, Hale, Harreld, Johnson, Jones of Washington, Keyes, McKinley, McLean, McMaster, McNary, Means, Metcalf, Moses, Norbeck, Oddie, Pepper, Pine, Reed of Pennsylvania, Schall, Shortridge, Smoot, Wadsworth, Watson, and Willis.

Total 36, a quorum being present.

Senator Jones offered the following resolution, which was adopted without discussion:

#### *RESOLUTION*

To make clear and beyond question the long-settled policy of Republicans that our conferences are not caucuses or of binding effect upon those participating therein but are meetings solely for the purpose of exchanging views to promote harmony and united action so far as possible,

BE IT RESOLVED: That no Senator attending this conference or any conference held hereafter shall be deemed to be bound in any way by any action taken by such conference but he shall be entirely free to act upon any matter considered by the conference as his judgment may dictate, and it shall not be necessary for any Senator to give notice of his intention to take action different from any recommended by the conference.

ADOPTED BY THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE OF  
MARCH 12, 1925.

Senator Shortridge presented the report of the Committee on Patronage (copy of which is appended to these minutes) and it was approved by the Conference.

The program was discussed and it was decided by the Conference that the Isle of Pines Treaty should be pressed to a final vote.

It was further decided by the Conference that the program on the Turkish Treaties should be left to the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee (Senator Borah) and the Chairman of the Conference (Senator Curtis) who should report any agreement looking to their disposition to a later conference.

The Conference then adjourned subject to call by the Chairman.

[signed] Simeon D. Fess  
Acting Secretary.

\* \* \*  
(Confidential)

**REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PATRONAGE TO THE  
REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE MARCH, 1925**

Your Committee has carefully considered the division of patronage to be made among the Republican Senators and the allowance to be made to the Democratic Minority and others. Your Committee has gone through the pay roll ascertaining the present distribution of the patronage and what is available for distribution. The Republican Patronage Committee which considered this subject at the beginning of the 68th Congress made certain recommendations as to retaining in service of the Senate certain employees who by efficiency, experience, capacity, and diligence, expedite business to the credit of the Senate and recommended the retention of this roll, to be known as the Efficiency Roll.

Your Committee follows the action of its predecessor in recommending the retention of this roll. We recommend the addition to it of Mr. Foster, the assistant on the floor of the Senate, on the Republican side. This position on the Democratic side has for some time been exempt from patronage. In view of the death of Henry H. Gilfry, one of the Clerks on the former Efficiency Roll, the Committee recommends that this place be reassigned to the Patronage Roll. Your Committee recommends approval of the action of the Republican Conference of the 68th Congress in placing the Enrolling Clerk and the Index Clerk in the secretary's office also on the Efficiency Roll. Otherwise your Committee recommends no changes in positions on the Efficiency Roll or the Exempt Roll, or the Old Soldiers' Roll, or any other part of the nonpatronage list.

Your Committee recommends that the places now allowed to the Democratic Minority, and amounting in total to a sum of about \$11,350.00, be continued as at present without change.

Your Committee recommends that one place be allotted to the Farmer-Labor member amounting in total to the sum of about \$1,300.00.

Assuming that the recommendations of the Committee are adopted each Republican Senator, whether a member of the Conference or not, will be entitled to recommend appointments to offices or positions, the salaries of which will amount in the aggregate to about \$4,500.00 a year. The Committee recommends that each Senator be requested to make known *immediately*, in writing, to the Committee (at room 425 S.O.B.) his wishes in regard to the offices to which he desires to make appointments, strictly limiting his request to the maximum amount allowed to each Senator, and that these wishes be considered and granted by the Committee on the basis of seniority.

Your Committee recommends that those Senators who do not desire to avail themselves of the entire amount of their allowances indicate at the same time their willingness to place their balances in a "surplus fund." Your committee then proposes to take this surplus fund and assign it as follows: First, to those Senators, in order of seniority, who desire \$100.00 extra patronage; Second, to those Senators, in order of seniority, who desire more than \$100.00 and not more than \$200.00 extra patronage; and Third, to those Senators, in order of seniority, who desire more than \$200.00 and

MARCH 12, 1925

not more than \$300.00 extra, and so on. Your Committee believes that this method will provide an equitable division of the patronage.

Your Committee purposes to instruct the Secretary, the Sergeant at Arms, and the Architect of the Capitol to adhere strictly to the rule contained in the report of the Committee on Committees adopted by the Republican Caucus, June 13, 1911, prohibiting the detail of any of their employees for the service of individual Senators—an instruction precisely similar to that issued by the Republican Patronage Committee of the Senate of the 68th Congress.

Approved by the Republican Conference, March 12, 1925.

NOTE: March 12, 1925. The Patronage Committee further advised Republican Senators that the aggregate patronage had been increased from \$4,500 as stated in the above report to \$4,700.

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[March 17, 1925]

## REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

March 17, 1925

The Conference was called to order at eleven o'clock a.m. in the Marble Room of the Senate, by the Chairman, Senator Curtis.

In the absence of Senator Wadsworth, the Secretary, Senator Fess acted as the Acting Secretary.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bingham, Butler, Cameron, Capper, Cummins, Curtis, Deneen, du Pont, Ernst, Fess, Gillett, Goff, Hale, Harreld, Jones of Washington, Keyes, McKinley, McLean, McMaster, McNary, Means, Metcalf, Moses, Norbeck, Norris, Oddie, Pepper, Pine, Reed of Pennsylvania, Sackett, Schall, Shortridge, Smoot, Spencer, Stanfield, and Willis.

Total 36, a quorum being present.

Senator Curtis made a brief statement on procedure for the balance of the session.

On motion by Senator McKinley, the Patronage Committee was authorized to adjust the patronage situation to equalize patronage among Senators.

On motion by Senator Willis, it was ordered that when a vacancy occurs in the Efficiency Roll or Non-patronage Roll, the office thus vacated shall become patronage.

The Conference then adjourned subject to call of the Chairman.

[signed] Simeon D. Fess  
Acting Secretary.

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[December 5, 1925]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

December 5, 1925

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Curtis, at 10:30 a.m., in the Marble Room of the Senate.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bingham, Butler, Capper, Couzens, Cummins, Curtis, Deneen, Edge, Ernst, Fess, Gillett, Goff, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Johnson, Jones of Washington, Keyes, Lenroot, McKinley, McMaster, McNary, Means, Moses, Norris, Oddie, Phipps, Pine, Robinson of Indiana, Sackett, Schall, Shortridge, Smoot, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, Williams, and Willis.

Total 38, a quorum being present.

Senator Curtis reminded Senators of the age limit applicable to Senate pages as a result of the school law.

Senator Watson nominated Col. Edwin P. Thayer, of Indiana, for the office of Secretary of the Senate.

Senator Fess seconded the nomination; and, the question being put to a vote, Mr. Thayer was unanimously chosen.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

James W. Wadsworth, Jr., Chairman.

R.E. Devendorf, Clerk

United States Senate,  
Committee on Military Affairs.

My dear Senator:

February 16, 1926.

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held on Tuesday, February 16th, made a careful examination of the bills now pending

DECEMBER 5, 1925

upon the Senate Calendar, and decided to suggest the wisdom of taking up and disposing of the following measures:

Calendar No.	Bill No.	
131	H.Con.Res.4	Concurrent resolution providing for a joint committee to conduct negotiations for leasing Muscle Shoals.
75	S. 575	A bill to amend section 4 of the interstate commerce act (long and short haul amendment).

It is understood, however, that appropriation bills, including the deficiency appropriation bill, have the right of way. And it is further to be remembered that the Senate has already, by unanimous consent, agreed to take up the report on the aluminum inquiry on Thursday and the nomination of Mr. Charles W. Hunt, of the Federal Trade Commission, in executive session on Friday.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business

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[February 17, 1926]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE February 17, 1926

The Conference was called to order by Senator Curtis, its Chairman, at 11:00 a.m., in the Marble Room of the Senate.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bingham, Butler, Cameron, Couzens, Cummins, Curtis, Dale, Deneen, Edge, Ernst, Fernald, Fess, Goff, Gooding, Hale, Jones of Washington, McKinley, McLean, McMaster, McNary, Metcalf, Nye, Oddie, Pepper, Reed of Pennsylvania, Robinson of Indiana, Smoot, Stanfield, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, Williams, and Willis.

Total 33, a quorum being present.

Discussion was had concerning the function of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate in connection with resolutions calling for investigations and involving expenditures.

Senator Jones of Washington moved that it be the sense of the Conference that every resolution introduced in the Senate, which under the law must be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, shall first be referred to the standing committee of the Senate having jurisdiction over the sub-

ject matter treated in the resolution in order that the Senate may be advised by the standing committee as to the wisdom of incurring the expenditure; and further that every resolution not required by law to be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate shall be referred to the appropriate standing committee if in the judgment of a sub-committee of two Senators, members of such committee, such action should be taken.

After further discussion, the motion of Mr. Jones of Washington was submitted to a vote and carried.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[March 30, 1926]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

March 30, 1926

The Conference was called to order in the Marble Room of the Senate at 11 o'clock a.m. by Senator Curtis, its Chairman, pursuant to call.

In the absence of the Secretary, Senator Wadsworth, the Chairman designated Senator Cameron to act as such.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bingham, Butler, Cameron, Capper, Couzens, Cummins, Curtis, Dale, Deneen, Edge, Fernald, Fess, Goff, Gooding, Hale, Harreld, Jones of Washington, Keyes, McLean, McMaster, McNary, Means, Metcalf, Moses, Oddie, Pepper, Pine, Reed, Robinson, Shortridge, Smoot, Stanfield, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson, Williams, and Willis.

Total 37

On motion of Senator Butler and seconded by Senator Smoot, and carried; it was ordered:

That the Chairman of the Conference be authorized to appoint a committee of one Senator and one other Senator to assist him, to aid the Chairman in looking into bills upon the Senate Calendar.

Senator Pepper introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That James F. Sellers is appointed Assistant on the floor of the Senate and that Howard C. Foster is appointed Mes-

MARCH 30, 1926

senger at the Card Door, both positions to remain on the efficiency roll so long as held by these incumbents.

and after discussion,

Senator Pepper offered as a substitute for his resolution, the following:

That the Conference recommend the increase of the salary of the Messenger on the Card Door, James F. Sellers, to \$2,400.00 per annum.

and after discussion, said substitute was adopted.

The Conference then adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Ralph H. Cameron  
Acting Secretary.

Pursuant to authority granted to the Chairman at the Conference of March 30, 1926, Senator Curtis appointed Senator Williams, of Missouri, to aid him in scrutinizing bills on the Senate calendar.

\* \* \*

James W. Wadsworth, Jr., Chairman  
W.A. Duvall, Clerk

United States Senate  
Committee on Military Affairs

My dear Senator:

April 30, 1926.

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held on Thursday, April 29, made a careful examination of the bills now pending upon the Senate Calendar and decided to suggest the wisdom of taking up and disposing of the following measures:

Calendar No.	Bill No.	Subject
30	H.R. 6559 ....	A bill for the construction of certain public buildings, and for other purposes.
228	S. 2306 .....	A bill to provide for the prompt disposition of disputes between carriers and their employees, and for other purposes.
357	H.R. 2 .....	An act to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the consolidation of national banking associations," approved November 7, 1918; to amend section 5137, etc., etc.
226	S. 3321 .....	A bill to increase the efficiency of the Air Service of the United States Army.
589	H.R. 7893 ....	An act to create a division of cooperative marketing in the Department of Agriculture, etc., etc.



SIXTY-NINTH CONGRESS (1925–1927)

Calendar No.	Bill No.	Subject
193	S. 2607 .....	A bill for the purpose of more effectively meeting the obligations of the existing migratory bird treaty with Great Britain by the establishment of migratory bird refuges to furnish in perpetuity homes for migratory birds, etc., etc.
308	S. 1618 .....	A bill to prevent deceit and unfair prices that result from the unrevealed presence of substitutes for virgin wool in woven or knitted fabrics, etc., etc.
608	S. 2929 .....	A bill to authorize the refunding of certain evidences of indebtedness issued by carriers in interstate commerce, and for other purposes. Pension legislation.
610	S. 786 .....	A bill to amend the act entitled "An act for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, and for other purposes," approved May 22, 1920, and acts in amendment thereof.
656	S. 62 .....	A bill for the allowance of certain claims for indemnity for spoliations by the French prior to July 31, 1801, as reported by the Court of Claims.

It should be understood that appropriation bills shall have the right of way.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business.

\* \* \*

James W. Wadsworth, Jr., Chairman  
W.A. Duvall, Clerk

United States Senate  
Committee on Military Affairs

My dear Senator:

June 9, 1926.

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held on Tuesday, June 8th, made a careful examination of the bills now pending upon the Senate Calendar and decided to suggest the wisdom of taking up and disposing of the following measures:

MARCH 30, 1926

Calendar No.	Bill No.	
308	S. 1618 .....	A bill to prevent deceit and unfair prices that result from the unrevealed presence of substitutes for virgin wool in woven or knitted fabrics, etc., etc.
608	S. 2929 .....	A bill to authorize the refunding of certain evidences of indebtedness issued by carriers in interstate commerce, and for other purposes. Pension legislation.
656	S. 62 .....	A bill for the allowance of certain claims for indemnity for spoliations by the French prior to July 31, 1801, as reported by the Court of Claims.
774	H.R. 9971 ....	An act for the regulation of radio communications, and for other purposes.
897	H.R. 10729 ...	An act to create a Bureau of Customs and a Bureau of Prohibition in the Department of the Treasury.
586	H.R. 3821 ....	An act to place under the civil service act the personnel of the Treasury Department authorized by sec. 38 of the national prohibition act.
208	S. 756 .....	A bill directing the Secretary of the Treasury to complete purchases of silver under the act of April 23, 1918, etc.

In view of the agreement already reached by the Senate for consideration of the "Good Roads Bill" at 3 p.m. on Friday, June 11, the Committee has not seen fit to include that measure in the above list. It should be understood that appropriation bills shall have the right of way.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business.

\* \* \*

James W. Wadsworth, Jr., Chairman  
W.A. Duvall, Clerk

United States Senate  
Committee on Military Affairs

My dear Senator:

December 13, 1926.

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held on Monday, December 13, made a careful examination of the bills now pending upon the Senate Calendar and decided to suggest the wisdom of taking up and disposing of the following measures, without prejudice to the River and Har-

bor Bill, which, by order of the Senate, is to be taken up on Tuesday, December 14:

Calendar No.	Bill No.	
608	S. 2929 .....	A bill to authorize the refunding of certain evidences of indebtedness issued by carriers in interstate commerce, and for other purposes.
308	S. 1618 .....	A bill to prevent deceit and unfair prices that result from the unrevealed presence of substitutes for virgin wool in woven or knitted fabrics, etc.
666	S. 3331 .....	A bill to provide for the protection and development of the lower Colorado River Basin.
656	S. 62 .....	A bill for the allowance of certain claims of indemnity for spoliations by the French prior to July 31, 1801, as reported by the Court of Claims.
897	H.R.10729 ...	An act to create a Bureau of Customs and a Bureau of Prohibition in the Department of the Treasury.
586	H.R. 3821 ....	An act to place under the civil service act the personnel of the Treasury Department authorized by section 38 of the national prohibition act.
719	H.R. 3858 ....	An act to establish in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce a Foreign Commerce Service of the United States, and for other purposes.

It should be understood that appropriation bills shall have the right of way.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business.

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[December 14, 1926]

## REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

December 14, 1926

The Conference was called to order by Senator Curtis, its Chairman, pursuant to call at 11 a.m., in the Marble Room of the Senate.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names (a quorum being present):

DECEMBER 14, 1926

Messrs. Bingham, Borah, Capper, Couzens, Curtis, Dale, Deneen, Edge, Fess, Gillett, Goff, Gooding, Greene, Hale, Harreld, Howell, Jones of Washington, Keyes, McMaster, McNary, Metcalf, Moses, Oddie, Pepper, Phipps, Pine, Reed, Sackett, Schall, Shortridge, Smoot, Stewart, Wadsworth, Watson, Weller.

Total 35, a quorum being present.

Senator Reed of Pennsylvania, on behalf of Senator Watson, Chairman, presented the report of the Committee on Committees, as follows, which was adopted by the Conference:

#### Committee Service

On motion of Mr. Watson, and by unanimous consent, it was—

*Ordered*, That the following Senators be excused from further service as members of the following committees:

Mr. Edge from the Committee on Commerce; Mr. Bingham from the Committee on Commerce; Mr. Cameron from the Committee on Indian Affairs; Mr. Metcalf from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads; and Mr. Howell from the Committee on Civil Service.

That the following Senators be assigned to membership on the following committees:

Mr. Bingham to the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Printing; Mr. Dale to the Committee on Commerce; Mr. Edge to the Committee on Finance and to the Committee on Privileges and Elections; Mr. Gillett to the Committee on Foreign Relations; Mr. Howell to the Committee on Naval Affairs; Mr. Reed of Pennsylvania to the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions; Mr. Metcalf to the Committee on Interstate Commerce and to the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions; Mr. Robinson of Indiana to the Committee on the Judiciary; Mr. du Pont to the Committee on Interstate Commerce; Mr. Frazier, as a member for the majority to the Committee on Indian Affairs, preceding Mr. McMaster and Mr. La Follette by their consent, as a member for the majority to the Committee on Banking and Currency, the Committee on Mines and Mining, the Committee on Pensions, and the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads; Mr. La Follette to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads; Mr. Nye to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys; Mr. Stewart to the Committee on Commerce, the Committee on Patents, the Committee on Pensions, and the Committee on Civil Service; Mr. Gould to the Committee on Commerce, the Committee on the District of Columbia, the Committee on Manufactures, and the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

That Mr. Norris be excused from further service as chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

That Mr. Couzens be excused from further service as chairman of the Committee on Civil Service.

That Mr. Phipps be excused from further service as chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor.

That Mr. McNary be excused from further service as chairman of the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

That the following Senators are hereby appointed chairmen of the following committees:

Mr. McNary as chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. Dale as chairman of the Committee on Civil Service.

Mr. Couzens as chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. Phipps as chairman of the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

Mr. Norris as chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Weller as chairman of the Committee on Manufactures.

Mr. Metcalf as chairman of the Committee on Patents.

Mr. Lenroot as chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

On suggestion of Senator Bingham, of the Patronage Committee, the Conference agreed to place the position of Printing Clerk (at present held by Guy Ives) on the Efficiency Roll so long as the position is held by the present incumbent.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Secretary.

[Excerpt from *Congressional Record*]  
Committee Service—Correction

Mr. Reed of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, when the order as to committees was made day before yesterday an error occurred in listing the majority members of the Committee on Indian Affairs. The name of Mr. Frazier should have preceded that of Mr. Schall by the consent of the latter. I ask unanimous consent that the list be corrected in that respect, and I make this request with the consent of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Schall].

The Vice President. Without objection the correction will be made.

DECEMBER 14, 1926

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James W. Wadsworth, Jr., Chairman  
W.A. Duvall, Clerk

United States Senate  
Committee on Military Affairs

February 8, 1927.

My dear Senator:

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held on Tuesday, February 8, made a careful examination of the bills now pending upon the Senate Calendar and decided to suggest the wisdom of taking up and disposing of the following measures:

Calendar No.	Bill No.	
608	S. 2929 .....	A bill to authorize the refunding of certain evidences of indebtedness issued by carriers in interstate commerce, and for other purposes.
308	S. 1618 .....	A bill to prevent deceit and unfair prices that result from the unrevealed presence of substitutes for virgin wool in woven or knitted fabrics, etc.
666	S. 3331 .....	A bill to provide for the protection and development of the lower Colorado River Basin.
656	S. 62 .....	A bill for the allowance of certain claims of indemnity for spoliations by the French prior to July 31, 1801, as reported by the Court of Claims.
1235	H.R.10729 ...	An act to create a Bureau of Customs and a Bureau of Prohibition in the Department of the Treasury.
586	H.R. 3821 ....	An act to place under the civil service act the personnel of the Treasury Department authorized by section 38 of the national prohibition act.
719	H.R. 3858 ....	An act to establish in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce a Foreign Commerce Service of the United States, and for other purposes.
763	S. 4177 .....	A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in coal and to promote the general welfare dependent on the use of coal, and for other purposes. (Or any substitute which may be offered affecting this subject.)

SIXTY-NINTH CONGRESS (1925–1927)

It should be understood that appropriation bills shall have the right of way.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] J.W. Wadsworth, Jr.  
Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business





## Seventieth Congress (1927–1929)

[Editor's Note: After the 1926 election, the Republican majority in the Senate shrank to 48 Republicans to 46 Democrats, with one Farmer-Labor and one vacancy, while in the House Republicans held 238 seats to 194 Democrats and 3 independents. The shrinking Senate margin enabled a group of four progressive Republicans and Farmer-Labor Senator Henrik Shipstead to influence the vote on control of the Senate. These five senators used their leverage to press for assurances from the Conference that certain legislation they supported would be voted on during the first session of that Congress.]

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[December 2, 1927]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

December 2, 1927

The Conference was called to order at 10:30 a.m. in the Marble Room of the Senate, pursuant to call, by the Senior Senator, Mr. Warren (Mr. Curtis, the former Chairman, being a Senator elect).

The temporary Chairman, Mr. Warren, designated Senator Hale to act as temporary Secretary.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bingham, Capper, Couzens, Curtis, Dale, Deneen, Edge, Fess, Gillett, Goff, Gooding, Gould, Hale, Howell, Johnson, Jones, Keyes, McNary, Moses, Oddie, Phipps, Pine, Reed, Robinson, Sackett, Shortridge, Smith, Smoot, Steiwer, Vare, Warren, Waterman, Watson, and Willis.

Messrs. McMaster and Nye entered after the conclusion of the roll call.

Total 36, a quorum being present.

Senator Watson nominated Senator Curtis for Chairman of the Conference and Floor Leader, and he was unanimously chosen.

Senator Curtis assumed the Chair.

Senator Smoot nominated Senator Watson for Vice Chairman, and he was unanimously chosen.

Senator Moses nominated Senator Hale for Secretary of the Conference, and he was unanimously chosen.

DECEMBER 2, 1927

Senator Bingham nominated Senator Moses for President pro tempore of the Senate, and he was unanimously chosen.

On motion by Senator Smoot, the Chairman was authorized to appoint a committee of five to consider and choose a Chaplain for the Senate.

The Chairman was authorized to appoint a Whip.

The Chairman was authorized to appoint a committee on committees.

The Chairman was authorized to appoint a committee on order of business.

The Chairman was authorized to appoint a committee on patronage.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

(Announced January 12, 1928)

Pursuant to authority vested in him by the conference of December 2, 1927, the Chairman, Senator Curtis, appointed the following committees to serve for the 70th Congress:

Committee on Committees:

Senator Watson, Chairman  
Senator McNary  
Senator Moses  
Senator Smoot  
Senator Reed of Pennsylvania  
Senator Edge  
Senator Gooding  
Senator Oddie  
Senator Nye

Committee on Order of Business:

Senator Sackett, Chairman  
Senator Keyes  
Senator Norbeck  
Senator Shortridge  
Senator Howell  
Senator Robinson of Indiana  
Senator Waterman

Committee on Patronage:

Senator Bingham, Chairman  
Senator Sackett  
Senator Steiwer

Senator Curtis also designated Senator Jones of Washington to act as Whip and Senator Fess to act as Assistant Whip.

Following the general custom for many years, Senator Curtis, the Chairman, named the following:

Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee:

Senator Metcalf of Rhode Island, Chairman  
Senator Phipps  
Senator Deneen  
Senator Gillett  
Senator McMaster  
Senator McNary  
Senator Pine

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[December 6, 1927]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

December 6, 1927

The Conference was called to order at 10:30 a.m., in the Marble Room of the Senate, pursuant to call, by its Chairman, Senator Curtis.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bingham, Capper, Couzens, Curtis, Dale, Deneen, Edge, Fess, Gillett, Goff, Gould, Greene, Hale, Howell, Johnson, Jones, Keyes, McMaster, McNary, Metcalf, Moses, Norbeck, Nye, Oddie, Phipps, Pine, Reed, Robinson, Sackett, Schall, Shortridge, Smith, Smoot, Steiwer, Vare, Warren, Waterman, Watson, and Willis.

Total 39, a quorum being present.

The question of taking up the election of the Secretary of the Senate, the Sergeant at Arms, and the Assistant Doorkeeper, came before the Conference and, after discussion, Senator Willis made the following nominations:

Edwin P. Thayer, of Indiana, to be Secretary of the Senate.

David S. Barry, of Rhode Island, to be Sergeant at Arms of the Senate.

Carl A. Loeffler, of Pennsylvania, to be Assistant Doorkeeper of the Senate.

DECEMBER 6, 1927

There being no other nominations, these officers were unanimously chosen.

Senator Curtis read the following letters received by him, together with his reply:

UNITED STATES SENATE  
Committee on Manufactures

1 December 1927

Hon. Charles Curtis  
Republican Leader  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Curtis:

The undersigned progressive Senators desire to bring to your attention their attitude upon the question of organizing the Senate.

The importance of the control of the Senate committees is recognized by everyone. The legislative program of the entire session of Congress is involved.

The result of the 1926 elections has placed upon us a responsibility to our constituents which we must discharge. We are not so vitally concerned with individual preferment of Senators upon committees. The more important question with us is that certain legislation which we think is of paramount interest to the people shall not be pigeon-holed in the various committees of the Senate which are about to be organized.

To that end we request definite assurance from the Republican majority that there shall be a final vote in the Senate before the adjournment of the first session of the 70th Congress upon the following measures:

(1) Adequate farm relief legislation on the basis of the McNary-Haugen Bill to be reported from committee on or before February 1st.

(2) A bill to limit the jurisdiction of Federal Courts in the issuance of injunctions.

(3) A resolution for a thorough investigation of the policy of the United States in Central and South America.

We do not ask that any Senator shall be committed to support any of these propositions. We are simply determined that the organization which we help to construct

shall not function to prevent a vote in the open Senate upon these important questions.

Sincerely yours,  
(Signed) Lynn J. Frazier  
(Signed) Henrik Shipstead  
(Signed) Robert M. La Follette, Jr.  
(Signed) Gerald P. Nye  
(Signed) John J. Blaine

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UNITED STATES SENATE

Committee on Rules

December 3, 1927

Gentlemen:

I have your letter of December first and note the attitude of the progressive Senators who signed the letter on the question of organizing the Senate.

While I cannot speak for the Republican majority, I can assure you that personally, without committing myself on the measures covered by your letter, I feel that you are entitled to a final vote during the first session of the 70th Congress on these questions. As leader of the Republican majority I will gladly make every effort to secure consideration and final vote on them when they are reported from the committees to which they are referred.

Knowing the Senators who will be made chairmen of the various committees, if the Republicans organize the Senate, I do not see why you should fear that any one of the measures mentioned would be "pigeon-holed in the committees" as Senator McNary will no doubt be continued as chairman of the Committee on Agriculture; Senator Norris as chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary and Senator Borah as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. These are the committees to which the matters you submit to me for assurance of action will be referred in the regular course of the Senate's procedure.

I have not named the committee on Order of Business but I assure you it will be made up of Senators who will favor the speedy disposition of the matters before the Senate and an early vote on all important measures reported to the Senate.

Again assuring you that as Leader of the Republican majority I shall do everything I can to secure early reports,

DECEMBER 6, 1927

consideration and final vote on all important measures that may be presented to the Senate, I am, with kindest regards

Very truly yours,  
(Signed) Charles Curtis

Honorable Lynn J. Frazier  
Honorable Robert M. La Follette, Jr.  
Honorable Henrik Shipstead  
Honorable John J. Blaine  
Honorable Gerald P. Nye.

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UNITED STATES SENATE  
Committee on Manufactures

3 December 1927

Hon. Charles Curtis  
Republican Leader  
United States Senate

Dear Senator Curtis:

Your letter of December 3rd, in reply to the letter which we addressed to you on December 1st, has been received

You disclaim any authority to speak for the Republican majority as to obtaining a final vote upon the propositions set forth in our letter of December 1st. In view of your statement we ask that you obtain from the Senators of the Republican majority the assurance that they will assist in obtaining a final vote on the following propositions before the adjournment of the first session of the 70th Congress:

(1) Adequate farm relief legislation on the basis of the McNary-Haugen Bill, to be reported from the committee on or before February 1st.

(2) A bill to limit the jurisdiction of Federal Courts in the issuance of injunctions.

(3) A resolution for a thorough investigation of the policy of the United States in Central and South America.

No vote in the Senate will be possible upon these measures unless they are reported from committee. We have confidence in the Chairman of the three committees to which these propositions will be referred, but it has been demonstrated time and again that the Chairman of a Senate Committee cannot report any measure or resolution unless authorized to do so by a majority of the committee.

In order that we may be assured that the committees to which these measures will be referred will report upon them to the Senate, we request that you obtain an assurance from the Republican members of the Foreign Rela-

tions, the Judiciary and the Agriculture Committees, that they will assist in reporting to the Senate the three measures mentioned above.

Sincerely yours,  
(Signed) Lynn J. Frazier  
(Signed) Henrik Shipstead  
(Signed) Robert M. La Follette, Jr.  
(Signed) Gerald P. Nye  
(Signed) John J. Blaine

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December 5, 1927

Gentlemen:

I have your letter of December 3rd and assure you it together with your letter of December 1st and my answer thereto will be brought to the attention of the Republican conference at the first opportunity for such action as it deems proper.

With kindest regards, I am

Very truly yours,  
(Signed) Charles Curtis

Honorable Lynn J. Frazier  
Honorable Henrik Shipstead  
Honorable Robert M. La Follette, Jr.  
Honorable Gerald P. Nye  
Honorable John J. Blaine

After discussion, the Conference adopted the following order:

ORDERED, That the Chairman of the Conference be requested to confer with the five progressive Senators upon the questions raised in their correspondence of December 1 and December 3, 1927.

The Conference then adjourned, subject to the call of its Chairman.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

Acting upon the request of the Conference of December 6, 1927, Senator Curtis, its Chairman, issued the following statement:

Senator Curtis, who was requested by the Republican Conference to confer with the five progressive Senators in regard to their attitude on the question of organizing the Senate and to convey to them the feeling of those who attended the Conference on the request for assurance as to a final vote on the three measures mentioned in their letter of December 1, 1927,

DECEMBER 6, 1927

stated that he had been in conference with the five Senators and had assured them that while the Conference would not commit itself on any measure, a majority of the Republican Conference took the position that there should be no unnecessary delay in securing a vote on the three measures this session of Congress.

NOTE: The correspondence cited in the above minutes was returned to Senator Curtis by Mr. Loeffler after being copied.

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[December 12, 1927]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
December 12, 1927

The Conference was called to order at 11:00 a.m., in the Marble Room of the Senate, pursuant to call, by its Chairman, Senator Curtis.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bingham, Capper, Couzens, Curtis, Deneen, Edge, Fess, Gillett, Goff, Gould, Hale, Howell, Johnson, Jones, Keyes, McNary, Metcalf, Moses, Norbeck, Nye, Oddie, Phipps, Pine, Reed, Robinson, Sackett, Shortridge, Smoot, Steiwer, Warren, Waterman, Watson, and Willis.

Total 33, a quorum being present.

Senator Watson, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, submitted the report which is appended to these minutes and, after discussion, the same was approved.

The Conference then adjourned, subject to the call of its Chairman.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

\* \* \*  
(Confidential)

**STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE**  
Seventieth Congress  
(To be submitted to the Republican Conference)

**On Agriculture and Forestry**

Messrs. MCNARY, *Chairman*, NORRIS, CAPPER, KEYES, GOODING, NORBECK, FRAZIER, GOULD, \_\_\_\_\_; SHIPSTEAD.<sup>1</sup>

**On Appropriations**

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<sup>1</sup>[Senator Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota was a member of the Farmer-Labor party.]



Messrs. WARREN, *Chairman*, SMOOT, JONES, Wash., CURTIS, HALE, PHIPPS, KEYES, BINGHAM, ODDIE, NYE.

**To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate**

Messrs. DENEEN, *Chairman*, FESS, GREENE.

**On Banking and Currency**

Messrs. NORBECK, *Chairman*, EDGE, PHIPPS, SACKETT, FRAZIER, PINE, BROOKHART, STEIWER.

**On Civil Service**

Messrs. DALE, *Chairman*, COUZENS, DUPONT, PINE, BROOKHART, BLAINE.

**On Claims**

Messrs. HOWELL, *Chairman*, CAPPER, DENEEN, NYE, MCMASTER, STEIWER, WATERMAN.

**On Commerce**

Messrs. JONES, Wash., *Chairman*, MCNARY, WILLIS, JOHNSON, DALE, GOULD, EDGE, SACKETT, LA FOLLETTE, NYE.

**On the District of Columbia**

Messrs. CAPPER, *Chairman*, JONES, Wash., DUPONT, SACKETT, GOULD, BLAINE, WATERMAN.

**On Education and Labor**

Messrs. COUZENS, *Chairman*, BORAH, PHIPPS, METCALF, BINGHAM, GILLETT.

**On Enrolled Bills**

Messrs. GREENE, *Chairman*, GILLETT.

**On Expenditures in the Executive Departments**

Messrs. SACKETT, *Chairman*, HALE, KEYES, GOFF.

**On Finance**

Messrs. SMOOT, *Chairman*, MCLEAN, CURTIS, WATSON, REED, Pa., SHORTRIDGE, EDGE, COUZENS, FESS, GREENE, DENEEN.

**On Foreign Relations**

Messrs. BORAH, *Chairman*, JOHNSON, MOSES, WILLIS, MCLEAN, EDGE, CAPPER, GILLETT, REED, Pa.,\_\_\_\_; SHIPSTEAD.

**On Immigration**

Messrs. JOHNSON, *Chairman*, KEYES, WILLIS, REED, Pa., NYE, GOULD.

**On Indian Affairs**

Messrs. FRAZIER, *Chairman*, SCHALL, MCMASTER, LA FOLLETTE, Jr., JONES, PINE, STEIWER.

**On Interoceanic Canals**

DECEMBER 12, 1927

Messrs. EDGE, *Chairman*, GREENE, SCHALL, PINE, BROOKHART, BLAINE.

**On Interstate Commerce**

Messrs. WATSON, *Chairman*, GOODING, COUZENS, FESS, HOWELL, GOFF, PINE, SACKETT, METCALF, DUPONT.

**On Irrigation and Reclamation**

Messrs. PHIPPS, *Chairman*, JONES, Wash., MCNARY, GOODING, ODDIE, SHORTRIDGE, JOHNSON, HOWELL.

**On the Judiciary**

Messrs. NORRIS, *Chairman*, BORAH, DENEEN, GILLETT, GOFF, ROBINSON, Ind., BLAINE, STEIWER, WATERMAN.

**On the Library**

Messrs. FESS, *Chairman*, HOWELL, GILLETT, BINGHAM.

**On Manufactures**

Messrs. MCLEAN, *Chairman*, MCNARY, METCALF, LA FOLLETTE, Jr., GOULD, DENEEN.

**On Military Affairs**

Messrs. REED, Pa., *Chairman*, WARREN, GREENE, BINGHAM, MCMASTER, PINE, ROBINSON, Ind., BROOKHART, BLAINE.

**On Mines and Mining**

Messrs. ODDIE, *Chairman*, DUPONT, GOFF, LA FOLLETTE, Jr., ROBINSON, Ind., FRAZIER.

**On Naval Affairs**

Messrs. HALE, *Chairman*, ODDIE, NORBECK, SHORTRIDGE, METCALF, SCHALL, HOWELL, STEIWER, WATERMAN.

**On Patents**

Messrs. METCALF, *Chairman*, NORRIS, WATERMAN, \_\_\_\_; SHIPSTEAD.

**On Pensions**

Messrs. ROBINSON, Ind., *Chairman*, NORBECK, DALE, SCHALL, FRAZIER, COUZENS, \_\_\_\_; SHIPSTEAD.

**On Post Offices and Post Roads**

Messrs. MOSES, *Chairman*, PHIPPS, ODDIE, DALE, DUPONT, SCHALL, MCMASTER, FRAZIER, LA FOLLETTE, Jr., BROOKHART.

**On Printing**

Messrs. BINGHAM, *Chairman*, MOSES, CAPPER, \_\_\_\_; SHIPSTEAD.

**On Privileges and Elections**

Messrs. SHORTRIDGE, *Chairman*, WATSON, GREENE, DENEEN, GOFF, EDGE, STEIWER, WATERMAN.

**On Public Buildings and Grounds**

Messrs. KEYES, *Chairman*, WARREN, FESS, MCMASTER, GOULD, SMOOT, SHORTRIDGE; SHIPSTEAD.

**On Public Lands and Surveys**

Messrs. NYE, *Chairman*, SMOOT, NORBECK, ODDIE, DALE, MCNARY, WILLIS, GOODING.

**On Rules**

Messrs. CURTIS, *Chairman*, HALE, MOSES, WATSON, DALE, SMOOT, REED, Pa.

**On Territories and Insular Possessions**

Messrs. WILLIS, *Chairman*, JOHNSON, BINGHAM, ROBINSON, Ind., NYE, REED, Pa., METCALF, NORBECK.

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[December 19, 1927]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

December 19, 1927

The Conference was called to order at 11:00 a.m., in the Marble Room of the Senate, pursuant to call, by its Chairman, Senator Curtis.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bingham, Curtis, Dale, Deneen, Edge, Fess, Gillett, Goff, Gould, Hale, Keyes, McMaster, Metcalf, Moses, Norbeck, Nye, Robinson, Sackett, Smoot, Steiwer, Warren, Watson, and Willis.

Total 23.

The following Senators instructed the Secretary to record them as being present:

Messrs. du Pont, Howell, Johnson, Jones, McLean, McNary, Oddie, Phipps, and Shortridge.

Total 9.

Senator Bingham, Chairman of the Committee on Patronage, submitted the report which is appended to these minutes and, after brief consideration, the same was adopted without modification.

The Conference then adjourned, subject to the call of its Chairman.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

DECEMBER 19, 1927

\* \* \*

Republican Conference  
December 19, 1927

(Confidential)

**REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PATRONAGE TO THE  
REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE, DECEMBER, 1927**

Your committee has carefully considered the division of patronage to be made among the Republican Senators and the allowance to be made to the Democratic minority and others. Your committee has had before it the Secretary of the Senate, the Sergeant at Arms, and the Architect of the Capitol and has gone through the pay roll in order to ascertain the present distribution of the patronage and what is available for distribution. The Republican patronage committee which considered this subject at the beginning of the Sixty-ninth Congress made certain recommendations as to retaining in the service of the Senate certain employees, who by efficiency, experience, capacity, and diligence, expedite business to the credit of the Senate. This committee follows the action of its predecessors in recommending the retention of these names on the nonpatronage roll. Your committee recommends the addition to it of: Mr. Lewis W. Bailey, assistant executive clerk of the Senate; Mrs. Elsie D. Allen, assistant to the librarian, in charge of revising the index to congressional committee hearings, and in full charge of all copies of congressional committee hearings for the Senate library; also Mr. P.H. Moore, doorkeeper of the Senate ladies' gallery.

Your committee recommends that the places now allotted to the Democratic minority be increased by two pages and one laborer, amounting in total to the sum of \$14,840.

Your committee recommends that two places be allotted to the Farmer-Labor member amounting in total to the sum of \$2,780.

Assuming that the recommendations of the committee are adopted, each Republican Senator will be entitled to recommend appointments to offices or positions, the salaries of which will amount in the aggregate to about \$5,200 a year. Your committee recommends that each Senator be requested to make known immediately in writing to the committee his wishes in regard to the offices he desires to make appointments, strictly limiting his request to the maximum amount allowed to each Senator, and that these wishes be considered and granted by the committee on the basis of seniority.

Your committee recommends that in view of the fact that it is impossible to assign patronage which will exactly meet the allowance of each Senator and that there will remain some balance from such allotments, that these balances be placed in a "surplus fund" and be assigned by the committee to positions not on the exempt roll or the efficiency roll, but now held by efficient employees whose long term of service makes their employment of particular advantage to the Senate, but who were appointed by patrons no longer in the Senate.

Your committee learns that the Sergeant at Arms, the Secretary of the Senate, and the Architect of the Capitol have had difficulty in securing efficient and satisfactory service from certain employees because these employees, taking advantage of senatorial support, take the attitude that they can not

be discharged, but will be protected by their patrons. Your committee requests authority to instruct the Secretary of the Senate, the Sergeant at Arms, and the Architect of the Capitol to insist upon securing satisfactory service from all employees and to discharge any employee guilty of insubordination or dereliction in the performance of his duties.

Your committee further desires authority to instruct the Secretary, the Sergeant at Arms, and the Architect of the Capitol to adhere strictly to the rule adopted by the Republican caucus, June 13, 1911, prohibiting the detail of any of their employees for the personal service of individual Senators.

Hiram Bingham, *Chairman*.  
Frederic M. Sackett.  
Frederick Steiwer.

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[February 10, 1928]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
February 10, 1928

The Conference was called to order at 11:00 a.m., in the Marble Room of the Senate, pursuant to call, by its Chairman, Senator Curtis.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bingham, Capper, Couzens, Curtis, Cutting, Dale, Deneen, Edge, Fess, Gillett, Gooding, Gould, Jones, Metcalf, Moses, Norbeck, Nye, Oddie, Pine, Sackett, Schall, Smoot, Steiwer, Warren, Waterman, Watson, and Willis.

Total 27.

Following a general discussion on the authority and functions of the Committee on Order of Business, the Conference adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Bronson Cutting  
Secretary pro tempore.

\* \* \*

Frederic M. Sackett, Chairman

United States Senate  
Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments

February 16, 1928.

My Dear Senator:

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held

FEBRUARY 10, 1928

on Monday, February 13, made a careful examination of the bills now pending upon the Senate Calendar and suggest that the following bills be made the unfinished business of the Senate, in the order listed, after disposal of the pending Alien Property Bill:

Calendar No. 230. S.J. Res. 46, by Mr. Norris.

Joint Resolution providing for the completion of Dam No. 2 and the steam plant at nitrate plant No. 2 in the vicinity of Muscle Shoals for the manufacture and distribution of fertilizer, and for other purposes.

Calendar No. 116. S. 777, by Mr. Tyson.

A bill making eligible for retirement, under certain conditions, officers and former officers of the Army of the United States other than officers of the Regular Army, who incurred physical disability in line of duty while in the service of the United States during the World War.

Calendar No. 106. S. 1271, by Mr. Norbeck.

A bill to more effectively meet the obligations of the United States under the migratory bird treaty with Great Britain by lessening the dangers threatening migratory game birds from drainage and other causes, by the acquisition of areas of land and water to furnish in perpetuity reservations for the adequate protection of such birds; and by providing funds for the establishment of such areas, their maintenance and improvement, and for other purposes.

It should be understood that appropriation bills shall have the right of way.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Frederic M. Sackett  
Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business.

\* \* \*

Frederic M. Sackett, Chairman

United States Senate  
Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments

March 5, 1928.

My Dear Senator:

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held to-day, made a careful examination of the bills now pending upon the Senate Calendar and suggest that the following bills be made the unfinished business of the Senate, in the order listed, after disposal of S.J. Res. 46, a joint resolution providing for the completion of Dam No. 2 and the steam plant at nitrate plant No. 2 in the vicinity of Muscle Shoals for the manufacture and distribution of fertilizer, etc.:

Calendar No. 116. S. 777, by Mr. Tyson.

SEVENTIETH CONGRESS (1927–1929)

A bill making eligible for retirement, under certain conditions, officers and former officers of the Army of the United States other than officers of the Regular Army, who incurred physical disability in line of duty while in the service of the United States during the World War.

Calendar No. 106. S. 1271, by Mr. Norbeck.

A bill to more effectively meet the obligations of the United States under the migratory bird treaty with Great Britain by lessening the dangers threatening migratory game birds from drainage and other causes, by the acquisition of areas of land and water to furnish in perpetuity reservations for the adequate protection of such birds; and by providing funds for the establishment of such areas, their maintenance and improvement, and for other purposes.

Calendar No. 464. S. 3434.

A bill for the control of floods on the Mississippi River from the Head of Passes to Cairo, and for other purposes.

It should be understood that appropriation bills shall have the right of way.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Frederic M. Sackett  
Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business.

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Frederic M. Sackett, Chairman

United States Senate  
Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments

March 20, 1928.

My Dear Senator:

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held to-day, made a careful examination of the bills now pending upon the Senate Calendar and suggest that the following bills be made the unfinished business of the Senate, in the order listed:

Calendar No. 106. S. 1271, by Mr. Norbeck.

A bill to more effectively meet the obligations of the United States under the migratory bird treaty with Great Britain by lessening the dangers threatening migratory game birds from drainage and other causes, by the acquisition of areas of land and water to furnish in perpetuity reservations for the adequate protection of such birds; and by providing funds for the establishment of such areas, their maintenance and improvement, and for other purposes.

Calendar No. 464. S. 3434, by Mr. Jones.

A bill for the control of floods on the Mississippi River from the Head of Passes to Cairo, and for other purposes.

Calendar No. 509. S. 3555, by Mr. McNary.

FEBRUARY 10, 1928

A bill to establish a Federal farm board to aid in the orderly marketing and in the control and disposition of the surplus of agricultural commodities in interstate and foreign commerce.

It should be understood that appropriation bills shall have the right of way.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Frederic M. Sackett  
Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business.

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Frederic M. Sackett, Chairman

United States Senate  
Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments

April 2, 1928.

My Dear Senator:

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held to-day, made a careful examination of the bills now pending upon the Senate Calendar and suggest that the following bills be made the unfinished business of the Senate, in the order listed, after the disposal of the present unfinished business, S. 3555:

Calendar No. 106. S. 1271, by Mr. Norbeck.

A bill to more effectively meet the obligations of the United States under the migratory bird treaty with Great Britain by lessening the dangers threatening migratory game birds from drainage and other causes, by the acquisition of areas of land and water to furnish in perpetuity reservations for the adequate protection of such birds; and by providing funds for the establishment of such areas, their maintenance and improvement, and for other purposes.

Calendar No. 606. S. 728, by Mr. Johnson.

A bill to provide for the construction of works for the protection and development of the lower Colorado River Basin, for the approval of the Colorado River compact, and for other purposes.

Calendar No. 504. S. 1093 by Mr. Caraway.

A bill to prevent the sale of cotton and grain in future markets.

It should be understood that appropriation bills and the Revenue Bill shall have the right of way at any time.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Frederic M. Sackett  
Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business.



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Frederic M. Sackett, Chairman

United States Senate  
Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments

April 30, 1928.

My Dear Senator:

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held to-day, made a careful examination of the bills now pending upon the Senate Calendar and suggest that the following bills be made the unfinished business of the Senate, in the order listed, after the disposal of the present unfinished business, S. 728:

Calendar No. 504. S. 1093 by Mr. Caraway.

A bill to prevent the sale of cotton and grain in future markets.

Calendar No. 777. S. 2901, by Mr. Jones.

A bill to amend the National Prohibition Act, as amended and supplemented.

Calendar No. 355. S. 1940, by Mr. Hawes.

A bill to divest goods, wares, and merchandise manufactured, produced, or mined by convicts or prisoners of their interstate character in certain cases.

It should be understood that appropriation bills and the Revenue Bill shall have the right of way at any time over the pending business.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Frederic M. Sackett  
Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business.

\* \* \*

Frederic M. Sackett, Chairman

United States Senate  
Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments

December 14, 1928.

My Dear Senator:

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held to-day, made a careful examination of the bills now pending upon the Senate Calendar and suggests that the following bills be made the unfinished business of the Senate, in the order listed, after the disposal of the present unfinished business, S. 1940:

Calendar No. 1022. H.R. 11526, reported by Mr. Hale.

An act to authorize the construction of certain Naval vessels, and for other purposes.

FEBRUARY 10, 1928

Calendar No. 504. S. 1093, by Mr. Caraway.

A bill to prevent the sale of cotton and grain in future markets.

Calendar No. 777. S. 2901, by Mr. Jones.

A bill to amend the National Prohibition Act, as amended and supplemented.

It should be understood that appropriation bills shall have the right of way at any time over the pending business.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Frederic M. Sackett  
Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business.

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Frederic M. Sackett, Ky., Chairman

United States Senate

Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments

January 25, 1929.

My Dear Senator:

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held to-day, made a careful examination of the bills now pending upon the Senate calendar and suggests that the following bills be made the unfinished business of the Senate, in the order listed, after the disposal of the present unfinished business, H.R. 11526:

Calendar No. 504. S. 1093, by Mr. Caraway.

A bill to prevent the sale of cotton and grain in future markets.

Calendar No. 777. S. 2901, by Mr. Jones.

A bill to amend the National Prohibition Act, as amended and supplemented.

Calendar No. 785. S.J. Res. 117, by Mr. Edge.

A joint resolution authorizing an investigation and survey for a Nicaraguan Canal.

Calendar No. 689. H.R. 8298, reported by Mr. Glass.

An Act authorizing acquisition of a site for the farmers' produce market, and for other purposes.

It should be understood that appropriation bills shall have the right of way at any time over the pending business.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Frederic M. Sackett  
Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business.

SEVENTIETH CONGRESS (1927-1929)

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Frederic M. Sackett, Ky., Chairman

United States Senate  
Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments

February 19, 1929.

My Dear Senator:

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held to-day, made a careful examination of the bills now pending upon the Senate calendar and suggests that the following bills be made the unfinished business of the Senate, in the order listed, after the disposal of the present unfinished business, S. 2901:

Calendar No. 785. S.J. Res. 117, by Mr. Edge.

A joint resolution authorizing an investigation and survey for a Nicaraguan Canal.

Calendar No. 689. H.R. 8298, reported by Mr. Glass.

An Act authorizing acquisition of a site for the farmers' produce market, and for other purposes.

Calendar No. 1474. H.R. 11725, reported by Mr. Vandenberg.

An Act for the apportionment of Representatives in Congress.

Calendar No. 1376. H.R. 393, reported by Mr. Jones.

An Act to provide for the fifteenth and subsequent decennial censuses.

It should be understood that appropriation bills shall have the right of way at any time over the pending business.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Frederic M. Sackett  
Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business.

\* \* \*

Frederic M. Sackett, Ky., Chairman

United States Senate  
Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments

February 28, 1929.

My Dear Senator:

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held to-day, made a careful examination of the bills now pending upon the Senate calendar and suggests that the following bills be made the unfinished business of the Senate, in the order listed, after the disposal of the present unfinished business, H.R. 17223:

Calendar No. 1742. S. 4937, by Mr. Watson.

FEBRUARY 10, 1928

A bill continuing the powers and authority of the Federal Radio Commission under the Radio Act of 1927, and for other purposes.

Calendar No. 1485. H.R. 13929, reported by Mr. Keyes.

An Act to provide for the enlarging of the Capitol Grounds.

Calendar No. 1680. S.J. Res. 208, by Mr. Vandenberg.

Joint Resolution to authorize the merger of street railway corporations operating in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

It should be understood that appropriation bills and conference reports shall have the right of way at any time over the pending business.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Frederic M. Sackett  
Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business.

## Seventy-first Congress (1929–1931)

[Editor's Note: The 1928 election, in which Herbert Hoover won the presidency, also increased the Republican majority in the Senate to 56 Republicans, 39 Democrats, and one Farmer-Labor member. Republicans also increased their numbers in the House to 270, with 164 Democrats and one independent.]

Although the Congress started off optimistically with the stock market climbing to ever greater heights, the national picture changed dramatically when the market crashed in October, ushering in the nation's most severe depression. Republicans continued to press for the protective Smoot-Hawley Tariff, passed in June 1930. By the end of the Congress, however, as the depression deepened, the Republican Conference was discussing relief measures and the veterans' bonus legislation.]

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[March 5, 1929]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

March 5, 1929

The Conference was called to order at 10:30 a.m., in the Marble Room of the Senate, pursuant to call, by its Vice Chairman, Senator Watson.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bingham, Burton, Capper, Couzens, Dale, Deneen, Edge, Fess, Frazier, Glenn, Goff, Goldsborough, Gould, Greene, Hale, Hastings, Hatfield, Hebert, Johnson, Jones, Kean, Keyes, McMaster, McNary, Metcalf, Moses, Nye, Patterson, Phipps, Pine, Reed, Robinson, Sackett, Schall, Shortridge, Smoot, Steiwer, Thomas, Townsend, Vandenberg, Walcott, Warren, Waterman, and Watson.

Total 44.

Senator Smoot nominated Senator Watson of Indiana to be Chairman of the Conference and Floor Leader, and he was unanimously chosen.

Senator McNary nominated Senator Jones to be Vice Chairman and Assistant Floor Leader, and he was unanimously chosen.

Senator Hale was unanimously chosen Secretary.

The Chairman was authorized to appoint a Whip, and he designated Senator Fess.

MARCH 5, 1929

Senator Goff nominated Senator Moses to be President pro tempore, and he was unanimously chosen.

Mr. Edwin P. Thayer was unanimously chosen for Secretary of the Senate.

Mr. David S. Barry was unanimously chosen for Sergeant at Arms of the Senate.

Mr. Carl A. Loeffler was unanimously chosen for Assistant Sergeant at Arms of the Senate.

Rev. Z.B. Phillips was unanimously chosen for Chaplain of the Senate.

The Chairman of the Conference was authorized to appoint members of the Committee on Committees, Committee on Order of Business, and Committee on Patronage.

On motion of Senator Bingham it was agreed that new patronage be not assigned until the end of the present fiscal year.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of its Chairman.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

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[April 22, 1929]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

April 22, 1929

The Conference was called to order at 11:00 a.m., in the Marble Room of the Senate, pursuant to call, by its Chairman, Senator Watson.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bingham, Burton, Couzens, Cutting, Dale, Deneen, Edge, Fess, Gillett, Goff, Goldsborough, Gould, Greene, Hale, Hastings, Hatfield, Hebert, Kean, Keyes, Metcalf, Moses, Nye, Oddie, Patterson, Phipps, Reed, Robinson, Sackett, Schall, Smoot, Steiwer, Townsend, Vandenberg, Walcott, Warren, Waterman, and Watson.

Total 37.

The Chairman stated that the Conference was called to consider the report of the Committee on Committees.

Senator Reed, Secretary of the Committee on Committees, submitted the following report of Republican committee assignments, which was read, considered and adopted:

*AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY*

Messrs. McNary, Chairman, Norris, Capper, Norbeck, Frazier, Gould, Thomas (Idaho), Hatfield, Townsend, Walcott, and Shipstead.

*APPROPRIATIONS*

Messrs. Warren, Chm., Smoot, Jones, Hale, Phipps, Keyes, Bingham, Oddie, Nye, Pine, and Glenn.

*AUDIT AND CONTROL THE CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF  
THE SENATE*

Messrs. Deneen, Chairman, Fess, and Greene.

*BANKING AND CURRENCY*

Messrs. Norbeck, Chairman, Edge, Phipps, Brookhart, Steiwer, Thomas (Idaho), Goldsborough, Hebert, Townsend, and Walcott.

*CIVIL SERVICE*

Messrs. Dale, Chairman, Couzens, Pine, Brookhart, Blaine, Burton, and Kean.

*CLAIMS*

Messrs. Howell, Chairman, Capper, McMaster, Steiwer, Waterman, Brookhart, Glenn, and Townsend.

*COMMERCE*

Messrs. Jones, Chairman, McNary, Johnson, Dale, Gould, La Follette, Nye, Vandenberg, Burton, Deneen, and Patterson.

*DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA*

Messrs. Capper, Chairman, Jones, Sackett, Gould, Blaine, Vandenberg, Hastings, and Kean.

*EDUCATION AND LABOR*

Messrs. Metcalf, Chairman, Borah, Phipps, Couzens, Gillett, Burton, and Walcott.

*ENROLLED BILLS*

Messrs. Greene, Chairman, and Gillett.

*EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS*

Messrs. Sackett, Chairman, Hale, Keyes, and Goff.

APRIL 22, 1929

*FINANCE*

Messrs. Smoot, Chairman, Watson, Reed, Shortridge, Edge, Couzens, Greene, Deneen, Keyes, Bingham, and Sackett.

*FOREIGN RELATIONS*

Messrs. Borah, Chairman, Johnson, Moses, Edge, Capper, Gillett, Reed, Fess, Goff, La Follette, Jr., Vandenberg, and Shipstead.

*IMMIGRATION*

Messrs. Johnson, Chairman, Keyes, Reed, Nye, Gould, Watson, and Hatfield.

*INDIAN AFFAIRS*

Messrs. Frazier, Chairman, Schall, McMaster, La Follette, Jr., Pine, Steiwer, and Walcott.

*INTEROCEANIC CANALS*

Messrs. Edge, Chairman, Schall, Pine, Brookhart, Blaine, Hebert, and Allen.

*INTERSTATE COMMERCE*

Messrs. Couzens, Chairman, Watson, Fess, Howell, Goff, Pine, Sackett, Metcalf, Glenn, Brookhart, and Kean.

*IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION*

Messrs. Thomas (Idaho), Chairman, Jones, McNary, Phipps, Shortridge, Johnson, Howell, and Townsend.

*JUDICIARY*

Messrs. Norris, Chairman, Borah, Deneen, Gillett, Robinson (Ind.), Blaine, Steiwer, Waterman, Hastings, and Burton.

*LIBRARY*

Messrs. Fess, Chairman, Howell, Gillett, Bingham, and Norbeck.

*MANUFACTURES*

Messrs. La Follette, Jr., Chairman, McNary, Metcalf, Deneen, Hale, Goldsborough, and Hatfield.



*MILITARY AFFAIRS*

Messrs. Reed, Chairman, Warren, Greene, McMaster, Robinson (Ind.), Blaine, Sackett, Cutting, Hatfield, and Patterson.

*MINES AND MINING*

Messrs. Oddie, Chairman, Goff, La Follette, Jr., Robinson (Ind.), Frazier, Thomas (Idaho), and Patterson.

*NAVAL AFFAIRS*

Messrs. Hale, Chairman, Oddie, Shortridge, Metcalf, Schall, Howell, Waterman, Goldsborough, Kean, and Allen.

*PATENTS*

Messrs. Waterman, Chairman, Norris, Goldsborough, and Hebert.

*PENSIONS*

Messrs. Robinson (Ind.), Chairman, Norbeck, Schall, Frazier, Couzens, Patterson, and Shipstead.

*POST OFFICES AND POST ROADS*

Messrs. Phipps, Chairman, Moses, Oddie, Dale, Schall, McMaster, Frazier, Hastings, Cutting, Hebert, and Allen.

*PRINTING*

Messrs. Shipstead, Chairman, Moses, Vandenberg, and Allen.

*PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS*

Messrs. Shortridge, Chairman, Watson, Greene, Edge, Steiwer, Waterman, Moses, Glenn, and Hastings.

*PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS*

Messrs. Keyes, Chairman, Warren, Fess, McMaster, Gould, Smoot, Shortridge, and Shipstead.

*PUBLIC LANDS AND SURVEYS*

Messrs. Nye, Chairman, Smoot, Norbeck, Oddie, Dale, McNary, Glenn, and Cutting.

*RULES*

Messrs. Moses, Chairman, Hale, Watson, Dale, Smoot, Reed, and Bingham.

APRIL 22, 1929

*TERRITORIES AND INSULAR POSSESSIONS*

Messrs. Bingham, Chairman, Johnson, Robinson (Ind.), Nye, Metcalf, Vandenberg, Goff, and Cutting.

The Conference then adjourned, subject to the call of its Chairman.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

Acting on authority given him by the Conference of March 5, 1929, Senator Watson, its Chairman, appointed the following committees:

*Committee on Committees*

Messrs. McNary, Chairman, Moses, Smoot, Reed, Edge, Oddie, Nye, Bingham, and Deneen.

*Committee on Patronage*

Messrs. Bingham, Chairman, Sackett, and Steiwer.

NOTE: The Chairman made no appointment at this time of the Committee on Order of Business or the Senatorial Campaign Committee.

*Patronage Committee*

Mr. Hastings was appointed to succeed Mr. Sackett (resigned) making the membership Messrs. Bingham, Steiwer, and Hastings.

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[June 19, 1929]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

June 19, 1929

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Watson, at 11 o'clock a.m., in the Marble Room of the Senate.

Owing to the absence of the Secretary, Senator Hale, Senator Cutting was selected to act in his stead.

By unanimous consent the roll call was dispensed with; but the following Senators attended the Conference:

Messrs. Allen, Bingham, Burton, Capper, Cutting, Dale, Deneen, Edge, Fess, Gillett, Goff, Goldsborough, Greene, Hastings, Hatfield, Johnson, Jones, Metcalf, Moses, Norris, Patterson, Robinson (Ind.), Sackett, Schall, Shortridge, Smoot, Thomas (Idaho), Townsend, Walcott, Warren, and Watson.

Total 31.

Senator Bingham, Chairman of the Patronage Committee, presented a report by his committee which was discussed.

On motion of Senator Moses it was agreed that the report be accepted and printed for the future consideration of the Republican Senators, provided that the Committee on Patronage be authorized to assign patronage to new Senators within the limits of the sum allowed.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Bronson Cutting  
Secretary pro tempore.

The Republican Chairman (Senator Watson) appointed the following committee, August 4, 1929:

*Republican Senatorial Committee, 1929*

Moses, Ch.  
Steiwer, Vice Ch.  
Hebert  
Hatfield  
Thomas (Idaho)  
Patterson  
Vandenberg

\* \* \*

United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.  
CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Senator:

It is the wish of the Republican Conference that you advise the Patronage Committee immediately which one of the places now included in your patronage you prefer to relinquish should it become necessary to deduct one place from your present quota or take a lower salaried place in order to secure sufficient patronage to take care of the new Republican Senators.

[signed] Hiram Bingham  
Chairman, Patronage Committee

JUNE 19, 1929

\* \* \*  
(Confidential)

United States Senate  
Preliminary Report of the  
Committee on Patronage  
to the  
Republican Caucus

June 19, 1929

United States Government Printing Office  
Washington: 1929

**PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON  
PATRONAGE TO THE REPUBLICAN CAUCUS JUNE 19, 1929**

The present state of the Pay Roll is as follows:

*Officers and employees of the Senate*

Name	Office	Salary	New Salary
Edwin P. Thayer .....	Secretary .....	\$6,500.00	\$8,000.00
Henry M. Rose .....	Assistant secretary (resolution) .....	4,500.00	4,500.00
John C. Crockett .....	Chief clerk and reading clerk (efficiency).	5,500.00	6,500.00
Hermon W. Craven .....	Principal clerk (Jones) .....	3,420.00	3,840.00
Harvey A. Welsh .....	Legislative clerk (Fess) .....	3,150.00	3,540.00
Charles L. Watkins .....	Minute and journal clerk (efficiency).	4,500.00	5,500.00
Harry C. Burke .....	Assistant Journal clerk (Keyes) ....	2,880.00	3,180.00
John C. Perkins .....	Enrolling clerk (efficiency) .....	3,150.00	3,540.00
Charles F. Pace .....	Financial clerk (efficiency) .....	5,000.00	6,000.00
Eugene Colwell .....	Assistant financial clerk (efficiency).	4,200.00	4,800.00
Chester M. Reich .....	Chief bookkeeper (exempt) .....	3,000.00	3,600.00
Bryan P. Weekes .....	Executive clerk (Capper) .....	2,890.00	3,180.00
Harold E. Hufford .....	File clerk (efficiency) .....	2,880.00	3,180.00
Guy E. Ives .....	Printing clerk (efficiency) .....	3,150.00	3,540.00
Mary J. Simpson .....	Clerk (Dale) .....	2,880.00	3,180.00
Lewis W. Bailey .....	Clerk (efficiency) .....	2,880.00	3,180.00
Peter M. Wilson .....	do .....	2,880.00	3,180.00
James M. Cannon .....	do .....	2,590.00	2,880.00
Oco Thompson .....	Clerk (exempt) .....	2,460.00	2,760.00
Geo. W. Boyd .....	Special officer (resolution) .....	2,150.00	2,460.00
La Verne Tucker .....	Clerk (Secretary) .....	1,800.00	2,040.00
Robert R. Miller .....	Clerk (efficiency) .....	2,100.00	2,400.00
Charlie Parrigin .....	Clerk (Glenn) .....	2,100.00	2,400.00
Harrold R. Beckley .....	Clerk (Burton) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
W.G. Lieuallen .....	Superintendent of document room (efficiency).	3,600.00	3,960.00
J.W. Lambert .....	First assistant (efficiency) .....	3,000.00	3,360.00
Edward J. Hutter .....	Second assistant (resolution) .....	2,400.00	2,700.00
Copher Howell .....	Indexer (resolution) .....	1,800.00	2,040.00
Joseph W. Thompson ...	Clerk (Watson) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Stephen R. Haskell .....	Clerk (Gould) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00

## SEVENTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1929–1931)

Name	Office	Salary	New Salary
John W. Dooley .....	Skilled laborer (Glenn) .....	1,520.00	1,740.00
Edward C. Goodwin .....	Librarian (efficiency) .....	3,000.00	3,360.00
Ruskin McArdle .....	First assistant librarian (minority) .....	2,780.00	3,120.00
Fred J. Williams .....	Assistant librarian (Moses) .....	2,150.00	2,460.00
Elsie D. Allen .....	Assistant in Library (exempt) .....	1,800.00	2,040.00
Caleb Beam .....	Skilled laborer (Watson) .....	1,520.00	1,740.00
James Payne .....	Messenger in library (exempt) .....	1,310.00	1,560.00
Fred W. Parker .....	Keeper of stationery (Hale) .....	2,780.00	3,120.00
Andrew J. Kramer .....	Assistant keeper of stationery (exempt).	1,800.00	2,040.00
Raymond P. Johnson ...	Assistant keeper of stationery (Deneen).	1,800.00	2,040.00
Ellis Etscovitz .....	Assistant in stationery room (Gould).	1,520.00	1,740.00
Geo. H. Payne .....	Laborer in stationery room (exempt).	1,440.00	1,680.00
Vernon L. Talbertt .....	Laborer (exempt) .....	1,350.00	1,620.00
Henry Young .....	do .....	1,350.00	1,620.00
C. Woodlen .....	do .....	1,140.00	1,380.00
Ewing W. Kenney .....	do .....	1,140.00	1,380.00
Richard Blunt .....	do .....	1,140.00	1,380.00
David S. Barry .....	Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper (elected).	6,500.00	8,000.00
Carl A. Loeffler .....	Assistant Sergeant at Arms (elected).	4,500.00	5,400.00
Edwin A. Halsey .....	do .....	4,500.00	5,400.00
Leslie L. Biffle .....	Floor assistant (efficiency roll) .....	3,600.00	4,320.00
Howard C. Foster .....	do .....	3,600.00	4,320.00
A.L. de Montfredy .....	Messenger, acting as Assistant Doorkeeper (Johnson).	2,400.00	2,400.00
James L. Moran .....	Messenger, acting as Assistant Doorkeeper (Metcalf).	2,400.00	2,400.00
J.A. Abbott .....	Messenger, acting as Assistant Doorkeeper (old soldiers' roll).	2,400.00	2,400.00
John B. Dufault .....	Messenger, acting as Assistant Doorkeeper (nonpatronage roll).	2,400.00	2,400.00
John R. Perry .....	Messenger, acting as Assistant Doorkeeper (minority).	2,400.00	2,400.00
James F. Sellers .....	Messenger at card door (efficiency roll).	2,580.00	2,880.00
John R. Birch .....	Messenger (Norbeck) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Frank M. Compton .....	Messenger (Steiwier) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Leo J. O'Connor .....	Messenger (Reed) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
William H.K. Depue ....	Messenger (Edge) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Nathan Baer .....	Messenger (old soldiers' roll) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Thomas J. Anderson ....	Messenger (Shipstead) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Harry U. Crumit .....	Messenger (Goff) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Theodore F. Hodgson ...	Messenger (Johnson) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Sam. R. Smith .....	Messenger (Watson) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Thomas B. Moore .....	Messenger (Frazier) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Joseph B. Hannan .....	Messenger (McLean) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Thos. P. Mitchell .....	Messenger (Oddie) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Richard L. Riedel .....	Messenger (nonpatronage roll) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
H.W. Murphy .....	Messenger (Robinson) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Lyman A. Piper .....	Messenger (Keyes) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
William P. Burkinshaw	Messenger (McLean) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00

JUNE 19, 1929

Name	Office	Salary	New Salary
Charles S. Forbes .....	Messenger (Greene) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
C.E. Moore .....	Messenger (Curtis and Capper) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Columbus F. Lynch .....	Messenger (exempt roll) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Joseph C. Lingle .....	Messenger (Vandenberg) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Philip R. Layton .....	Messenger (Waterman) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Peter H. Moore .....	Messenger (efficiency roll) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
W.E. Sanborn .....	Messenger (Gillett) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Wm. W. Lunger .....	Messenger (Steiwier) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Geo. M. Parris .....	Messenger .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Donald L. Moody .....	Messenger (McNary) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
L.Q.C. Lamar .....	Messenger (minority) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Ernesto Espinosa .....	Messenger (Larrazolo) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Crawford Kennedy .....	Messenger (Howell) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
M.L. Eidsness .....	Messenger (Brookhart) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Richard A. Terrell .....	Messenger (Robinson) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
John W. Brady .....	Messenger (Fess) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
John Hammond .....	Messenger (old soldiers' roll) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
T.E. Patteson .....	Messenger (Phipps) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
David S. Corser .....	Messenger (old soldiers' roll) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Joseph A. Baldwin .....	Messenger (Vandenberg) .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Henry F. Keegan .....	Messenger for Minority .....	1,770.00	2,040.00
Sydney H. Buttz .....	Messenger (McMaster) .....	1,310.00	1,560.00
E.V. Murphy, Jr. ....	Clerk on Journal work for Congressional Record (exempt).	2,800.00	3,360.00
James D. Preston .....	Superintendent of press gallery (exempt).	3,300.00	3,660.00
William J. Collins .....	Assistant superintendent of press gallery (exempt).	2,240.00	2,520.00
Joseph E. Wills .....	Messenger for service to press correspondents (exempt).	1,500.00	1,740.00
John J. McGrain .....	Deputy Sergeant at Arms and storekeeper (efficiency roll).	4,000.00	4,440.00
Grace I. Genzberger .....	Clerk (exempt) .....	2,140.00	2,460.00
W.L. Walling .....	Upholsterer and locksmith (exempt).	2,100.00	2,400.00
L.A. Nalls .....	Cabinetmaker (exempt) .....	1,800.00	2,040.00
Paul Bachschmid .....	Carpenter (exempt) .....	1,800.00	2,040.00
Wales G. Crane .....	do .....	1,800.00	2,040.00
J.W. McGinn .....	do .....	1,800.00	2,040.00
Frank M. Smith .....	Janitor (exempt) .....	1,800.00	2,040.00
Harriott G. Daley .....	Chief telephone operator (exempt)	2,160.00	2,460.00
Betty W. Schwickardi ..	Telephone operator (exempt) .....	1,320.00	1,560.00
Elizabeth G. Cole .....	do .....	1,320.00	1,560.00
Cecelia M. Regan .....	do .....	1,320.00	1,560.00
Florence M. Bryan .....	do .....	1,320.00	1,560.00
M.E. Frydell .....	do .....	1,320.00	1,560.00
Clare Mann .....	do .....	1,320.00	1,560.00
Lewis C. Joseph .....	do .....	1,320.00	1,560.00
Samuel P. Griffin .....	Night telephone operator (exempt)	1,140.00	1,380.00
Joan Scott .....	Telephone page (Couzens) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Walton Perkins .....	Skilled laborer (Sackett) .....	1,310.00	1,560.00
John Sims .....	Skilled laborer (exempt) .....	1,440.00	1,680.00
Octavius A. Williams ..	do .....	1,440.00	1,680.00
Saml. A. Bell .....	do .....	1,440.00	1,680.00
W.E. Standard .....	do .....	1,440.00	1,680.00

## SEVENTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1929–1931)

Name	Office	Salary	New Salary
William H. Montgomery.	Laborer in charge of private passage (exempt).	1,440.00	1,680.00
Amelia Selby .....	Female attendant in charge of ladies' retiring room (exempt).	1,240.00	1,500.00
Lelia V. Wallace .....	do .....	1,240.00	1,500.00
Osie A Van Horn .....	do .....	1,240.00	1,500.00
Hattie T. Weaver .....	Attendant in women's toilet room (exempt).	1,240.00	1,500.00
Jennie R. Cusick .....	do .....	1,240.00	1,500.00
May Doolan .....	do .....	1,240.00	1,500.00
Robt. Buehler .....	Laborer (nonpatronage roll) .....	1,100.00	1,320.00
Madison Thomas .....	Laborer (exempt) .....	1,100.00	1,320.00
Costomia L. Green .....	do .....	1,100.00	1,320.00
Wm. H. Underwood .....	Laborer (Pennsylvania) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Thomas F. Brady .....	Laborer (Couzens) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
William Brown .....	Laborer (exempt) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Joseph Spriggs .....	do .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Vernon V. Thompson ..	Laborer (Nye) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Richard A. Christmas ..	Laborer (exempt) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Chas. A. Neil .....	do .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Ollie Jeffress .....	do .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Frederick H. Gamble ..	Laborer (Sackett) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
A.A. Brooks, Jr. ....	Laborer (exempt) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Raymond E. Bright .....	do .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Frank McCampbell .....	do .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Ulysses G. Gordon .....	do .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
P. Ralph Twine .....	Laborer (Pine) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Jas. E. Duffy .....	Laborer (exempt) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Wm. H. Matthews .....	do .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Wm. Thomas .....	do .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
William H. Taylor .....	do .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Paul A. Tangora .....	Laborer (Schall) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
David L. Bilisoly .....	Laborer (Waterman) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
August Zimmerman, Jr	Laborer .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Leon De Ville .....	Laborer (exempt) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
A. Lincoln Brown .....	Laborer .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Wm. B. Talbert .....	Laborer (exempt) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Joseph H. Palmer .....	do .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Theodore R. Cannady ..	do .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Alfred H. Selby .....	do .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Edward F. Janifer .....	do .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Joshua W. Barkley .....	do .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Geo. T. Johnson .....	do .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
A.F. Ruffu .....	Laborer (minority) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
S.G. Mueller .....	Laborer (Waterman) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Ernest L. Montgomery	Laborer (exempt) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Noble M. Clark .....	Laborer (Reed) .....	1,010.00	1,260.00
Fred A. Eckstein .....	Postmaster (efficiency roll) .....	2,740.00	3,060.00
J. Louis Robertson .....	Chief Clerk (Norris) .....	2,150.00	2,460.00
Honore J. Provencal .....	Mail carrier (Metcalf) .....	1,520.00	1,740.00
Ralph D. Brown .....	Mail carrier (Greene) .....	1,520.00	1,740.00
Helen T. Scott .....	Mail carrier (Moses) .....	1,520.00	1,740.00
Paul H. Crofts .....	Mail carrier (Warren) .....	1,520.00	1,740.00
Rex D. Thomas .....	Mail carrier (Norris) .....	1,520.00	1,740.00
Louis D. Nattkemper ...	Mail carrier (Watson) .....	1,520.00	1,740.00
Frances M. Westcott ....	Mail carrier (Curtis and Capper) ..	1,520.00	1,740.00

JUNE 19, 1929

Name	Office	Salary	New Salary
Gordon K. MacIntosh ..	Riding page (Waterman) .....	1,220.00	1,440.00
E.W. Foster .....	Riding page (old soldiers' roll) .....	1,220.00	1,440.00
Joseph H. Bishop .....	Wagon master (exempt) .....	1,800.00	2,040.00
John W. Deards .....	Foreman in folding room (efficiency roll).	2,160.00	2,460.00
F.B. McKeever .....	Assistant in folding room (efficiency roll).	1,940.00	2,160.00
Wm. H. Gehman .....	Chief in folding room (nonpatronage roll).	1,770.00	2,040.00
Thomas N. Wilkerson, Jr.	Clerk in folding room (Larrazolo) ..	1,520.00	1,740.00
Millard Smallwood .....	Folder (Norris) .....	1,310.00	1,560.00
Charles C. Barnard .....	Folder (Norbeck) .....	1,310.00	1,560.00
Wm. C. Rees .....	Folder (Borah) .....	1,310.00	1,560.00
Moss Noble .....	Folder (Sackett) .....	1,310.00	1,560.00
Eleanor M. Scott .....	Folder (Couzens) .....	1,310.00	1,560.00
Robert C. Boyden .....	Folder (Nye) .....	1,310.00	1,560.00
W.J. Ransdell .....	Folder (efficiency roll) .....	1,310.00	1,560.00
James D. Francis .....	Folder (Blaine) .....	1,140.00	1,380.00
James G. Lyons .....	Folder (Johnson) .....	1,140.00	1,380.00
William E. Kenney .....	Folder (La Follette) .....	1,140.00	1,380.00
John N. Alley .....	Folder (Borah) .....	1,140.00	1,380.00
Henry S. Martin .....	do .....	1,140.00	1,380.00
Ralph B. Reily .....	Folder (Brookhart) .....	1,140.00	1,380.00
A.L. Lake .....	Folder .....	1,140.00	1,380.00
James E. Talbert .....	Laborer in charge of toilet rooms in old library space (exempt).	950.00	1,200.00
Wm S. Cheatham .....	Stenographer in charge of furniture accounts and records (exempt).	1,520.00	1,740.00
John R. Curry .....	Special officer (Warren) .....	1,520.00	1,740.00
Clyde L. Cushion .....	Private, police force (Brookhart) ...	1,360.00	1,620.00
Wm. J. Moreland .....	Private, police force .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
C.D. Thomas .....	Private, police force (Frazier) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
George K. Campbell .....	Private, police force (Deneen) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
Nestor A. Gnash .....	Private, police force .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
Jim Reynolds .....	Private, police force (Howell) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
John Z. Williams .....	Private, police force (Oddie) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
R.S. Whitney .....	Private, police force .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
J.L. Roney .....	do .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
Virgil M. Healy .....	Private, police force (Couzens) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
Abraham P. Aaronsen .....	Private, police force (Pine) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
Harry A. Gilbert .....	do .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
Francis J. Sheehy .....	Private, police force (Hastings) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
Alma F. Heath .....	Private, police force (Thomas) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
E. Becke .....	Private, police force (Pennsylvania).	1,360.00	1,620.00
Frank Maguire .....	Private, police force (Metcalf) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
Charles E. A'Hearn, Jr.	Page, during session (minority), per day.	3.30	4.00
Arthur G. Barnhart .....	do .....	3.30	4.00
John A. Cardon .....	Page, during session (Smoot), per day.	3.30	4.00
George A. Carrick .....	Page, during session (minority), per day.	3.00	4.00
Allen S. Bours .....	do .....	3.30	4.00



## SEVENTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1929–1931)

Name	Office	Salary	New Salary
Thos. P. Brodigan .....	Page, during session, per day .....	3.30	4.00
Lyle T. Fritz .....	do .....	3.30	4.00
Frank J. Kearney .....	Page, during session (Reed), per day.	3.30	4.00
Phillip N. Joachim .....	Page, during session, per day .....	3.30	4.00
Reverdy Johnson .....	do .....	3.30	4.00
Edward E. Jordan .....	Page, during session (minority), per day.	3.30	4.00
Frank M. Lane .....	Page, during session, per day .....	3.30	4.00
Samuel P. Guffin, Jr. ...	Page, during session (minority), per day.	3.30	4.00
John J. McCracken .....	Page, during session, per day .....	3.30	4.00
Richard W. Oyster .....	Page, during session (minority), per day.	3.30	4.00
Theodore H. Pfeiffer ....	Page, during session, per day .....	3.30	4.00
Laureston R. Porter .....	Page, during session (Hale), per day.	3.30	4.00
Walter Reid .....	Page, during session (Shipstead), ..	3.30	4.00
Thomas F. Rogers .....	Page, during session, per day .....	3.30	4.00
James E. Maynard .....	do .....	3.30	4.00
Robert C. Davis, Jr. ....	Page, during session (minority), per day.	3.30	4.00
Stephen J. Gnash .....	Captain, Capitol police (non-patronage roll).	2,150.00	2,460.00
B.D. Wigby .....	Lieutenant (Shipstead) .....	1,520.00	1,740.00
J.G. Underwood .....	Special officer (Burton) .....	1,520.00	1,740.00
J.L. Harrigan .....	Sergeant (Gould) .....	1,410.00	1,680.00
A.S. Gillett .....	Private (McMaster) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
R.H. Wootton .....	Private (Smoot) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
John F. Sheehan .....	Private (Gillett) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
H.M. Cullimore .....	Private .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
M.S. Frazier .....	Private (Nye) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
S.N. Moe .....	Private (Blaine) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
James Laughlin .....	Private (Schall) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
L.R. Wilson .....	Private (Sackett) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
L.L. Stentz .....	Private (Norbeck) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
N.B. Hearn .....	Private (Hastings) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
C.F. Hayden .....	Private (Schall) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
Leo Riscassi .....	Private (Bingham) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
D.A. Carpenter .....	Private (Phipps) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
L.J. Cullimore .....	Private (Smoot) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
R.J. Echols .....	Private (Goff) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
M.B. Earle .....	Private (Oddie) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
M.J. Cohan .....	Private (Dale) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
K.P. Fennell .....	Private (Greene) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
Charles S. Selby .....	Private (Barry) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
A.C. Alarid .....	Private (Larrazolo) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
T.J. Farmer .....	Private (Pennsylvania) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
E.B. Ewell .....	Private (Nye) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
Albert Crippa .....	Private (Warren) .....	1,360.00	1,620.00
Architect of the Capitol			
William Mullin .....	Elevator conductor (Hastings) .....	\$1,520.00	
H.P. Kester .....	Elevator conductor (Borah) .....	1,520.00	
Frank W. Smith .....	Elevator conductor (Robinson) .....	1,520.00	

JUNE 19, 1929

Name	Office	Salary	New Salary
J.D. Weltmer .....	Elevator conductor (Curtis and Capper).	1,520.00	
L. Kenneth Swiger .....	Elevator conductor (Goff) .....	1,520.00	
Philip A. Hoghaug .....	Elevator conductor (Frazier) .....	1,520.00	
Samuel Green .....	Elevator conductor (Pennsylvania)	1,520.00	
John A. Kardys .....	Elevator conductor (McLean) .....	1,520.00	
George F. Griffin .....	Elevator conductor (Moses) .....	1,520.00	
Howard Henry .....	Elevator conductor (McMaster) ....	1,520.00	
Wheeler Grey .....	Elevator conductor, S.O.B. (Edge)	1,520.00	
Howard G. Campbell ...	Elevator conductor, S.O.B. (Thomas).	1,520.00	
H.W. Ellsworth .....	do .....	1,520.00	
D.D. Taylor .....	Elevator conductor, S.O.B. (Jones)	1,520.00	
T.J. Kelly .....	Elevator conductor, S.O.B. (Edge)	1,520.00	
C.J. Ridgley .....	Elevator conductor, S.O.B. (Glenn)	1,520.00	
William Watts .....	Elevator conductor, S.O.B. (McNary).	1,520.00	
H.B. Gourley .....	do .....	1,520.00	
T.A. Cassara .....	Elevator conductor, S.O.B. (Bingham).	1,520.00	
F.E. Fuller .....	Elevator conductor, S.O.B. ....	1,520.00	
R.F. Fortune .....	Elevator conductor, S.O.B. (Shortridge).	1,520.00	
A.F. Day .....	Elevator conductor, S.O.B. (Burton).	1,520.00	
F.T. Jarrett .....	Elevator conductor, S.O.B. ....	1,520.00	
I.S. Tanner .....	Elevator conductor, S.O.B. (Smoot)	1,520.00	
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Maintenance Roll Senate Office Building			
J.A. MacMahon .....	Supply clerk (Phipps) .....	\$2,040.00	
J.C. Pillsbury .....	Special officer .....	1,520.00	
Maurice S. Swann .....	Elevator conductor (Shortridge) ....	1,512.00	
Kenneth O'Connell .....	Elevator conductor (Hale) .....	1,512.00	
J.G. Gullett .....	Elevator conductor (Deneen) .....	1,512.00	
A.B. Beard .....	Elevator conductor (Steiwer) .....	1,512.00	
J.D. Reilly .....	Elevator conductor (Shortridge) ....	1,512.00	

[September 19, 1929]

## REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

September 19, 1929

The Conference was called to order at 11 o'clock a.m., in the Marble Room of the Senate, by the Chairman, Senator Watson, pursuant to call.

Senator Hale, Secretary of the Conference, was detained and Senator Howell acted in his stead by request of the Chairman.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Bingham, Capper, Couzens, Deneen, Edge, Gillett, Glenn, Goff, Goldsborough, Gould, Greene, Hale, Hastings, Hatfield, Howell, Jones, Kean, Keyes, McMaster, McNary, Moses, Oddie, Patterson, Phipps, Reed, Sackett, Shortridge, Smoot, Steiwer, Thomas, Townsend, Vandenberg, Walcott, Warren, and Watson.

Total 35, a quorum being present.

Messrs. Fess and Nye entered after the conclusion of the roll call.

Following a statement by the Chairman as to the necessity of expedition in connection with the tariff bill and the need for prolonged sessions, and after discussion:

It was moved by Senator Edge and unanimously agreed; that, "It is the sentiment of the Conference that the Senate hereafter meet at 11 o'clock beginning Monday morning next."

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] R.B. Howell  
Acting Secretary.

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[January 10, 1930]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 10, 1930

The Conference was called to order by Senator Watson, the Chairman, at eleven o'clock a.m., in the Marble Room of the Senate, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Allen, Baird, Bingham, Capper, Couzens, Dale, Deneen, Fess, Gillett, Gould, Greene, Grundy, Hale, Hebert, Howell, Johnson, Jones, Kean, Keyes, McCulloch, McMaster, McNary, Metcalf, Moses, Norbeck, Norris, Nye, Oddie, Patterson, Phipps, Robinson (Indiana), Smoot, Steiwer, Sullivan, Thomas (Idaho), Townsend, Vandenberg, Walcott, and Watson.

Total 39, a quorum being present.

The Chairman stated that, owing to his appointment as Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, Senator Jones felt that he could no longer act as Vice Chairman,

Thereupon, nominations for the office of Vice Chairman were called for.

JANUARY 10, 1930

Senator Couzens nominated Senator McNary, and, there being a sufficient second and no other nominations, he was unanimously elected.

Senator McNary, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, submitted the following report, which was read by the Secretary:

*ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY*

Messrs. McNary, Chairman, Norris, Capper, Norbeck, Frazier, Gould, Thomas (Idaho), Hatfield, Townsend, Walcott, and Shipstead.

*ON APPROPRIATIONS*

Messrs. Jones, Chairman, Smoot, Hale, Phipps, Keyes, Bingham, Oddie, Nye, Pine, Glenn, and Steiwer.

*TO AUDIT AND CONTROL THE CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF  
THE SENATE*

Messrs. Deneen, Chairman, Fess, and Greene.

*ON BANKING AND CURRENCY*

Messrs. Norbeck, Chairman, Phipps, Brookhart, Goldsborough, Townsend, Walcott, Blaine, Baird, Jr., Grundy, and \_\_\_\_\_.

*ON CIVIL SERVICE*

Messrs. Dale, Chairman, Couzens, Pine, Brookhart, Kean, Grundy, and \_\_\_\_\_.

*ON CLAIMS*

Messrs. Howell, Chairman, Capper, McMaster, Steiwer, Waterman, Brookhart, Glenn, and Townsend.

*ON COMMERCE*

Messrs. Johnson, Chairman, Jones, McNary, Dale, Gould, Nye, Vandenberg, Deneen, Patterson, Howell, and Allen.

*ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA*

Messrs. Capper, Chairman, Jones, Gould, Blaine, Vandenberg, Kean, Baird, Jr., and \_\_\_\_\_.

*ON EDUCATION AND LABOR*

Messrs. Metcalf, Chairman, Borah, Phipps, Couzens, Gillette, Walcott, and Baird, Jr.

*ON ENROLLED BILLS*

Messrs. Greene, Chairman, and Gillett.

*ON EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS*

Messrs. Goff, Chairman, Keyes, Steiwer, and Hastings.

*ON FINANCE*

Messrs. Smoot, Chairman, Watson, Reed, Shortridge, Couzens, Greene, Deneen, Keyes, Bingham, La Follette, Jr., and Thomas (Idaho).

*ON FOREIGN RELATIONS*

Messrs. Borah, Chairman, Johnson, Moses, Capper, Gillett, Reed, Fess, Goff, La Follette, Jr., Vandenberg, Robinson (Indiana), and Shipstead.

*ON IMMIGRATION*

Messrs. Gould, Chairman, Johnson, Keyes, Reed, Nye, Watson, and Hatfield.

*ON INDIAN AFFAIRS*

Messrs. Frazier, Chairman, Schall, McMaster, La Follette, Jr., Pine, Steiwer, and Walcott.

*ON INTEROCEANIC CANALS*

Messrs. Schall, Chairman, Pine, Brookhart, Blaine, Hebert, Allen, and McCulloch.

*ON INTERSTATE COMMERCE*

Messrs. Couzens, Chairman, Watson, Fess, Howell, Goff, Pine, Metcalf, Glenn, Brookhart, Kean, and Hastings.

*ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION*

Messrs. Thomas (Idaho), Chairman, Jones, McNary, Phipps, Shortridge, Johnson, Howell, Townsend, and Sullivan.

*ON THE JUDICIARY*

Messrs. Norris, Chairman, Borah, Deneen, Gillett, Robinson (Indiana), Blaine, Steiwer, Waterman, Hastings, and Hebert.

*ON THE LIBRARY*

Messrs. Fess, Chairman, Howell, Gillett, Bingham, and Norbeck.

JANUARY 10, 1930

*ON MANUFACTURES*

Messrs. La Follette, Jr., Chairman, McNary, Metcalf, Deneen, Goldsborough, Hatfield, and Grundy.

*ON MILITARY AFFAIRS*

Messrs. Reed, Chairman, Greene, McMaster, Cutting, Hatfield, Patterson, McCulloch, Baird, Jr., Sullivan, and \_\_\_\_.

*ON MINES AND MINING*

Messrs. Oddie, Chairman, Goff, La Follette, Jr., Robinson (Indiana), Frazier, Thomas (Idaho), and Patterson.

*ON NAVAL AFFAIRS*

Messrs. Hale, Chairman, Oddie, Shortridge, Metcalf, Schall, Waterman, Goldsborough, Kean, Sullivan, and Grundy.

*ON PATENTS*

Messrs. Waterman, Chairman, Norris, Goldsborough, and Hebert.

*ON PENSIONS*

Messrs. Robinson (Indiana), Chairman, Norbeck, Schall, Frazier, Couzens, Patterson, and Shipstead.

*ON POST OFFICES AND POST ROADS*

Messrs. Phipps, Chairman, Moses, Oddie, Dale, Schall, McMaster, Frazier, Cutting, Hebert, Allen, and McCulloch.

*ON PRINTING*

Messrs. Shipstead, Chairman, Moses, Vandenberg, and Allen.

*ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS*

Messrs. Shortridge, Chairman, Watson, Greene, Waterman, Moses, Glenn, Hastings, Blaine, and McCulloch.

*ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS*

Messrs. Keyes, Chairman, Fess, McMaster, Gould, Smoot, Shortridge, Sullivan, and Shipstead.

*ON PUBLIC LANDS AND SURVEYS*

Messrs. Nye, Chairman, Smoot, Norbeck, Oddie, Dale, McNary, Glenn, and Cutting.

*ON RULES*

Messrs. Moses, Chairman, Hale, Watson, Dale, Smoot, Reed, and Bingham.

*ON TERRITORIES AND INSULAR AFFAIRS*

Messrs. Bingham, Chairman, Johnson, Robinson (Indiana), Nye, Metcalf, Vandenberg, Goff, and Cutting.

Senator McMaster made a statement about the non-observance of the seniority rule in filling the vacancy on the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Senator McNary stated that it was the opinion of the Committee on Committees that the next vacancy on the Committee on Interstate Commerce should go to Senator McMaster.

After some discussion,

Senator Howell moved to refer the report back to the Committee on Committees with instructions to place Senator McMaster on the Committee on Interstate Commerce to fill the vacancy on that committee.

Senator Phipps moved as a substitute for Mr. Howell's motion that the report be referred back to the Committee on Committees with instructions to follow the seniority rule in all appointments.

The hour of twelve o'clock having arrived, being the convening time of the Senate, it was moved and agreed to adjourn until the following day, Saturday, January 11, 1930, at eleven o'clock a.m.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

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[January 11, 1930]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 11, 1930

The Conference assembled in the Marble Room of the Senate and was called to order by the Chairman at eleven o'clock a.m., as agreed upon the day before.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

JANUARY 11, 1930

Messrs. Allen, Baird, Bingham, Blaine, Deneen, Fess, Frazier, Gillett, Glenn, Gould, Greene, Grundy, Hale, Hebert, Howell, Johnson, Jones, Kean, Keyes, McMaster, McNary, Metcalf, Moses, Norbeck, Norris, Nye, Oddie, Patterson, Robinson, Shortridge, Smoot, Steiwer, Sullivan, Thomas (Idaho), Townsend, Vandenberg, Walcott, Waterman, and Watson.

Total 39, a quorum being present.

On a rising vote of 19 to 15 it was decided that the Conference was in favor of having the Senate meet daily at eleven o'clock a.m. while the Tariff Bill, H.R. 2667, was under consideration.

Mr. Howell withdrew his motion made on the previous day, stating that he did so at the request of Senator McMaster.

Senator Watson thereupon withdrew the motion made by Senator Phipps on yesterday, stating that Senator Phipps had given him authority so to do.

Senator McMaster stated that he did not wish to have any understanding or promise that he was to have the next appointment on the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Senator McNary, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, moved the adoption of the report of that committee, and the motion, being seconded, was unanimously adopted.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

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The following order was offered in the Senate, January 11, 1930, by Senator McNary, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, and adopted:

ORDERED: That the following Senators be excused from further service as members of the following committees:

Mr. Steiwer from the Committee on Banking and Currency and the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. Thomas of Idaho from the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. Hebert from the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. Blaine from the Committee on Civil Service and the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. La Follette, Jr., from the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. Hastings from the Committee on the District of Columbia and the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

Mr. Hale from the Committee on Manufactures and the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

Mr. Robinson of Indiana from the Committee on Military Affairs.



SEVENTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1929–1931)

Mr. Howell from the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. Allen from the Committee on Naval Affairs.

That the following Senators be assigned to membership on the following committees:

Mr. Allen to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. Blaine to the Committee on Banking and Currency and the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. Hastings to the Committee on Interstate Commerce and the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

Mr. Hebert to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Howell to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. La Follette, Jr., to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. Robinson of Indiana to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. Steiwer to the Committee on Appropriations and Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

Mr. Thomas of Idaho to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. McCulloch to the Committee on Military Affairs, the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, the Committee on Interoceanic Canals, and the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. Baird, Jr., to the Committee on Banking and Currency, the Committee on Military Affairs, the Committee on the District of Columbia, and the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. Sullivan to the Committee on Military Affairs, the Committee on Naval Affairs, the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, and the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. Grundy to the Committee on Banking and Currency, the Committee on Naval Affairs, the Committee on Manufactures, and the Committee on Civil Service.

Mr. Robsion to the Committee on Banking and Currency, the Committee on Military Affairs, the Committee on the District of Columbia, and the Committee on Civil Service.

That Mr. Jones be excused from further service as chairman of the Committee on Commerce.

That Mr. Johnson be excused from further service as chairman of the Committee on Immigration.

That the following Senators are hereby appointed chairman of the following committees:

Mr. Jones as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. Johnson as chairman of the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. Gould as chairman of the Committee on Immigration.

Mr. Schall as chairman of the Committee on Interoceanic Canals.

JANUARY 11, 1930

Mr. Goff as chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

\* \* \*

James E. Watson  
Chairman

United States Senate  
Conference of the Majority

April 8, 1930.

My dear Senator:

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by the Republican Conference of March 5, 1929, I have appointed the following Committee on Order of Business (so-called Steering Committee) to serve during the Seventy-first Congress:

Mr. Goff, Chairman  
Mr. Vandenberg  
Mr. Hastings  
Mr. Frazier  
Mr. Kean

Please confer with the Chairman or any member of this Committee with reference to any legislation in which you may be interested.

Yours very truly,  
[signed] James E. Watson.  
Chairman.

\* \* \*

Guy D. Goff, Chairman  
Arthur H. Vandenberg  
Daniel O. Hastings  
Lynn J. Frazier  
Hamilton F. Kean

United States Senate  
Majority Committee on  
Order of Business

April 11, 1930

My dear Senator:

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held on Friday, April 11, 1930, made a careful examination of the bills now pending upon the Senate Calendar, or which have been ordered reported, and suggest that the following bills be made the unfinished business of the Senate, in the order listed, after disposal of the pending Immigration Bill:

SEVENTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1929–1931)

Calendar No. 316. S. Res. 227, by Mr. Swanson.

Resolution to amend the Senate rules so as to abolish proceedings in Committee of the Whole on bills, joint resolutions, and treaties.

Calendar No. 378. S. 3619, by Mr. Couzens.

A bill to reorganize the Federal Power Commission.

Calendar No. 282. S. 3901, by Mr. Bingham.

A bill to establish a commercial airport for the District of Columbia.

H.R. 10288.

An act to regulate the transportation of persons in interstate and foreign commerce by motor carriers operating on the public highways.

Calendar No. 193. H.R. 6.

An act to amend the definition of oleomargarine contained in the act entitled "An act defining butter, also imposing a tax upon and regulating the manufacture, sale, importation, and exportation of oleomargarine," approved August 2, 1886, as amended.

It should be understood that appropriation bills, executive sessions, and the unanimous consent agreement whereby S. 3059 and S. 3061, relative to unemployment, were made special orders for April 15, 1930, shall have the right of way.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Guy D. Goff  
Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business.

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Guy D. Goff, Chairman  
Arthur H. Vandenberg  
Daniel O. Hastings  
Lynn J. Frazier  
Hamilton F. Kean

United States Senate  
Majority Committee on  
Order of Business

May 7, 1930.

My dear Senator:

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business to submit amended suggestions respecting the Senate's program of unfinished business.

The reasons for the suggested change are that two measures to which the Committee originally intended to give priorities, but which were not on the Calendar when our previous list was published, are now available for schedule. We are confident that the Senate will desire to pass upon them as speedily as possible.

JANUARY 11, 1930

With these premises in mind, we suggest the following amended program:

Calendar No. 371. S. 3060, by Mr. Wagner.

A bill to provide for the establishment of a national employment system and for cooperation with the States in the promotion of such system, and for other purposes.

Calendar No. 615. H.R. 8574.

An Act to transfer to the Attorney General certain functions in the administration of the national prohibition act, to create a Bureau of Prohibition in the Department of Justice, and for other purposes.

Calendar 316. S. Res. 227, by Mr. Swanson.

Resolution to amend the Senate rules so as to abolish proceedings in Committee of the Whole on bills, joint resolutions, and treaties.

S.J. Res. 161, by Mr. Couzens.

Joint resolution to suspend the authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission to approve consolidations or unifications of railway properties.

Calendar No. 378. S. 3619, by Mr. Couzens.

A bill to reorganize the Federal Power Commission.

Calendar No. 193. H.R. 6.

An act to amend the definition of oleomargarine contained in the act entitled "An act defining butter, also imposing a tax upon and regulating the manufacture, sale, importation, and exportation of oleomargarine," approved August 2, 1886, as amended.

Calendar No. 419. H.R. 9592.

An act to amend sec. 407 of the merchant marine act, 1928.

It is understood that all of these suggestions are subordinate to appropriation bills, to the tariff bill, and to the London treaty whenever any of these measures may seek consideration.

Respectfully yours,

[signed] A.H. Vandenberg  
Acting Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business.

SEVENTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1929–1931)

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Guy D. Goff, Chairman  
Arthur H. Vandenberg  
Daniel O. Hastings  
Lynn J. Frazier  
Hamilton F. Kean

United States Senate  
Majority Committee on  
Order of Business

May 20, 1930.

My Dear Senator:

The Senate has completed consideration of most of the bills previously suggested. A number of important measures, which deserve priorities, are not yet out of their Committees. In order not to prejudice these priorities, we confine the present list to only three additional bills. This will preserve continuity and yet should not hinder the consideration of this other legislation as soon as it can be reached. We take the liberty of suggesting the following program:

Calendar No. 193. H.R. 6.

An act to amend the definition of oleomargarine contained in the act entitled "An act defining butter, also imposing a tax upon and regulating the manufacture, sale, importation, and exportation of oleomargarine," approved August 2, 1886, as amended.

Calendar No. 419. H.R. 9592.

An act to amend sec. 407 of the merchant marine act, 1928.

Calendar No. 21. S. 1133, by Mr. McNary.

A bill to amend sec. 8 of the act entitled "An act for preventing the manufacture, sale, or transportation of adulterated or misbranded or poisonous or deleterious foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors, and for regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes," approved June 30, 1906, as amended.

Calendar No. 636. S. 4205, by Mr. Hawes.

A bill to amend par. (6) of sec. 5 of the interstate commerce act, as amended.

Calendar No. 368. S. 255, by Mr. Jones.

A bill for the promotion of the health and welfare of mothers and infants, and for other purposes.

JANUARY 11, 1930

It is understood that all of these suggestions are subordinate to appropriation bills, to the tariff bill, and to the London treaty whenever any of these measures may seek consideration.

Respectfully yours,  
[signed] A.H. Vandenberg  
Acting Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business.

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[May 26, 1930]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

May 26, 1930

The Conference was called to order by its Chairman, Senator Watson, in the Marble Room of the Senate at 10 o'clock a.m., pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Allen, Baird, Bingham, Blaine, Couzens, Deneen, Fess, Gillett, Glenn, Goff, Goldsborough, Greene, Hale, Hebert, Johnson, Jones, Kean, Keyes, McCulloch, McNary, Metcalf, Norbeck, Norris, Oddie, Patterson, Phipps, Reed, Robinson (Indiana), Robsion, Schall, Shortridge, Smoot, Steiwer, Sullivan, Thomas (Idaho), Townsend, Vandenberg, Walcott, and Watson.

Total 39, a quorum being present.

A general discussion was had with reference to the procedure upon the pending legislation.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

Guy D. Goff, Chairman  
Arthur H. Vandenberg  
Daniel O. Hastings  
Lynn J. Frazier  
Hamilton F. Kean

United States Senate  
Majority Committee on  
Order of Business

January 7, 1931.

My dear Senator:

I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business of the Republican Conference to inform you that the Committee, at a meeting held on January 7, 1931, made an examination of the bills now pending on the Senate Calendar, and suggest that the following bills be made the unfinished business of the Senate in the order listed, after the disposal of the pending Maternity Bill:

Calendar No. 747. Sen. Bill 3344, by Mr. Howell.

A bill supplementing the national prohibition act for the District of Columbia.

Calendar No. 1232. H.R. 6603.

An act to provide for a shorter work week for postal employees, and for other purposes.

Calendar No. 1227. H.R. 13518.

An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.

Calendar No. 794. Sen. Bill 3822, by Mr. Hawes and Mr. Cutting.

A bill to provide for the withdrawal of the sovereignty of the United States over the Philippine Islands and for the recognition of their independence, etc.

It should be understood that all of these suggestions are subordinate to appropriation bills, conference reports, and executive business.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Guy D. Goff.  
Chairman Committee on Order of  
Business.

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[February 9, 1931]

## REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

February 9, 1931

The Conference was called to order in the Marble Room of the Senate at 11 o'clock a.m., by the Chairman, Senator Watson, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

FEBRUARY 9, 1931

Messrs. Bingham, Capper, Carey, Couzens, Dale, Davis, Deneen, Fess, Frazier, Gillett, Glenn, Goff, Gould, Hale, Jones, Kean, McMaster, McNary, Morrow, Moses, Norbeck, Nye, Oddie, Partridge, Patterson, Phipps, Reed, Robinson (Indiana), Schall, Shortridge, Smoot, Thomas (Idaho), Townsend, Vandenberg, Walcott, Waterman, and Watson.

Total 37, a quorum being present.

Messrs. Hebert, Steiwer, and Norris entered later.

The Chairman, Senator Watson, appealed to all Republican Senators to keep in constant attendance during the balance of the session.

Veterans bonus legislation came up for informal discussion.

The letter of Secretary Hyde to Representative Wood, in regard to relief measures, was also informally discussed.

The Conference, on motion made and carried, agreed that the patronage of Senators whose terms of office expire on March 4, 1931, shall continue until the organization of the next Congress.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.



## Seventy-second Congress (1931–1933)

[Editor's Note: The worsening depression affected the 1930 congressional election, in which the Republicans' Senate majority slipped to a precarious single vote, 48 Republicans, 47 Democrats, and one Farmer-Labor member. The Republicans' situation was made more insecure because twelve of the party members were progressive Republicans. Recognizing that they held the balance of power, these senators flexed their political muscle, refusing to vote for conservative New Hampshire Senator George Moses as president pro tempore. The effect of this obstruction, however, was simply that Moses, who already held the post, continued to serve throughout the Congress without a vote being taken. In the House, where the election results were 217 to 217, the Democrats were able to organize the body due to the deaths of some Republican members.

President Hoover tried various methods to ease the depression. At his urging, Congress passed legislation establishing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to provide loans to financial institutions, an act to expand credit, and the Federal Home Loan Bank Act, designed to reduce foreclosures. Still, banks across the country continued to fail. In June 1932 the Bonus Army marched on Washington, as World War I veterans sought immediate cash payment of the promised government bonus, but the Senate refused to agree to the House-passed legislation. A month later, President Hoover used federal troops to remove the remaining veterans from government property.

The Republican Conference minutes reflect none of this activity, however, as the Conference met only once at the beginning of the Congress to elect its officers and handle organizational matters.]

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[December 4, 1931]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

December 4, 1931

The Conference was called to order at 10:30 a.m., in the Marble Room of the Senate, pursuant to call, by the Chairman, Senator Watson.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Austin, Barbour, Bingham, Capper, Carey, Couzens, Dale, Davis, Dickinson, Fess, Glenn, Goldsborough, Hale, Hastings, Hatfield, Hebert, Johnson, Jones, Kean, McNary, Oddie, Patterson, Reed, Robinson (Indiana), Smoot, Steiwer, Thomas (Idaho), Townsend, Vandenberg, Walcott, Waterman, Watson, and White.

Total 33, a quorum being present.

DECEMBER 4, 1931

Messrs. Schall and Shortridge entered after the roll call.

Senator Smoot nominated Senator Watson of Indiana to be Chairman of the Conference and Floor Leader, and he was unanimously chosen.

Senator Hebert nominated Senator Hale of Maine to be Secretary of the Conference, and he was unanimously chosen.

On motion, made and carried, the Chairman was authorized to appoint a Whip; and forthwith appointed Senator Fess.

On motion, made and carried, the Chairman was authorized to appoint a Committee on Committees; and forthwith announced the following appointments:

COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES  
*72nd Congress*

McNary, Chairman  
Moses  
Smoot  
Reed  
Oddie  
Nye  
Bingham  
Capper  
Hastings

On motions, made and carried, the Chairman was authorized to appoint a Committee on Order of Business, and also a Committee on Patronage. The Chairman indicated he would make the appointments at a later time.

The Alabama contested election case and the administration of the oath to Mr. Bankhead was discussed but no action was taken thereon.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

United States Senate  
Conference of the Majority

December 10, 1931

My Dear Senator:

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by the Republican Conference of December 4, 1931, I have appointed the following Committee on Patronage to serve during the Seventy-second Congress:

SEVENTY-SECOND CONGRESS (1931–1933)

Mr. Bingham, Chairman  
Mr. Steiwer [crossed out]  
Mr. Hastings  
Mr. Thomas [handwritten insert]  
Yours very truly,

[signed] James E. Watson  
Chairman.

[handwritten note] Note: Mr. Steiwer retired and Senator Watson appointed Senator Thomas (Idaho), February 1932.

\* \* \*

James E. Watson  
Chairman

United States Senate  
Conference of the Majority

December 10, 1931.

My dear Senator:

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by the Republican Conference of December 4, 1931, I have appointed the following Committee on Order of Business (so-called Steering Committee) to serve during the Seventy-second Congress:

Mr. Vandenberg, Chairman  
Mr. Hastings  
Mr. Frazier  
Mr. Kean  
Mr. Steiwer

Please confer with the Chairman or any member of this Committee with reference to any legislation in which you may be interested.

Yours very truly,  
[signed] James E. Watson.  
Chairman.

\* \* \*

Note: The Republican Committee on Committees made their assignments directly to the Senate on December 14, 1931 without taking them to a Republican Conference for Approval.

\* \* \*

James E. Watson  
Chairman

United States Senate  
Conference of the Majority

January 19, 1932.

DECEMBER 4, 1931

My dear Senator:

I wish to advise you that I have appointed the following members to constitute the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee:

Mr. Hatfield, Chairman  
Mr. Hebert, Vice Chairman  
Mr. Patterson  
Mr. Robinson, Indiana  
Mr. Goldsborough  
Mr. Kean  
Mr. Carey  
Mr. Dickinson

Yours very truly,  
[signed] James E. Watson  
Chairman.

## Seventy-third Congress (1933–1935)

[Editor's Note: The 1932 election that brought Franklin D. Roosevelt to the presidency also swept Democrats into control of Congress. In the Senate, Republicans had just 36 members to 59 Democrats and one Farmer-Labor member, while the House had 310 Democrats to only 117 Republicans and 5 independents.]

During the first Hundred Days of the New Deal, the Republican Conference met frequently to discuss such pending measures to fight the depression as the Economy Act, the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Glass-Steagall Banking Act, and the National Industrial Recovery Act. Congress also agreed to the president's decision to take the nation off the gold standard. During the second session of the Congress, from January to June 1934, the Conference continued to discuss proposed New Deal legislation, including the labor disputes joint resolution that established the National Labor Relations Board.]

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[March 7, 1933]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

March 7, 1933

The Conference was called to order at 10:30 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, by the Vice Chairman, Senator McNary, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Austin, Capper, Carey, Couzens, Davis, Dickinson, Fess, Goldsborough, Hale, Hastings, Hebert, Kean, Keyes, McNary, Norbeck, Nye, Patterson, Reed, Robinson (Indiana), Steiwer, Vandenberg, Walcott, and White.

Total present 23, absent 13.

Senator Reed nominated Senator McNary for Chairman of the Conference and Floor Leader for the Minority and he was unanimously chosen.

Senator McNary thereupon addressed the Conference.

Senator Fess was nominated for Vice Chairman and Assistant Floor Leader for the Minority and he was unanimously chosen.

Senator Hale was nominated for Secretary of the Conference and he was unanimously chosen.

MARCH 7, 1933

Senator Vandenberg was nominated for President pro tempore and he was unanimously chosen.

Mr. Carl A. Loeffler was nominated for Secretary for the Minority and he was unanimously chosen.

The Chairman was authorized to appoint a Legislative Committee of seven to take the place of the Committee on Order of Business.

The Chairman was authorized to appoint a Committee on Committees.

The Chairman was authorized to appoint a Committee on Patronage.

The Chairman was authorized to appoint a Whip.

The Committee on Legislation was authorized to examine and watch the calendar.

The Chairman, Mr. McNary, named the following Senators to constitute the Committee on Committees:

COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES  
*73d Congress*

Reed, Chairman  
Nye  
Capper  
Hastings  
Couzens  
Steiwer  
Hebert  
Patterson  
Carey

The Conference then recessed until eleven o'clock the following morning, March 8, 1933.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

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[March 8, 1933]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
March 8, 1933  
(After recess)

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 11:00 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building.

The roll was not called but the following Senators were observed to be present by the Secretary:

SEVENTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1933–1935)

Messrs. Austin, Capper, Carey, Couzens, Dale, Davis, Dickinson, Fess, Hale, Kean, Keyes, McNary, Norbeck, Nye, Patterson, Reed, Robinson (Indiana), Steiwer, Vandenberg, Walcott, and White.

The Chairman appointed the Committee on Patronage as follows:

COMMITTEE ON PATRONAGE

*73d Congress*

Metcalf, Chairman  
Keyes  
Frazier

The Chairman also appointed the Committee on Legislation as follows:

COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

*73d Congress*

Vandenberg, Chairman  
Hale  
Johnson  
Robinson (Indiana)  
Goldsborough  
Hatfield  
Townsend  
Dickinson  
Austin

Senator Reed, the Chairman, presented the report of the Committee on Committees, and it was agreed to in the form appended to these minutes.

The Chairman announced the appointment of Senator Hebert to act as Whip.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

(Confidential No. 2)

**STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE**

Seventy-third Congress

(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

**On Agriculture and Forestry (11–8)**

Messrs. NORRIS, MCNARY, CAPPER, NORBECK, FRAZIER, HATFIELD, CUTTING; SHIPSTEAD.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> [Senator Shipstead was a member of the Farmer-Labor party.]

MARCH 8, 1933

**On Appropriations (14-9)**

Messrs. HALE, KEYES, NYE, STEIWER, NORBECK, DALE, DICKINSON, TOWNSEND, CAREY.

**To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate (3-2)**

Messrs. FESS, TOWNSEND.

**On Banking and Currency (12-8)**

Messrs. NORBECK, GOLDSBOROUGH, TOWNSEND, WALCOTT, CAREY, COUZENS, STEIWER, KEAN.

**On Civil Service (6-4)**

Messrs. DALE, KEAN, WHITE, PATTERSON.

**On Claims (7-6)**

Messrs. CAPPER, HOWELL, TOWNSEND, WHITE, WALCOTT, AUSTIN.

**On Commerce (12-8)**

Messrs. MCNARY, JOHNSON, DALE, NYE, VANDENBERG, PATTERSON, HOWELL, WHITE.

**On the District of Columbia (9-6)**

Messrs. CAPPER, KEAN, CAREY, AUSTIN, DAVIS, COUZENS.

**On Education and Labor (8-5)**

Messrs. BORAH, METCALF, WALCOTT, LA FOLLETTE, Jr., DAVIS.

**On Enrolled Bills (2-1)**

Mr. VANDENBERG.

**On Expenditures in the Executive Departments (4-3)**

Messrs. HASTINGS, KEAN, GOLDSBOROUGH.

**On Finance (13-7)**

Messrs. REED, COUZENS, KEYES, LA FOLLETTE, Jr., METCALF, HASTINGS, WALCOTT.

**On Foreign Relations (14-9)**

Messrs. BORAH, JOHNSON, CAPPER, REED, FESS, LA FOLLETTE, Jr., VANDENBERG, ROBINSON, Ind.; SHIPSTEAD.

**On Immigration (8-6)**

Messrs. JOHNSON, KEYES, REED, NYE, HATFIELD, PATTERSON.

**On Indian Affairs (8-5)**

Messrs. FRAZIER, SCHALL, LA FOLLETTE, Jr., STEIWER, NORBECK.

**On Interoceanic Canals (5-3)**

Messrs. SCHALL, HEBERT, BARBOUR.

**On Interstate Commerce (12-8)**



Messrs. COUZENS, FESS, HOWELL, METCALF, KEAN, HASTINGS, HATFIELD, WHITE.

**On Irrigation and Reclamation** (11–6)

Messrs. MCNARY, JOHNSON, HOWELL, TOWNSEND, CAREY, CUTTING.

**On the Judiciary** (11–7)

Messrs. BORAH, NORRIS, ROBINSON, Ind., HASTINGS, HEBERT, SCHALL, AUSTIN.

**On the Library** (6–4)

Messrs. FESS, HOWELL, NORBECK, BARBOUR.

**On Manufactures** (8–5)

Messrs. MCNARY, METCALF, LA FOLLETTE, Jr., CUTTING, BARBOUR.

**On Military Affairs** (10–7)

Messrs. REED, CUTTING, PATTERSON, CAREY, DICKINSON, AUSTIN, BARBOUR.

**On Mines and Mining** (8–5)

Messrs. ROBINSON, Ind., FRAZIER, PATTERSON, HATFIELD, DAVIS.

**On Naval Affairs** (10–7)

Messrs. HALE, METCALF, GOLDSBOROUGH, KEAN, DAVIS, KEYES, JOHNSON.

**On Patents** (4–3)

Messrs. NORRIS, GOLDSBOROUGH, HEBERT.

**On Pensions** (6–4)

Messrs. SCHALL, FRAZIER, ROBINSON, Ind.; SHIPSTEAD.

**On Post Offices and Post Roads** (11–8)

Messrs. DALE, SCHALL, FRAZIER, HEBERT, CAPPER, LA FOLLETTE, Jr., BARBOUR, DAVIS.

**On Printing** (4–3)

Messrs. VANDENBERG, DICKINSON; SHIPSTEAD.

**On Privileges and Elections** (11–6)

Messrs. HASTINGS, HEBERT, AUSTIN, GOLDSBOROUGH, WALCOTT, DICKINSON.

**On Public Buildings and Grounds** (8–6)

Messrs. KEYES, FESS, DICKINSON, AUSTIN, BARBOUR; SHIPSTEAD.

**On Public Lands and Surveys** (9–6)

Messrs. NORBECK, DALE, NYE, CUTTING, STEIWER, CAREY.

MARCH 8, 1933

**On Rules (8-5)**

Messrs. HALE, DALE, REED, STEIWER, HEBERT.

**On Territories and Insular Affairs (10-7)**

Messrs. JOHNSON, ROBINSON, Ind., NYE, METCALF, VANDENBERG, CUTTING, MCNARY.

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[March 13, 1933]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

March 13, 1933

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman at 10:30 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was not called but the Secretary noted the presence of the following Senators:

Messrs. Austin, Barbour, Capper, Dale, Dickinson, Fess, Goldsborough, Hale, Hastings, Hebert, Kean, Keyes, McNary, Metcalf, Norbeck, Patterson, Reed, Steiwer, Townsend, Vandenberg, Walcott, and White.

Senate bill 233, To maintain the credit of the United States Government (so-called economy bill) was informally discussed, after which, The Conference adjourned.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

Copy of S. 233 is hereto appended.

\* \* \*

**Calendar No. 1**

Senate

73d Congress  
1st Session

Report  
No. 1

MAINTENANCE OF CREDIT OF THE UNITED STATES

March 9 (calendar day, March 11), 1933.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. Harrison, from the Committee on Finance, submitted the following

REPORT

(To accompany S. 233)

The Committee on Finance, to whom was referred the bill (S. 233) to maintain the credit of the United States Government, having considered the

same, report favorably thereon with a recommendation that the bill do pass with amendments.

### Title I

Section 1 of Title I of the bill authorizes the payment of pensions subject to such requirements and limitations as the President by regulation may prescribe and within the limitations of appropriations made by the Congress to the following classes of persons:

- (1) Any person who served in the active military or naval service and who is disabled as a result of disease or injury or aggravation of a preexisting disease or injury incurred in line of duty in such service.
- (2) Any person who served in the active military or naval service during the Spanish-American War including the Boxer rebellion and the Philippine insurrection or the World War and who is permanently disabled as a result of wound or disease.
- (3) The widow, child or children, dependent mother or father, of any person who dies as a result of disease or injury incurred or aggravated in line of duty in the active military or naval service.
- (4) The widow and/or child of any deceased person who served in the active military or naval service during the Spanish-American War including the Boxer rebellion and the Philippine insurrection.

For the purposes of pensions for nonservice-connected disabilities only those veterans of the World War who served prior to November 11, 1918, are included.

This section prescribes the class of persons serving for the specified periods who may be paid a pension, but does not create any rights to pensions except in accordance with the regulations to be issued by the President.

Section 2. of Title I of the bill prescribes the minimum and maximum monthly rate of pension which may be paid. The minimum for disability is \$6 per month and the maximum for disability is \$275 a month. The minimum disability payable as a result of death is \$12 per month and the maximum is \$75 per month. The minimum and maximum rates specified are those now in effect. Within the limits of these minimum and maximum rates the President is authorized by regulation to prescribe the rates payable to the different classes of veterans specified and the dependents of such veterans.

Section 3 of Title I of the bill authorizes the President to prescribe the minimum degree of disability and such higher degrees of disability, if any, as in his judgment should be recognized, and authorizes him to prescribe the rate of pension payable for each such degree of disability. It further authorizes the President in fixing rates of pensions for disabilities or deaths to make such differentiation as he deems just and equitable in the rates to be paid to veterans of different wars and/or their dependents and in the rates to be paid to veterans of the same wars but who rendered different types of service. Further, the President is authorized to differentiate between the rates payable for disabilities and deaths resulting from (1) service-connected injuries or diseases incurred in war-time service; (2) those resulting from service-connected diseases or injuries incurred in peace-time

MARCH 13, 1933

service; (3) those resulting from nonservice-connected diseases or injuries. The principles applicable in the differentiation of rates to be paid to the different classes of veterans as well as any other differentiations which the President may deem just and equitable also may be applied to the widows of the different classes of veterans.

Section 4 of Title I of the bill authorizes the President by regulation to prescribe the date of the beginning and of the termination of the period of each war subsequent to the Civil War which may, for the purpose of this act, be deemed war-time service. Under this provision the President may differentiate between actual war-time service and actual peace-time service during technical periods of warfare. This section further authorizes the President by regulation to specify the required number of days of war or peace-time service before a veteran shall be entitled to pension, prescribe the time limit for filing of claims for each class of veterans and their dependents, the nature and extent of proofs and presumptions for each class and any other requirements as to entitlement to pension as he shall deem equitable and just. Under this provision the President may prescribe that persons with certain incomes shall not be entitled to pensions or that certain types of discharges from the service under honorable conditions may be required, or any other requirement or condition which he deems equitable and just. The President is further authorized to prescribe such conditions or requirements for the veterans of different wars and their dependents and for veterans of the same wars or the same peace-time service, where in his judgment conditions warrant such differentiation.

Section 5 of Title I of the bill makes the decisions of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs under the regulations to be issued by the President final and conclusive on all questions of law and fact and not reviewable by any other official of the United States or the courts.

Section 6 of Title I of the bill authorizes under such limitations as may be prescribed by the President and within the limitations of existing Veterans' Administration facilities to furnish to veterans of any war, including the Boxer rebellion and the Philippine Insurrection, domiciliary care where they are suffering with permanent disabilities and medical and hospital treatment for diseases or injuries incurred or aggravated in line of duty in the active military or naval service. This section does not authorize as does the existing law the hospitalization of veterans suffering with non-service-connected disabilities nor domiciliary care to those suffering with temporary conditions. Further, the President may further limit the authorization for hospital treatment or domiciliary care.

Section 7 of Title I of the bill authorizes the administrator, subject to the general direction of the President and in accordance with regulations to be issued by the President, to administer, execute, and enforce the provisions of this title, and for such purpose confers on him the same administrative authority and powers as are now provided generally in connection with pensions and specifically under the administrative provisions of the World War veterans' act, 1924, as amended. This section of the bill authorizes no benefits, and merely pertains to administration of the measure.

Section 8 of Title I of the bill authorizes the administrator in carrying out the provisions of this title, to delegate authority to render decisions to such person or persons as he may find necessary, and within limitations of such

delegations gives to the decisions of such person or persons the same force and effect as though the decisions were rendered by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs. This same provision is now contained in the law with reference to the administration of claims by veterans, and is obviously necessary when it is considered that there are over 1,000,000 allowed claims now being paid, which it will be necessary to review under the provisions of this title of the bill. This section, however, requires the President to personally approve all regulations issued under Title I of the act.

Section 9 of Title I of the bill requires the filing of claims under such regulations, including the provisions for hearing, determination, and administrative review, as the President may approve, and limits the commencing of payments to the date of application. It further specifically provides that when a claim shall have been finally disallowed under the regulations to be issued, thereafter such claim may not be reopened or allowed. Attention is invited to the fact that under the provisions of this section there will be hearings allowed veterans and a determination of their claim with at least one administrative review before final disallowance. It is further provided in the bill as reported that no person entitled to benefits under the bill shall participate in the determination of claims for such benefits.

Section 10 of Title I of the bill amends the emergency officers retirement act of May 24, 1928, so that no former officer now on the rolls may continue to draw retirement pay unless the disability for which he was retired under such act resulted from disease or injury or aggravation of a preexisting disease or injury which was incurred in line of duty between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, and that the disease or injury or aggravation of the disease or injury directly resulted from the performance of military or naval duty. It is further required that such former officer must also meet the requirements of such regulations as may be issued under the provisions of this act. Under the provisions of this section, it will be necessary for an emergency officer, in order to continue to receive retirement pay, to show a causative factor arising out of the performance of duty and in the line of duty, which resulted in the 30 per cent permanent disability for which he has been heretofore retired.

Section 11 of Title I of the bill provides that all offenses committed and all penalties or forfeiture incurred, under the acts which grant veterans of the Spanish-American War and the World War compensation, pensions, etc., and which are repealed by section 17 of this title, may be prosecuted and punished in the same manner and with the same effect as if said repeal had not been made. It further provides that any person who forfeited right to benefits under any such acts shall not be entitled to any benefits under this title.

Sections 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 of Title I of the bill reenact and make applicable to claims and claimants under Title I of this act the penal provisions now contained in existing laws which pertain to claims and claimants for pensions and compensation.

Section 17 of Title I of the bill repeals all laws granting medical or hospital treatment, domiciliary care, compensation, pension, disability allowance, or retirement pay to veterans and the dependents of veterans of the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer rebellion and the Philippine insurrection and the World War, also the laws granting pensions to former members

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of the military or naval service for injury or disease incurred or aggravated in the line of duty in the military or naval service, except in so far as such laws relate to persons who served prior to the Spanish-American War and except as to the retirement of officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army, Navy, or Marine Corps. This section further repeals all laws granting or pertaining to yearly renewable term insurance, including the right to institute suit or further proceed with suits under section 19, of the World War veterans' act, 1924, as amended.

Payments of compensation, pensions, disability allowance, or retirement pay in accordance with the laws repealed are directed to be continued to the 1st day of the third calendar month following the month during which this act is enacted. The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, under the general direction of the President, is required to review all allowed claims under the repealed laws and where any person is found entitled under this act, to authorize payment of allowance of benefits in accordance with the provisions of this act. It is also provided that no new claim shall be required in so far as persons now drawing benefits are concerned, whose claims may be reviewed and who may be found entitled to benefits under this act.

It is further provided that payments under contracts of yearly renewable term insurance, which matured prior to the date of the enactment of this act and under which payments have been commenced, shall continue in accordance with the terms of such contracts. No new awards can be made or new payments commenced on yearly renewable term insurance under the terms of this section. Further adjudications of claims will not be permitted and all pending claims and suits are required to be dismissed. Under the provisions of this section, payment of benefits under the laws existing at the date of repeal are to continue to the first day of the third calendar month following date of enactment and new benefits, if any, under Title I of this act will commence with the first of the next or fourth calendar month following the enactment of Title I of this act.

In connection with the review required to be made by the Veterans' Administration, it is not intended that there shall be a review of each claim file where obviously such claims are not allowable under this act and regulations issued pursuant thereto. For example, if the President should, by regulation, deny to a certain class of veterans pensions where they are entitled under existing law and it is known that a certain number of veterans fall within the class not provided for, it will not be necessary to review the claims files in such cases. However, there is no question but that if a man is now drawing disability allowance and, upon review of his claim, he is found to be entitled to service connection for his disability and eligible under the provisions of this act and the regulations issued pursuant thereto, he shall be paid the benefits prescribed by this act and the regulations.

Section 18 of Title I of the bill authorizes a 10 per cent reduction in pensions and any other monetary gratuity payable to former members of the military or naval forces in wars prior to the Spanish-American War for service, age, disease, or injury. It is specifically provided, however, that this reduction does not apply to retired pay of officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, as these persons are affected by other provisions of this bill, later explained.

Section 19 of Title I of the bill as reported provides that regulations of the President which are in effect at the expiration of two years after the date of enactment of this act shall continue in effect until Congress, by law, shall otherwise provide.

## Title II

This title provides a method by which readjustment of the compensation of officers and employees of the United States is made possible during the closing months of the fiscal year 1933 and for the fiscal year 1934. It is an emergency and temporary measure. The maximum reduction in salaries from the predepression level is 15 per cent, and such reductions as may be made are to be computed in accordance with the decline in the cost of living. The furlough provisions of the economy act of 1932 are repealed.

Section 1 deals with the persons subject to the provision of the title. It excludes persons whose compensation may not, under the Constitution, be diminished. However, by section 7, these persons may voluntarily subject themselves to the law. It also excludes the Vice President, the Speaker, Senators, Representatives, Delegates, and Resident Commissioners, as well as all employees of the Senate and House of Representatives. Other sections of the bill as reported, however, make employees of the Senate and House of Representatives subject to the same reduction as other employees of the Government, and provide for the temporary reduction of salaries of Senators, Representatives, Delegates, and Resident Commissioners, to \$8,500 per annum. The effect of the section is that all persons not excepted by section 1, who are receiving compensation from any branch of the Government, are subjected to the provisions of the title. Compensation is broadly defined to include any salary, pay, wage, or allowance, except traveling allowances, paid for service in any civilian or noncivilian position.

Section 2 provides the method for computing the reduction in compensation which may be made. First, the compensation is computed as it would have been computed prior to any salary deductions, including those of the furlough plan. The deduction determined in accordance with the following section (sec.3) is then applied to the salary so computed.

Section 3 authorizes the President to determine an index figure of the cost of living for the first six months of 1928, which is called the base period. This period is taken because it does not represent the highest point attained by the cost of living and does represent the period during which the pay readjustments contained in the Welch Act were made.

It is thought that by maintaining the purchasing power of the salaries paid during that period, the reductions will be no more harsh or inconvenient than the necessity of the situation makes inevitable. After determining the index figure for the base period, the President is then directed to compute an index of the cost of living during the last six months of 1932, and for each six months thereafter. The percentage, if any, by which the cost of living index for any of these six months periods is lower than the index for the base period is the percentage of reduction which is made applicable in determining compensation to be paid during the following six months period. However, no reduction can be made in amount exceeding 15 per cent.

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By this method it is made certain that no reduction will be made in excess of 15 per cent, and no reduction of any sort will be made unless the President determines that the cost of living has declined since the base period. This protects the government employee against reductions in pay unaccompanied by any decline in his necessary expenses of living. The method employed is generally that which has been and is followed in Great Britain. While the system is by no means perfect, it goes far to mitigate the hardships of a rigid salary reduction.

Section 4 repeals those provisions of Part II, legislative appropriation act, fiscal year 1933 (generally referred to as the economy act of 1932), which put into effect the furlough plan, and also repeals those provisions of the Treasury and Post Office appropriation act, approved March 3, 1933, which continued the furlough plan in effect for the fiscal year 1934. There is thus no possibility of a double reduction in salary; the present act is in lieu of the furlough plan. This section also repeals the provisions suspending annual leave with pay. Section 4 (e) amends existing law so as to effect a 15 per cent reduction in the pay of Senators, Representatives, Delegates, and the Resident Commissioners in lieu of the 10 per cent reduction under the existing economy act.

Section 5 continues in effect certain provisions of section 205 of Part II of the economy act dealing with the maintenance of the retirement fund for Federal employees. Section 6 makes the act applicable to corporations, the majority stock of which is owned by the United States. Section 7 has already been mentioned. Sections 8 and 9 merely reenact provisions of the economy act which are applicable to this title.

### Title III

This title makes two amendments in those provisions of the Treasury and Post Office appropriation act, approved March 3, 1933, which confer power upon the President to order reorganizations in the executive branch of the Government. Section 407 is amended so that the 60-day period during which an executive order must remain inoperative after it has been submitted to Congress will not be tolled by an adjournment of Congress. It is still necessary that an order be submitted to Congress while it is in session and it can not go into effect for 60 days thereafter. However, it is highly desirable that reorganizations effecting economy in Government expenditures should go into effect for as much as possible of the fiscal year 1934.

These orders can not and should not be prepared hurriedly, and there is a possibility under existing law that an adjournment of Congress might prevent orders made within the next two months from going into effect until 60 days after the 3d day of January, 1934. The law, as amended, does not abridge the power of the Congress by legislation to abrogate an order of the President, since the date of adjournment is entirely within its control.

The amendments to section 409 are purely perfecting amendments to remove any ambiguities in the language of that section. It still strictly limits to a period of two years the time within which the President may issue his orders.



SEVENTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1933–1935)

\* \* \*

**Calendar No. 1**

73d Congress  
1st Session

**S. 233**

(Report No. 1)

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

March 9 (calendar day, March 10), 1933

Mr. Robinson of Arkansas introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Finance.

March 9 (calendar day, March 11), 1933

Reported by Mr. Harrison, with amendments

**A BILL**

To maintain the credit of the United States Government.

**[The 21-page text of the bill as reported appears on page 266 of Vol. 1 of the original minutes.]**

\* \* \*

73d Congress  
1st Session

**H.R. 2820**

In the Senate of the United States

March 13, 1933

Read twice and ordered to be printed showing the amendments reported by the Committee on Finance to S. 233.

**AN ACT**

To maintain the credit of the United States Government.

**[The full 21-page text of the bill appears on page 267 of Vol. 1 of the original minutes.]**

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[April 5, 1933]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

April 5, 1933

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 10:30 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was not called but the Secretary noted the presence of the following Senators:

APRIL 5, 1933

Messrs. Austin, Barbour, Carey, Dickinson, Fess, Goldsborough, Hale, Hastings, Kean, McNary, Metcalf, Norbeck, Patterson, Reed, Steiwer, Townsend, Vandenberg, and Walcott.

Following an informal discussion of S. 158 (by Mr. Black) to prevent interstate commerce in certain commodities and articles produced or manufactured in industrial activities in which persons are employed more than five days per week or six hours per day.

The Conference adjourned to meet at 10:30 a.m. on the following day to discuss H.R. 3835, an act to relieve the existing national economic emergency by increasing agricultural purchasing power, should said bill be reported to the Senate during the day.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

**Calendar No. 15**  
SENATE

73d Congress  
1st Session

Report  
No. 15

PREVENTING INTERSTATE COMMERCE IN ARTICLES  
MANUFACTURED  
BY LABOR EMPLOYED MORE THAN 5 DAYS PER WEEK OR  
6 HOURS PER DAY

March 13 (calendar day, March 30), 1933.—Ordered to be printed  
Mr. Black, from the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted the

following  
REPORT

(To accompany S. 158)

Senate bill 158, is herewith reported favorably by the Senate Judiciary Committee, with certain amendments, which will be hereafter set out.

This is a bill intended to revive languishing interstate commerce in the products of mines, factories, and manufacturing establishments throughout the Nation. Today interstate commerce is strangled and almost paralyzed by reason of an absence of purchasing power on the part of many millions of people throughout the land. The overwhelming proportion of the customers of American farm, mine, and factory, are American workers on farms, in mines, and in factories. Their millions of industrial workers without jobs cannot buy goods that make up our interstate commerce. Millions of farmers are thus deprived of their industrial customers. The channels of interstate commerce are dried up throughout the country, because men without jobs cannot buy. It is manifest to all who squarely face the facts that our economic structure cannot be rehabilitated until our people can work at fair wages and thus buy the things they need. It is also self-evident that we can produce all we can sell at home and in foreign markets on a shorter workweek and workday than we have in force today.

This report carries with it the belief that our unemployed cannot be put to work without reducing the hours of labor; that this reduction has not been, and cannot be accomplished by voluntary action on the part of employers; that it has not been done by State laws and cannot be done with sufficient rapidity to meet the distressing emergency existing among our millions of destitute, unemployed, and impoverished citizens.

Time is vital in meeting this situation. The destruction of our interstate and foreign commerce threatens the health, the morale, the happiness, the growth, progress, educational opportunities, and home life of our whole people. This paralysis of commerce, fostered and intensified by the absence of purchasing power of America's unemployed, has closed our schools, stunted the growth of children, and imperiled our national advancement.

This committee believes interstate commerce cannot be revived without increasing the purchasing power of the people. This makes necessary that the income of farmers and industrial workers be increased. It makes employment of the unemployed a major objective of any program to reopen the channels of interstate commerce upon which today hinges the economic soundness of the Nation.

Congress is given the right to regulate interstate commerce by the Constitution. This power was given in order that Congress might prescribe the rules necessary to preserve the benefits of commerce to all the people. Surely since the foundation of the Government, the right of the people to receive the benefits of interstate commerce has never been more seriously imperiled than today. The right to regulate, under all the decisions, includes the right to protect the people from that kind of commerce that produces widespread human misery, destitution, sickness, and want. The power to regulate carries with it the right to prescribe rules that will save commerce from self-destruction and protect all the people from practices of some of the people engaged in interstate commerce that destroy commerce itself.

This measure, unlike the child labor bill, does not merely affect a small percentage of American workmen, in order to prevent working practices within their State, thought by Congress to be detrimental to those individual children working within the States. This bill has a broader base and a broader object. It is directed toward interstate commerce in its larger aspect. It affects not a small number of children, but millions of those engaged in interstate commerce. Interstate and foreign commerce have today reached such national proportions that the national economic soundness and prosperity depends upon its life and vitality. In our trading country if interstate and foreign commerce languish, the Nation languishes, and there must necessarily result national problems of want, destitution, misery, illness, and undernourishment.

This bill therefore, it is believed comes within the constitutional interpretation both of the majority and the minority of the Supreme Court in the child labor case.

Attention is called to the fact, however, that the child labor case was decided by a divided court of 5 to 4. Conditions today are different to conditions that existed when that case was decided. Laws must be interpreted to meet conditions existing when the law is interpreted.

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Our Constitution has been interpreted from time to time to meet new situations and conditions that could not have been foreseen by the writers of that great document. Its interpretation has made it possible to adjust laws written under its terms to fit alike the oxcart and the aeroplane; the hand loom and the swift spinning of modern factories.

Today America faces a sad reality. Hungry and despairing men and women have a right to demand that their representatives look at the modern situation with modern eyes. If change is needed to cure evils growing out of old practices, change must come.

This bill proposes to try a shorter working day and week in modern industrial chaos and confusion for a term of two years. We believe it will put more than 6 millions of America's unemployed to work; remove them from the rolls of public or private charity; and increase the Nation's power to purchase the Nation's goods. Interstate commerce cannot live unless this unemployment ceases. It is for the purpose of preserving interstate commerce, with its great national benefits that this bill is reported. It is to aid in restoring hope and confidence throughout the land; to strike against poverty, sickness, misery and stunted mental and physical growth, that your committee expresses the hope that this measure may be speedily enacted into law and interstate commerce revived for the people.

For the convenience of the committee the bill with committee amendments italicized is here set forth.

In the fourth paragraph of the preamble after the word "has," strike out down to and including the word "burdened," and insert, "brought about conditions injuriously affecting."

In the fifth paragraph of the preamble strike out the word "between," and insert the word "among"; also after the word "the" strike out the word "State" and insert the words "several States."

In line 9, page 2, strike out the colon after the word "day" and insert a period. Strike out the proviso in lines 9-11.

At end of the bill add a new section:

Sec. 3. This act shall not become effective until 30 days after the date of its enactment, and it shall not apply to commodities or articles produced or manufactured prior to the date it becomes effective, and this act shall remain in force for two years after the date it becomes effective.

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### **Calendar No. 15**

73d Congress  
1st Session

### **S. 158**

(Report No. 14)

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

March 9 (calendar day, March 10), 1933

Mr. Black introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

March 13 (calendar day, March 30), 1933

Reported by Mr. Black, with amendments

**A BILL**

To prevent interstate commerce in certain commodities and articles produced or manufactured in industrial activities in which persons are employed more than five days per week or six hours per day.

**[The full 3-page text of S-158 appears on page 270 of Vol. 1 of the original minutes.]**

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[April 6, 1933]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

April 6, 1933

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 10:30 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was not called but the Secretary noted the presence of the following Senators:

Messrs. Austin, Barbour, Carey, Dickinson, Fess, Frazier, Goldsborough, Hale, Hastings, Hebert, Kean, Keyes, McNary, Metcalf, Nye, Patterson, Schall, Steiwer, Townsend, Vandenberg, Walcott, and White.

Calendar No. 17, H.R. 3835 to relieve the existing national economic emergency by increasing agricultural purchasing power, was informally discussed, after which the Conference adjourned to meet at 10:30 a.m. the next day to further discuss the said bill, and also the Carey substitute for the same.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary

APRIL 6, 1933

\* \* \*

**Calendar No. 17**  
SENATE

73d Congress  
1st Session

Report  
No. 16

RELIEVE THE EXISTING NATIONAL ECONOMIC EMERGENCY  
BY INCREASING AGRICULTURAL PURCHASING POWER

March 13 (calendar day, April 5), 1933.—Ordered to be printed  
Mr. Smith, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, submitted  
the following

REPORT

(To accompany H.R. 3835)

The bill as reported is practically the same as the bill that came from the House, with, perhaps, the important amendment eliminating sheep and cattle from the enumerated farm commodities that are so enumerated in the House text.

This bill, with the exception of part 1, title 1, was drafted by the Department of Agriculture and is practically unchanged from the bill as presented to Congress. Considerable hearings were had by the Senate committee, but on account of the desire of the administration that no change be made the bill is presented to the Senate in practically an unchanged form except that there is added to it title 3 which gives an alternative to what is known as title 2. Both title 2 and title 3 attempt to lay down a principle by which the price of farm products may be raised.

Title 4 is the farm-mortgage plan which has been attached to this bill, as it pertains to farm relief. I think it well to set forth here the message of the President that accompanied the presentation of the bill to Congress:

At the same time that you and I are joining in emergency action to bring order to our banks, and to make our regular Federal expenditures balance our income, I deem it of equal importance to take other and simultaneous steps without waiting for a later meeting of the Congress.

One of these is of definite, constructive importance to our economic recovery.

It relates to agriculture and seeks to increase the purchasing power of our farmers and the consumption of articles manufactured in our industrial communities; and at the same time greatly to relieve the pressure of farm mortgages and to increase the asset value of farm loans made by our banking institutions.

Deep study and the joint counsel of many points of view have produced a measure which offers great promise of good results. I tell you frankly that it is a new and untrod path, but I tell you with equal frankness that an unprecedented condition calls for the trial of new means to rescue agriculture.

If a fair administrative trial of it is made and it does not produce the hoped-for results I shall be the first to acknowledge it and advise you.

The proposed legislation is necessary now for the simple reason that the spring crops will soon be planted and if we wait for another month or 6 weeks, the effect on the prices of this year's crops will be wholly lost.

Furthermore, by action at this time the United States will be in a better position to discuss problems affecting world crop surpluses at the proposed world economic conference.

Part 1, title 1 of the bill is that which was passed at the last session of Congress and was not signed by President Hoover. This part provides that cotton financed wholly or in part by the Government and now under control of the Federal Government shall be sold to the Secretary of Agriculture who is directed to sell on time this cotton to cotton farmers at the present market price in lieu of their producing a like amount in 1933. This cotton thus sold to the farmers and held by the Secretary of Agriculture in trust for them is to be disposed of by March 1, 1935. After deducting costs to the Government, the profits, if any, are to be given to the farmer who has contracted to receive this cotton and reduce production. The purpose of the plan is to reduce the surplus and at the same time and under the same contract to reduce production, the inducement to the farmer being that he gets, below the cost of production, what cotton he takes from the Government, and by reducing his production to a like extent he stands a chance of getting an advanced price on what he does produce and what he takes from the Government.

Part 2 is complex. This title, as said before, was prepared by the Department of Agriculture and was introduced as prepared for consideration of the House of Representatives and the Senate. There are two principles involved in part 2, namely, the leasing of land by the Government to reduce production, and the other the so-called allotment plan to increase prices by taxing the processor of the raw material.

The first principle, the leasing of the lands, is a proposal that the Government is to pay the owner for the land thus leased. It is not clearly defined in the bill what shall be the character of the land thus leased but it is to be assumed that the Secretary of Agriculture in leasing these lands shall lease such land of such a productive nature as would by removal from production decrease properly the production of the commodities sought to be reduced. In order to obtain funds to pay the farmer for lands thus leased, it is proposed under the leasing provision of this part to levy and collect what is known as a processing tax from the processor of farm products which tax shall be regulated by the Secretary of Agriculture to such amounts as shall be necessary to pay for lands thus leased.

The owner of the land is to be allowed to plant on these leased lands such crops as do not enter into market competition with other staple agricultural crops. The owner, however, can plant such crops if they are for his individual or farm use. The amount of the land estimated to be under cultivation in America is 350,000,000 acres. It has been suggested that the amount necessary to be leased or taken out of cultivation in order to bring about the proper reduction in production would be 50 or 60 million acres. Therefore, the aggregate amount of taxes to be levied and collected from the processor would be an amount sufficient to pay rent on this amount of land. Just what amount would be the rental per acre is not specified in the bill.

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The second principle is what is known as the allotment plan. This plan provides that there should be a tax levied and collected on the processor sufficient to bring the price of the farm products domestically consumed up to a parity that existed between farm prices and the price of the commodities that the farmer has to buy, between 1909 and 1914. This tax levied and collected from the processor shall be added to the price that the farmer is now receiving for his products, thus giving him for that part of his products domestically consumed a price representing the parity that existed between what he sold and what he bought between 1909 and 1914. To illustrate, if cotton during the period selected for parity would bring him 12-1/2 cents per pound, a tax would be levied upon the processor which, when levied and collected and added to the present current price of cotton, would bring the price on cotton domestically consumed up to 12-1/2 cents per pound, the exportable surplus, of course, to be disposed of at the world's price for cotton. The present price of cotton is around 6 cents per pound, therefore, the ultimate tax upon the processor would be around 6 cents per pound, or \$30 per bale for cotton that is domestically consumed.

In the case of wheat the same principle is applied and also to all the commodities enumerated and contained in this bill. This is the purpose of this proposed legislation as it pertains to the allotment plan. This plan, however, provides that in levying and collecting this tax to attain the parity price, due regard shall be given to the consumption of the product. The Secretary of Agriculture is given the power to alter such tax from time to time as he may deem proper to meet the effect that the tax may have upon the consumption of the commodity. He is to take into consideration the effect that such a tax upon the given commodity may have in increasing the consumption of competing commodities as well. To effectuate the principles of the allotment plan the Secretary of Agriculture is empowered to enter into market agreements with processors and associations of producers and other agencies engaged in the handling in the current of interstate and foreign commerce of any agricultural commodity or product thereof after due notice and opportunity for hearing to interested parties. He is also authorized at his discretion:

(3) To issue licenses permitting processors, associations of producers, and other agencies to engage in the handling, in the current of interstate or foreign commerce, of any basic agricultural commodity, or product thereof, or any competing agricultural commodity or product thereof. Such licenses shall be subject to such terms and conditions, not in conflict with existing acts of Congress or regulations pursuant thereto, as may be necessary to eliminate unfair practices or charges that prevent or tend to prevent the effectuation of the declared policy and the restoration of normal economic conditions in the marketing of such commodities or products and the financing thereof. The Secretary of Agriculture may suspend or revoke any such license, after due notice and opportunity for hearing, for violations of the terms or conditions thereof. Any agency engaged in such handling without a license as required by the Secretary under this section shall be subject to a fine of not more than \$1,000 for each day during which the violation continues.

(4) To require any licensee under this section to furnish such reports as to quantities of agricultural commodities or products thereof bought and sold and the prices thereof, and as to trade practices and charges,



and to keep such systems of accounts, as may be necessary for the purpose of this act.

The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized, with the approval of the President, to make such regulations with the force and effect of law as may be necessary to carry out the powers vested in him by this act.

Still further quoting:

The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to make such regulations as may be necessary to carry out the powers vested in him by this act, including regulations, with the force and effect of law establishing conversion, factors for any commodity and article processed therefrom to determine the amount of tax imposed with respect thereto, and defining processing with respect to any commodity.

The action of any officer, employee, or agent in determining the amount of and in making any rental or benefit payment shall not be subject to review by an officer of the Government other than the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Treasury.

The bill provides that the Secretary of Agriculture may appoint such officers and employees subject to the provisions of the Classification Act of 1923 and acts amendatory thereof and such experts as are necessary to execute the functions vested in him by this act, and that the Secretary may make such appointments without regard to the civil service law or regulations.

Thus will be seen the broad and drastic powers given to the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Treasury to administer this act. The allotment plan also provides that in order to protect the farmer and the processor there shall be placed in addition to the tariffs then existing on that product an increase in such tariff equal to the tax imposed upon the processor. To illustrate, if the tariff on wheat is 42 cents per bushel and the tax imposed on the processor in order to raise the price of wheat to the parity is 48 cents per bushel, then the tariff on imported wheat becomes 90 cents per bushel. Where there is no tariff on an article the tariff shall be raised equal to such tax. To illustrate, there is no tariff on upland cotton, and if the tax should be 4 or 5 cents per pound, then the tariff on such cotton imported would be 4 or 5 cents per pound or \$20 to \$25 per bale.

In relation to the allotment provision as to cotton, it might be well to indicate what would be the result of the application of this principle at the present time on the average prices of cotton. About 50 percent of the cotton produced in America is consumed domestically and 50 percent exported. The price then for that domestically consumed would be about \$60 per bale and \$30 per bale for that exported, which would be an average of \$45 per bale or 9 cents per pound to the farmer.

Part 3 is a proposition to obtain the cost of production and has no reference to any parity, but empowers the Secretary of Agriculture at his discretion to estimate as nearly as practicable the cost of production and to fix this price on the commodities herein enumerated for the percentage of that commodity which is used in domestic consumption and also to protect this price, thus fixed on the part of the commodity domestically consumed as against competing articles as is provided for under the provisions of part 2.

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Title 2, part 1, is known as Agricultural Credits, and is an amendment to the Farm Loan Act. An analysis is hereto attached explanatory of this, which analysis was prepared and given to the committee by the department that drafted this provision.

(The analysis referred to is as follows:)

(Analysis of S. 1110)

Title I

1. For 2 years authorize Federal land banks to issue bonds at interest rate not to exceed 4 percent, the interest of which is guaranteed by the United States. Maximum amount to be \$2,000,000,000. Proceeds to be used to make new mortgages or refinance existing mortgages (sec. 1).
2. In order to reduce and refinance existing farm mortgages, Federal land banks are authorized to exchange bonds for or to buy outstanding farm mortgages on best terms possible, passing savings in principal and interest on to farmer borrowers (sec. 2).
3. Maximum interest rate to borrowers on old and new Federal land-bank mortgages not to exceed 4-1/2 percent for 5-year period. Appropriation of \$15,000,000 to be used to compensate the Federal land banks for loss in interest during first year (sec. 4).
4. Neither old nor new borrowers from Federal land banks required to pay installments on principal of mortgages for 5-year period (sec. 4).
5. For 5 years authorize Federal land banks to grant necessary extensions of payments to deserving old and new borrowers. Such extensions to be financed by loans from the United States. An appropriation of \$50,000,000 authorized for this purpose for ensuing fiscal year (sec. 3).
6. Raise maximum limit of Federal land bank mortgage loans from \$25,000 to \$50,000 on approval of Farm Loan Commissioner (sec. 5).
7. Authorize Federal land banks to make direct loans to farmer-borrowers where no local farm loan associations are available on conditions that farmer agrees to join such association when there are enough borrowers in the community to establish one. Interest rate on direct loans to be one half percent higher than on loans through local associations but rate to be reduced when borrower joins local (sec. 6).
8. Authorizes receivers for joint-stock land banks to borrow from Reconstruction Finance Corporation on security of receivers' certificates in order to pay taxes on real estate (sec. 7).

Title II

1. Prohibits joint-stock land banks from issuing tax exempt bonds or making new farm loans except in connection with refinancing of existing loans (sec. 201).
2. Authorizes Reconstruction Finance Corporation to loan up to \$100,000,000 to joint-stock land banks at 4 percent on security of first mortgages, provided

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(a) Joint-stock land bank reduces interest rate on mortgages to 5 per cent per annum.

(b) Agrees not to foreclose on mortgage for 2-year period except in unavoidable circumstances.

These provisions will make it possible for joint-stock land banks to liquidate their affairs in an orderly manner giving consideration to farmer-borrowers and to security-holders (sec. 202).

Title III

Allocates \$200,000,000 of Reconstruction Finance Corporation funds for loans through the Farm Loan Commissioner for the following purposes:

1. To enable farmer to redeem and/or repurchase farm property lost through foreclosures.
2. To reduce and refinance junior obligations.
3. To provide working capital.

These loans to be under supervision of Farm Loan Commissioner using machinery of the Federal land banks. Loans to be made direct to farmers. No loan in excess of \$5,000. Total of first and second mortgage, if any, not to exceed 75 percent of normal value of farm and farm property. Repayment in 10 equal annual installments plus interest at 5 percent, but no payment on principal required for first 3 years.

Principal purpose of these loans to enable farmers to buy back foreclosed farms and to make small, reasonably safe, second mortgages to refinance junior liens and unsecured debts on a scale-down sufficiently drastic to permit good farmers to pay out. (sec. 301).

Title IV

Authorizes Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make loans not to exceed \$50,000,000 to drainage, levee, irrigation, and similar districts to reduce and refinance indebtedness. Loans for period not to exceed 40 years to be secured by bonds issued by borrower which are lien on real property or on the assessment of benefits. Such loans to be made only on condition that the borrower shall reduce the indebtedness of the users of such project in amounts corresponding to reduction of its debt. No loan to be made until after appraisal has been made of the property, taking into consideration average market price of bonds over 6-month period ending March 1, 1933, and the economic soundness of the project (sec. 401).

The committee also directed that there be placed in this report a statement as to the necessity of an expansion of the currency and the absolute necessity for an increase in commodity prices. The statement as prepared and adopted by the committee is attached hereto, as follows:

Deflation Must be Checked

The policy of deflation of commodity prices and farm values inaugurated in 1920 still persists. The first groups to feel the effects of this policy were farmers and stockmen. Thereafter in turn merchants, fac-

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tories, wage earners, and now railroads; life insurance companies and banks are tottering, and unless the foundation of prosperity—agriculture—is repaired all must fall.

In reporting this bill favorably we feel that we should advise the Senate that, in our opinion, the bill will not alone afford the relief which the farmer must have to enable him to survive economically.

If we concede that the bill reported will bring about all the benefits claimed—agricultural price parity with other commodities—yet we are forced to the conclusion that such limited relief will not enable the farmers to meet their fixed charges such as taxes, interest, debts, and necessary expenses.

Experts, students of the trend of developments and influences, are practically agreed that the deflation process is resumed after the recent bank holiday.

Prior to the bank holiday some 12,000 banks failed, resulting in the destruction of some 20 billions of bank credit or deposit money. With the ending of the holiday, additional thousands of banks failed to open, resulting in the temporary if not permanent destruction of additional billions of what we call and use for money.

Such holiday resulted in the further withdrawal from circulation of all gold and gold certificates.

During the past three weeks, the Federal Reserve System has disposed of bills and United States Government securities in the total sum of over \$1,000,000,000; reserve bank credit has been contracted in a sum of \$956,000,000 and the money in circulation has been deflated in the total sum of \$1,185,000,000.

We report these facts and state that no substantial relief is possible for agriculture until the policy of deflation is not only checked but reversed and a substantial sum of actual money is admitted and, if need be, forced into circulation.

We report that it is not sufficient to have an ample supply of currency in the vaults of the Federal reserve banks, and that it is not even sufficient to have an ample supply of currency in the vaults of the national, State, and private banks of the country.

With some 25 billions of bank credit—deposit money—canceled and destroyed, and with the remainder frozen and unobtainable; with much of the actual currency outside the Treasury hoarded and inactive, with over 40 nations of the world enjoying a lower production cost than the United States by reason of their depreciated currencies, the people, without either money or credit, are stopped, business is at a standstill, and deflation not only continues but is accentuated.

#### One Hundred Cent Dollar Demand

The Federal Reserve System, created to serve and promote the best interests of the people, commerce and industry, while pretending to be trying to keep sufficient money and credit available, has failed. Some 10 other Federal agencies have been created to assist in making Federal credit available to those needing and demanding assistance.

We report that with our present restricted volume of bank credit and with a like restriction of actual money in practical circulation—owing to hoarding—we recommend that existing policies of selling bills, United States securities and deflating the currency and credit be reversed and that a sufficient volume of money be placed in circulation to replace the currency hoarded and to supplement the bank credit or deposit money now frozen in the banks of the country.

#### Dollar Must Be Stabilized

Agriculture demands an adequate supply of honest and sound money and reports that at this time we have neither.

Agriculture does not demand a 50-cent dollar or an unsound dollar, but does protest the retention of a 200-cent dollar. A dollar which fluctuates in purchasing power from 50 cents in 1920 to 200 cents in 1933 is neither a sound nor an honest dollar. Dollars so scarce as to be obscure, thereby forcing into existence systems of barter, trade, and scrip, are not adequate.

Agriculture demands that the farmer should have a 100-cent dollar; that the purchasing power of the dollar should be fixed and established at that point to serve the best interests of the people, trade, commerce, and industry, and that when such value is once fixed it should be stabilized at such value.

We report further that no just, substantial, reliable, or permanent relief can be provided agriculture or any other industry until the money question is considered and adjusted.

\* \* \*

#### Calendar No. 17

73d Congress  
1st Session

#### H.R. 3835

(Report No. 16)

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

March 13 (calendar day, March 23), 1933

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

March 13 (calendar day, April 5), 1933

Reported by Mr. Smith, with amendments

#### AN ACT

To relieve the existing national economic emergency by increasing agricultural purchasing power.

[The 43-page text of H.R. 3835 as reported in the Senate appears at page 273 of Vol. 1 of the original minutes.]

APRIL 6, 1933

\* \* \*

73d Congress  
1st Session

**H.R. 3835**

In the Senate of the United States  
March 13 (calendar day, April 3), 1933  
Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

**AMENDMENT**  
**(In the nature of a substitute)**

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Carey to the bill (H.R. 3835) to relieve the existing national economic emergency by increasing agricultural purchasing power, viz: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

That it is hereby declared (a) that the depression in prices for agricultural commodities and the disparity between the prices of agricultural and other commodities have created conditions which affect sales of agricultural products with a national interest which burden and obstruct the normal flow of commerce and render the enactment of this Act for the relief of a national economic emergency imperative.

(b) That it is the policy of Congress to encourage and to assist agricultural readjustment and planning, and to aid in balancing agricultural production to market demand, and thereby restoring the parity between agricultural and other industries.

Sec. 2. That the Secretary of Agriculture is hereby authorized and directed to acquire by lease or contract not to exceed fifty million acres of land in the United States of America which were during the crop season of 1932 planted to cotton, wheat, corn, or other cereals, or which were fallowed during the summer and fall of 1932 for planting to such crops in 1933.

Sec. 3. The general purpose of this Act shall be the balancing of agricultural production to the market demands by withdrawing the lands leased hereunder from the production of the above commodities. The time, terms, and conditions of such leases and contracts shall be fixed by the Secretary of Agriculture, but no lease or contract shall be for a period longer than one year.

The Secretary of Agriculture under this Act is authorized to lease or contract for merely the tilled land of any farm, and shall require that, during the term of the lease or contract, no part of such farm shall be planted to the above-mentioned crops, and that the lessor will not engage in the production of said crops on other lands, but the owner or lessor of such farm shall have the right to use the buildings and improvements hereon, as well as crops produced thereon other than cotton, wheat, corn, or other cereals.

Sufficient acreage upon which to grow garden crops for family use shall be permitted the lessor of any lands.

Sec. 4. The Secretary of Agriculture shall, in such manner as he shall determine, proceed immediately to solicit the offer of leases for any such lands by the owners thereof, and shall, within thirty days after the passage of this Act, begin to lease the same upon the lowest terms obtainable, up to a maximum of fifty million acres.

Sec. 5. In addition to any other tax or duty imposed by law, there is hereby levied, assessed, and imposed a tax of 2 per centum of the sale price on the sale of every article manufactured from cotton or cereals sold in the United States by the manufacturer thereof.

Such tax shall commence on the day following the approval of this Act, and shall terminate on the 1st day of June, 1934.

Sec. 6 (a) The taxes provided in this Act shall be collected by the Bureau of Internal Revenue under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury. Such taxes shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States.

(b) All provisions of law, including penalties, applicable with respect to the taxes imposed by section 600 of the Revenue Act of 1926, and the provisions of section 626 of the Revenue Act of 1932, shall, in so far as applicable and not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, be applicable in respect of taxes imposed by this Act: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to permit postponement, for a period not exceeding sixty days, of the payment of taxes covered by any return.

(c) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary for the purposes of this Act, and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to advance to the Secretary of Agriculture such sums, not exceeding \$150,000,000, as may be necessary for the payment of rentals upon lands leased under the provisions of this Act.

Sec. 7. The Secretary of Agriculture is hereby authorized to make and promulgate and enforce such rules and regulations for the carrying out of the purposes and intent of this Act as may be deemed necessary.

Sec. 8. The Secretary of Agriculture is hereby authorized to appoint, select, and fix the compensation of such personnel as may be necessary to carry out the terms and provisions of this Act, and is hereby authorized to use any and all agencies and personnel of the Government that may be necessary in carrying out the same: *Provided*, That when any other existing agency or personnel of the Government is used, they shall be paid no additional compensation therefor.

Sec. 9. Any person who shall knowingly make any material false representations for the purpose of securing or making a lease, or of obtaining any benefit under this Act, or shall fail to fulfill any promise made for the purpose of securing such lease or obtaining any such benefit, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not exceeding \$1,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or both.

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[April 7, 1933]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
April 7, 1933

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 10:30 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

APRIL 7, 1933

The roll was not called but the Secretary noted the presence of the following Senators:

Messrs. Austin, Capper, Carey, Dickinson, Hale, Hebert, Kean, McNary, Metcalf, Patterson, Reed, Robinson (Indiana), Steiwer, Townsend, Vandenberg, and White.

During the meeting, Senators Hale, White, Dickinson, and Robinson had to absent themselves by reason of important engagements. The Chairman, Senator McNary, likewise was compelled to leave to keep an engagement at 11 o'clock and designated Senator Hebert to preside.

The Conference was devoted to a general discussion of the bill H.R. 3835 to relieve the existing national economic emergency by increasing agricultural purchasing power, following which the Chairman pro tempore, Senator Hebert, appointed Senators Carey, Steiwer, and Patterson a Committee of three to put into form the expressed views with regard to the bill.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary

\* \* \*

73d Congress  
1st Session

**H.R. 3835**

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

March 13 (calendar day, April 10), 1933

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

**AMENDMENT**

**(In the nature of a substitute)**

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Carey to the bill (H.R. 3835) to relieve the existing national economic emergency by increasing agricultural purchasing power, viz: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

**[The 30-page text of the amendment appears at page 276 of Vol. 1 of the original minutes.]**

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[May 16, 1933]

**REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE**

May 16, 1933

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 10:00 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.



The roll was not called but the following Senators (a quorum) were present:

Messrs. Austin, Carey, Couzens, Dale, Dickinson, Fess, Goldsborough, Hale, Hebert, McNary, Metcalf, Patterson, Reed, Robinson (Indiana), Schall, Steiwer, Townsend, Vandenberg, Walcott, and White.

The Conference discussed procedure in the Harold Louderback impeachment trial and agreed for the present to go along with Senator Ashurst (Chairman of the Judiciary Committee and managing the trial for the Senate) in his plan to hold morning sessions on the impeachment and afternoons on regular business.

On motion of Senator Vandenberg, it was agreed that the Secretary (Senator Hale) extend a vote of thanks to Mr. Reginald Chauncey Robbins, Jr., for the efficient work done by him in preparing abstracts of bills upon the Senate Calendar.

The Conference discussed Senate Bill 1631, reported May 15, 1933 by Mr. Glass from the Committee on Banking and Currency, "To provide for the safer and more effective use of the assets of Federal Reserve banks and of national banking associations, to regulate interbank control, to prevent the undue diversion of funds into speculative operations, and for other purposes."

The insurance of deposits provisions in particular were under consideration but no action was taken by the Conference thereon or with regard to the bill.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary

\* \* \*

**Calendar No. 79**

73d Congress  
1st Session

**S. 1631**

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

May 1 (calendar day, May 10), 1933

Mr. Glass introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency

May 15, 1933

Reported by Mr. Glass, with amendments

**A BILL**

To provide for the safer and more effective use of the assets of Federal reserve banks and of national banking associations, to regulate interbank control, to prevent the undue diversion of funds into speculative operations, and for other purposes.

MAY 16, 1933

[The 81-page text of S. 1631 appears at page 278 of Vol. 1 of the original minutes.]

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[June 7, 1933]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

June 7, 1933

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 10:00 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was not called but the following Senators (a quorum) were present:

Messrs. Austin, Barbour, Dale, Davis, Dickinson, Fess, Hale, Hastings, Hatfield, Hebert, Kean, McNary, Nye, Patterson, Reed, Robinson (Indiana), Schall, Townsend, Vandenberg, Walcott, and White.

There was a detailed discussion of Calendar No. 130, H.R. 5755, To encourage national industrial recovery, to foster fair competition, and to provide for the construction of certain useful public works, and for other purposes, and suggestions of amendments but no action taken by the Conference thereon.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary

\* \* \*

**Calendar No. 130**

73d Congress  
1st Session

**H.R. 5755**

**(Report No. 114)**

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

May 15 (calendar day, May 27), 1933

Referred to the Committee on Finance

May 29 (calendar day, June 5), 1933

Reported by Mr. Harrison, with amendments

**AN ACT**

To encourage national industrial recovery, to foster fair competition, and to provide for the construction of certain useful public works, and for other purposes.

[The 44-page text of H.R. 5755 appears at page 280 of Vol. 1 of the original minutes.]

\* \* \*

**Calendar No. 130**

**SENATE**

73d Congress  
1st Session

Report  
No. 114

**NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY BILL**

May 29 (calendar day, June 5), 1933—Ordered to be printed  
Mr. Harrison, from the Committee on Finance, submitted the following  
**REPORT**

(To accompany H.R. 5755)

The Committee on Finance, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 5755) to encourage national industrial recovery, to foster fair competition, and to provide for the construction of certain useful public works, and for other purposes, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with amendments and recommend that as amended the bill do pass.

The bill is divided into three titles, briefly summarized in the report of the House Committee on Ways and Means (H.Rept. No. 159, 73d Cong., 1st sess.), as follows:

Title I of this bill provides a program of industrial recovery through removal of obstructions to the free flow of interstate commerce, promotion of cooperative action among trade groups and between labor and management, elimination of unfair competition, and relief of unemployment, all under adequate governmental sanctions and supervision in order to protect the public interest.

Title II creates an emergency administration of public works to plan and execute a comprehensive program of construction under which millions of workers now idle may be reemployed directly or indirectly through the expenditure of \$3,300,000,000 in useful public projects.

Title III contains miscellaneous provisions, including amendments of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act.

**[The full text of Senate report on H.R. 5755 appears at page 281 of Vol. 1 of the original minutes.]**

\* \* \*

PURSUANT TO GENERAL CUSTOM THE CHAIRMAN (MR. MCNARY) APPOINTED THE FOLLOWING REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.

January 2, 1934

Honorable Daniel O. Hastings,  
United States Senate.

My dear Senator Hastings:

It is my pleasure to advise you that I have appointed the following members to constitute the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee:

JUNE 7, 1933

Mr. Hastings, Chairman  
Mr. Dickinson, Vice Chairman  
Mr. Capper  
Mr. Norbeck  
Mr. White  
Mr. Steiwer  
Mr. Nye  
Mr. Barbour  
Mr. Carey

Very sincerely yours,  
(Signed) Charles L. McNary,  
United States Senator

McN/KB

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[January 16, 1934]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 16, 1934

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 10:30 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Carey, Davis, Dickinson, Fess, Frazier, Goldsborough, Hale, Hastings, Hebert, McNary, Nye, Patterson, Reed, Robinson (Indiana), Schall, Townsend, Vandenberg, Walcott, and White.

Total 19, a quorum being present.

Senator Steiwer entered shortly after the roll call.

Following a brief statement by the Chairman, there ensued a discussion of the financial situation as affected by the proposed legislation pursuant to the President's message of January 15, 1934.

It was the sense of the Conference that full hearings should be held by the committee on Banking and Currency upon the money system bill (S. 2366).

There was a general discussion of suggested amendments to the Independent Offices Appropriation Bill (H.R. 6663) relating to the pay of civilian employees and to remedial veterans' legislation.

It was the sense of the Conference that the manifest injustice and inequities in the Economy Act and its administrative regulations should be fairly rectified as respects civil employees and the veterans of all wars.

It was the further sense of the Conference that the Senate Appropriations Committee should open full hearings on these subjects in connection with the pending Independent Offices Appropriation Bill.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary

\* \* \*

SENATE

73d Congress  
2d Session

Document  
No. 114

IMPROVEMENT OF MONETARY SYSTEM

**Message from**

**The President of the United States**

requesting

Certain additional legislation to improve the financial and monetary system of the United States.

January 11 (calendar day, January 15), 1934.—Read; referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed.

**[The text of the message from the President appears at page 284 of Vol. 1 of the original minutes.]**

\* \* \*

73d Congress  
2d Session

**S. 2366**

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

January 17, 1934

Mr. Fletcher introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency

**A BILL**

To protect the currency system of the United States, to provide for the better use of the monetary gold stock of the United States and for other purposes.

**[The text of S. 2366 appears at page 285 of Vol. 1 of the original minutes.]**

JANUARY 16, 1934

\* \* \*

United States Senate Chamber

Washington, D.C.

May 3, 1934

There will be a meeting of Republican Senators in the Minority Conference Room of the Senate (Room 335, Senate Office Building), Friday, May 4, 1934, at 10:30 a.m., to consider H.R. 8687, The Tariff Trade Bill.

By order of the Chairman.

[signed] Carl A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the Minority.

[Handwritten note added] May 3, 1934, by instruction of the Chairman, Sen. McNary, an invitation to this conference was sent to Sen. Shipstead (Farmer-Labor). This is the first time he had been invited to attend the Republican Conference.

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[May 4, 1934]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

May 4, 1934

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 10:30 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Barbour, Carey, Davis, Dickinson, Gibson, Goldsborough, Hale, Hastings, Hebert, Kean, McNary, Metcalf, Patterson, Robinson (Indiana), Schall, Steiwer, Townsend, Vandenberg, and White.

Total 19, a quorum being present.

There was an informal discussion by Senators of the Tariff Trade Bill (H.R. 8687), following which the Conference adjourned to Tuesday, May 8, 1934, at 10:30 a.m.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

[May 8, 1934]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

May 8, 1934

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 10:30 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Austin, Barbour, Carey, Couzens, Davis, Dickinson, Fess, Gibson, Goldsborough, Hale, Hastings, Hebert, Kean, McNary, Metcalf, Nye, Patterson, Schall, Steiwer, Townsend, Vandenberg, Walcott, and White.

Total 23, a quorum being present.

The Conference resumed the informal discussion of the Tariff Trade Bill (H.R. 8687) and also amendments that were suggested thereto.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

**Calendar No. 924**

73 Congress  
2d Session

**H.R. 8687**

**(Report No. 871)**

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

March 28 (calendar day, April 2), 1934

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Finance

April 26 (calendar day, May 2), 1934

Reported by Mr. Harrison, with amendments

**AN ACT**

To amend the Tariff Act of 1930.

[The 6-page text of H.R. 8687 as reported in the Senate appears at page 287 of Vol. 1 of the original minutes.]

MAY 8, 1934

\* \* \*

United States Senate Chamber  
Washington, D.C.  
June 13, 1934

There will be a meeting of Republican Senators in the Minority Conference Room of the Senate (Room 335, Senate Office Building), Thursday, June 14, 1934, at 10 a.m., to consider a Labor Resolution proposed in lieu of the pending Wagner Labor Disputes Bill.

By order of the Chairman.

[signed] Carl A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the  
Minority.

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[June 14, 1934]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

June 14, 1934

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 10:00 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Austin, Capper, Couzens, Davis, Dickinson, Fess, Gibson, Goldsborough, Hale, Hastings, Hebert, McNary, Metcalf, Patterson, Robinson (Indiana), Steiwer, Townsend, Vandenberg, Walcott, and White.

Total 20, a quorum being present.

The Chairman laid before the Conference for discussion and consideration a draft of a resolution emanating from the Democratic leadership (copy of which is appended to these minutes) proposed to be passed by the Congress in lieu of the Wagner labor disputes bill.

After discussion, the Chairman appointed a committee of the conference consisting of Senators Davis, Couzens, Steiwer, Goldsborough, and Walcott to study and draft a substitute resolution and report the same to a later meeting to be held the following morning, Friday, June 15, 1934, at 10:00 a.m.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.



\* \* \*

*CONFIDENTIAL*

To effectuate further the policy of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

Section 1—In order to further effectuate the policy of Title 1 of the National Industry Recovery Act, and in the exercise of the powers therein and herein conferred, the President is authorized to establish a Board or Boards authorized and directed to investigate issues, facts, practices or activities of employers or employees in any controversies arising under said Act, or impairing its effectiveness.

Section 2—Any board so established is hereby empowered when it shall appear in the public interest, to order and conduct an election by a secret ballot of any of the employees of any employer, to determine by what person or persons or organization they desire to be represented in order to insure the right of employees to organize and to select their representatives for the purpose of collective bargaining as defined in Section 7-A of said Act.

For the purposes of such election such a Board shall have the authority to order the production of such pertinent documents or the appearance of such witnesses to give testimony under oath, as it may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this Resolution. Any order issued by such a Board under the authority of this Section may be enforced in the same manner as an order of the Federal Trade Commission, by any United States Court of competent jurisdiction.

Section 3—Any such Board, with the approval of the President, may prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Resolution. Section 4—Any person who shall violate any rule or regulation authorized under Section 3 of this Resolution or impede or interfere with any member or agent of any board established under this Resolution in the performance of his duties, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000, or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both.

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**Calendar No. 1260**

73d Congress  
2d Session

**S. 2926**

**(Report No. 1184)**

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

February 28 (calendar day, March 1), 1934

JUNE 14, 1934

Mr. Wagner introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

May 10 (calendar day, May 26), 1934

Reported by Mr. Walsh, with amendments

**A BILL**

To equalize the bargaining power of employers and employees, to encourage the amicable settlement of disputes between employers and employees, to create a National Labor Board, and for other purposes.

**[The text of S. 2926 as reported in the Senate appears at page 290 of Vol. 1 of the original minutes.]**

\* \* \*

United States Senate Chamber

Washington, D. C.

June 14, 1934

There will be a meeting of Republican Senators in the Minority Conference Room of the Senate (Room 335, Senate Office Building), Friday, June 15, 1934, at 10 a.m., to continue consideration of the Labor Resolution proposed in lieu of the pending Wagner Labor Disputes Bill.

By order of the Chairman.

[signed] Carl A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the  
Minority.

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[June 15, 1934]

**REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE**

June 15, 1934

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at ten o'clock a.m. in the Minority Conference Room of the Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Austin, Barbour, Capper, Davis, Dickinson, Gibson, Goldsborough, Hale, Hastings, Hebert, Kean, McNary, Metcalf, Norbeck, Patterson, Robinson, Steiwer, Townsend, Vandenberg, Walcott, and White.

Total 21, a quorum being present.

After continuing the consideration of the Labor Disputes Resolution, and hearing suggested amendments to the same, it was the consensus opinion that certain changes be made and urged upon the Democratic Leadership.

Copies of the resolution as submitted to the conference, and as proposed to be modified are appended to these minutes.

The Conference then adjourned.

[not signed]  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

ORIGINAL TEXT SUBMITTED TO THE REPUBLICAN  
CONFERENCE

*CONFIDENTIAL*

To effectuate further the policy of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

Section 1—In order to further effectuate the policy of Title 1 of the National Industry Recovery Act, and in the exercise of the powers therein and herein conferred, the President is authorized to establish a Board or Boards authorized and directed to investigate issues, facts, practices or activities of employers or employees in any controversies arising under said Act, or impairing its effectiveness.

Section 2—Any Board so established is hereby empowered when it shall appear in the public interest, to order and conduct an election by a secret ballot of any of the employees of any employer, to determine by what person or persons or organization they desire to be represented in order to insure the right of employees to organize and to select their representatives for the purpose of collective bargaining as defined in Section 7-A of said Act.

For the purposes of such election such a Board shall have the authority to order the production of such pertinent documents or the appearance of such witnesses to give testimony under oath, as it may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this Resolution. Any order issued by such a Board under the authority of this Section may be enforced in the same manner as an order of the Federal Trade Commission, by any United States Court of competent jurisdiction.

Section 3—Any such Board, with the approval of the President, may prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Resolution.

Section 4—Any person who shall violate any rule or regulation authorized under Section 3 of this Resolution or impede or interfere with any member or agent of any board established under this Resolution in the performance of his duties, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000, or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both.

JUNE 15, 1934

\* \* \*

TEXT SUBMITTED BY THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE TO  
THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

NOTE: CHANGES ARE INDICATED BY INSERT AND UNDER-  
SCORED<sup>1</sup> WORDS.

CONFIDENTIAL

To effectuate further the policy of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-  
TIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS  
ASSEMBLED:

Section 1—In order to further effectuate the policy of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and in the exercise of the powers therein and herein conferred, the President is authorized to establish a Board or Boards authorized and directed to investigate issues, facts, practices or activities of employers or employees in any controversies arising under Section 7a of said Act [**remainder of sentence lined out**: or which are burdening or obstructing, or threatening to burden or obstruct the free flow of interstate commerce.]

Section 2—Any Board so established is hereby empowered when it shall appear in the public interest, to order and conduct an election by a secret ballot of any of the employees of any employer, to determine by what person or persons or organization they desire to be represented in order to insure the right of employees to organize and to select their representatives for the purpose of collective bargaining as defined in Section 7-A of said Act and now incorporated herein.

For the purposes of such election such a Board shall have the authority to order the production of such pertinent documents or the appearance of such witnesses to give testimony under oath, as it may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this Resolution. Any order issued by such a Board under the authority of this Section may, *upon application of such Board or upon petition of the person or persons to whom such order is directed*, be enforced or reviewed, *as the case may be, in the same manner, so far as applicable, as is provided in the case of an order of the Federal Trade Commission under the Federal Trade Commission Act.*

Section 3—Any such Board, with the approval of the President, may prescribe such rules and regulations as *it deems* necessary to carry out the provisions of this Resolution *and to assure freedom from coercion in respect to all elections.*

Section 4—Any person who shall *knowingly or willfully* violate any rule or regulation authorized under Section 3 of this Resolution or impede or interfere with any member or agent of any board established under this Resolution in the performance of his duties, shall be punishable by a fine of not more than \$1,000, or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both.

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<sup>1</sup>[Inserted language is in italics here.]

*Section 5. This Resolution shall cease to be in effect and any board or boards established hereunder shall cease to exist on June 16, 1935, or sooner if the President shall by proclamation or the Congress shall by joint resolution declare that the emergency recognized by section 1 of the National Industrial Recovery Act has ended.*

\* \* \*

TEXT AS INTRODUCED IN THE SENATE BY THE DEMOCRATIC  
LEADER

CONFIDENTIAL

To effectuate further the policy of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

Section 1—In order to further effectuate the policy of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and in the exercise of the powers therein and herein conferred, the President is authorized to establish a Board or Boards authorized and directed to investigate issues, facts, practices or activities of employers or employees in any controversies arising under Section 7a of said Act or which are burdening or obstructing, or threatening to burden or obstruct the free flow of interstate commerce.

Section 2—Any Board so established is hereby empowered when it shall appear in the public interest, to order and conduct an election by a secret ballot of any of the employees of any employer, to determine by what person or persons or organization they desire to be represented in order to insure the right of employees to organize and to select their representatives for the purpose of collective bargaining as defined in Section 7-A of said Act and now incorporated herein.

For the purposes of such election such a Board shall have the authority to order the production of such pertinent documents or the appearance of such witnesses to give testimony under oath, as it may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this Resolution. Any order issued by such a Board under the authority of this Section may, *upon application of such Board or upon petition of the person or persons to whom such order is directed*, be enforced or reviewed, *as the case may be, in the same manner, so far as applicable, as is provided in the case of an order of the Federal Trade Commission under the Federal Trade Commission Act.*

Section 3—Any such Board, with the approval of the President, may prescribe such rules and regulations as *it deems* necessary to carry out the provisions of this Resolution *and to assure freedom from coercion in respect to all elections.*

Section 4—Any person who shall *knowingly* violate any rule or regulation authorized under Section 3 of this Resolution or impede or interfere with any member or agent of any board established under this Resolution in the performance of his duties, shall be punishable by a fine of

JUNE 15, 1934

not more than \$1,000, or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both.

*Sec. 5. This Resolution shall cease to be in effect and any board or boards established hereunder shall cease to exist on June 16, 1935, or sooner if the President shall by proclamation or the Congress shall by joint resolution declare that the emergency recognized by section 1 of the National Industrial Recovery Act has ended.*

\* \* \*

[typewritten] TEXT AS REPORTED TO THE SENATE FROM  
COMMITTEE.

**Calendar No. 1546**

73d Congress  
2d Session

**S.J. RES. 143**

(Report No. 1447)

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

June 6 (calendar day, June 15), 1934

Mr. Robinson of Arkansas introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

June 6 (calendar day, June 15), 1934

Reported by Mr. Walsh, with amendments

**JOINT RESOLUTION**

To effectuate further the policy of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

**[The text of S.J. Res. 143 as reported in the Senate appears at page 295 of Vol. 1 of the original minutes.]**

## Seventy-fourth Congress (1935–1937)

[Editor's Note: Ratification of the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution in February 1933 changed the convening date of Congress from March 4 to January 3 in order to eliminate the lame duck sessions that regularly occurred between a national election in November and the following March. The Seventy-fourth Congress was the first to convene on January 3. The amendment also changed the date of the presidential inauguration to January 20, beginning in 1937.

In the 1934 election Democrats had gained ten more Senate seats, for a total of 69, to 25 for the Republicans, with one Farmer-Labor member and one Progressive. In the House, the Democrats had a 322 to 103 majority over Republicans with 10 independents. For the first time since 1915, the reduced number of Republicans decided not to designate a party whip but simply to permit the Conference chairman, Charles McNary of Oregon, to appoint assistants from time to time as needed.

The Democratic-led Seventy-fourth Congress moved ahead to consider the programs proposed in President Roosevelt's Second New Deal, including the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, the Soil Conservation Act, the Rural Electrification Administration, and in August 1935 the Social Security Act. When the Supreme Court in May 1935 ruled the 1933 National Industrial Recovery Act unconstitutional, however, it opened other New Deal legislation to similar challenges.]

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[January 7, 1935]

(1)

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 7, 1935

The Conference was called to order in the Minority Conference Room (335 Senate Office Building) at 11 o'clock a.m., pursuant to call, by the Chairman, Senator McNary, who presided.

By order of the Chairman:

Conference notices were sent to the Farmer-Labor Senator (Mr. Shipstead) and the Progressive Senator (Mr. La Follette).

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Austin, Capper, Couzens, Davis, Dickinson, Hale, Hastings, McNary, Metcalf, Steiwer, Vandenberg, and White.

The Chairman stated that Messrs. Barbour, Carey, Norbeck, and Nye wished to be counted for a quorum.

JANUARY 7, 1935

Total 16, a quorum being present.

Senator McNary was unanimously reelected Chairman of the Conference and Floor Leader for the Minority.

On motion of Senator Hastings, duly seconded and carried, it was agreed that no Assistant Leader or Whip be elected but that the Chairman be authorized to appoint Senators from time to time to assist him in taking charge of the interests of the minority.

Senator Hale was reelected Secretary of the Conference.

Mr. Carl A. Loeffler was reelected Secretary for the Minority on motion of Senator Hale.

The report of the Committee on Committees was presented by Senator McNary in a written report by its Chairman, Senator Nye, who was necessarily absent from the city. Said report and printed lists of assignments are appended to these minutes.

After discussion the following changes in the assignments, as reported by the Committee on Committees, were made by the Conference, with the approval of the Senators involved:

Mr. Johnson taken off Territories and Insular Affairs

Mr. White placed on Territories and Insular Affairs

Mr. McNary taken off Manufactures

Mr. Barbour replaced on Manufactures (He had been cut off by reduced ratio)

Mr. Capper taken off Mines and Mining

Mr. McNary was placed on Mines and Mining

This reduced Senator Johnson's total assignments to six (6).

The report with these changes was approved.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

United States Senate  
Special Committee Investigating the Munitions Industry

January 5, 1935.

Chas. L. McNary  
Senate Office Bldg.  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator:

Following its appointment at your hands the Committee on Committees for the Republican side has met, considered the vacancies existing upon committees along with requests by Republican members of the Senate for committee assignment, and is prepared now to report to you and the Republican conference its recommendations.



SEVENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1935-1937)

As to release from committees, some of which have been requested by the individual senators involved, and some of which are necessitated by reason of the smaller ration of committee assignments for the Republican side, your committee recommends as follows:

Mr. Barbour from the Committee on Manufactures;  
Mr. Capper from Interstate Commerce;  
Mr. Cutting from Agriculture;  
Mr. Cutting from Territories and Insular Possessions;  
Mr. Davis from District of Columbia;  
Mr. Nye from Immigration;  
Mr. Shipstead from Printing.

In the matter of new appointments to committees we recommend as follows:

Mr. Austin to Immigration;  
Mr. Barbour to his choice of Mines, Claims or D. of C.  
Mr. Capper to Finance, also to Mines if Barbour does not wish it;  
Mr. Cutting to Banking and Currency and Foreign Relations  
Mr. Davis to Interstate Commerce and Expenditures in the Executive Department;  
Mr. Frazier to Civil Service;  
Mr. Johnson to Privileges and Elections;  
Mr. Nye to Privileges and Elections;  
Mr. Shipstead to Interstate Commerce and Immigration;  
Mr. Vandenberg to Rules;  
Mr. White to Patents.

Your committee has sought to comply with the individual requests of Republican members but has pursued the course of granting first the requests of those with senior rights.

If the recommendations of your committee are followed, twelve Republican members will have three major committee assignments while all members will have at least two such assignments. In this connection the following table will be of interest as revealing the names of the Senators assigned by the minority in the order of their service in the Senate, followed by their total of committee assignments and a statement of the number of major committee assignments which will be theirs in the event the recommendations of the Committee on Committees are adopted:

1. Borah, 3 committees, 2 of which are majors;
2. Norris, 3-2
3. Hale, 3-2
4. Johnson, 7-3
5. McNary 5-2
6. Capper, 6-3  
Keyes, 5-3
7. Norbeck, 6-3
8. Couzens, 4-3
9. Frazier, 6-2  
Shipstead, 6-3

JANUARY 7, 1935

10. Metcalf, 6-3
11. Schall, 5-2
12. La Follette, 6-3
13. Nye, 5-2
14. Steiwer, 5-2
15. Vandenberg, 6-2
16. Hastings, 5-3
17. Cutting, 6-3
18. Townsend, 5-2
19. Carey, 6-3
20. Davis, 6-3
21. Dickinson, 6-2
- White, 5-2
22. Austin, 6-2
23. Barbour, 6-2
24. Gibson, 5-2

Respectfully submitted.  
Committee on Committees,  
[signed] Gerald P. Nye  
Chairman.

---

MINUTES OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON  
COMMITTEES  
January 2, 1935

The meeting was held in Room 245, Senate Office Building, the office of the Chairman, Senator Nye (who presided) at 3:00 p.m.

Those present were Messrs. Nye, Capper, Couzens, Steiwer, Carey, White, Davis, and Cutting.

Mr. Hastings, being absent from the city, was not present.

The Committee took no action on assignments because the majority leader had not yet advised the minority leader of the ratios of representation on the several committees that would be given them.

It was the consensus of opinion that a letter be sent to each minority Senator inquiring his wishes with reference to committee assignments.

The committee considered the situation arising from the changed political status of Senator La Follette, who held certain places of fixed priority as a Republican on the committees and had been re-elected as a Progressive. Its relationship to the status of committee assignments occupied by the Farmer-Labor Senator, Mr. Shipstead, was also discussed.

It was moved by Mr. Couzens:

That the location of Senator La Follette on his committee assignments remain as they are; and the question being put by the Chairman, it was unanimously carried.

The Committee then adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Carl A. Loeffler  
Secretary

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Minutes of the Committee on Committees  
January 5, 1935

The Committee met in the Minority Conference Room, Senate Office Building at 11:30 a.m.

Present, were the Chairman, Senator Nye, and Messrs. Capper, Hastings, Couzens, Steiwer, Carey, White, Davis, and Cutting, comprising all members of said Committee.

The replies of Senators to the Committee's letter of inquiry sent out by the Chairman, were given consideration according to their seniority of service.

Under the ratios accorded the Minority by the Majority, the existing minority representation on all committees was not disturbed except in four instances, namely:

Senator Cutting had to be dropped from Agriculture.

Senator Barbour had to be dropped from Manufactures.

Senator Shipstead had to be dropped from Printing.

Senator Cutting had to be dropped from Territories, in lieu of Senator McNary, and by Senator Cutting's request.

There were three voluntary retirements from Committees, namely:

Senator Davis from District of Columbia.

Senator Nye from Immigration.

Senator Capper from Interstate Commerce. (major Com.)

The assignments accorded the minority provided 13 vacancies to fill, 4 of which were on major committees.

With the voluntary retirements, this made a total of 16 assignments, 5 being major committees.

Mr. Cutting was cut off Agriculture.

Mr. Cutting was placed on Banking & Currency.

Mr. Frazier was placed on Civil Service.

Vacancy temporarily left on Claims.

Mr. Davis retired from District of Columbia.

Vacancy temporarily left on District of Columbia.

Mr. Davis was placed on Expenditures in Executive Depts.

Mr. Capper was placed on Finance.

Mr. Cutting was placed on Foreign Relations.

JANUARY 7, 1935

Mr. Nye retired from Immigration.  
Mr. Austin was placed on Immigration.  
Mr. Shipstead was placed on Immigration.  
Mr. Capper retired from Interstate Commerce.  
Mr. Davis was placed on Interstate Commerce.  
Mr. Shipstead was placed on Interstate Commerce.  
Mr. Barbour was cut off Manufactures.  
Mr. Barbour [handwritten insert—Capper crossed out] was placed  
on Mines and Mining.  
Mr. White was placed on Patents.  
Mr. Shipstead was cut off Printing.  
Mr. Johnson was placed on Privileges & Elections.  
Mr. Nye was placed on Privileges & Elections.  
Mr. Vandenberg was placed on Rules.  
Mr. Cutting was cut off Territories.

The Committee's action gave:

Senator Austin—6 assignments with 2 majors.  
Senator Barbour—6 assignments with 2 majors.  
Senator Borah—3 assignments with 2 majors.  
Senator Capper—5 assignments with 3 majors.  
Senator Carey—6 assignments with 3 majors.  
Senator Couzens—4 assignments with 3 majors.  
Senator Cutting—6 assignments with 3 majors.  
Senator Davis—6 assignments with 3 majors.  
Senator Dickinson—6 assignments with 2 majors.  
Senator Frazier—6 assignments with 2 majors.  
Senator Gibson—5 assignments with 2 majors.  
Senator Hale—3 assignments with 2 majors.  
Senator Hastings—5 assignments with 3 majors.  
Senator Johnson—7 assignments with 3 majors.  
Senator Keyes—5 assignments with 3 majors.  
Senator La Follette—6 assignments with 3 majors.  
Senator McNary—5 assignments with 2 majors.  
Senator Metcalf—6 assignments with 3 majors.  
Senator Norbeck—6 assignments with 3 majors.  
Senator Norris—3 assignments with 2 majors.  
Senator Nye—5 assignments with 2 majors.  
Senator Schall—5 assignments with 2 majors.  
Senator Shipstead—6 assignments with 3 majors.  
Senator Steiwer—5 assignments with 2 majors.  
Senator Townsend—5 assignments with 2 majors.  
Senator Vandenberg—6 assignments with 2 majors.  
Senator White—5 assignments with 2 majors.

The Chairman stated he would submit a written report to the Republican Conference through the Leader, Senator McNary, as he had to be absent from the city on the day the Conference was called.

A copy of the assignments in full is appended to these minutes.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler.  
Secretary.

(2)

*74th Congress*

Prior to the Conference, the Leader, Senator McNary, had appointed the Committee on Committees to consist of the following Senators:

Messrs. Nye, Chairman

Capper  
Hastings  
Couzens  
Steiwer  
Carey  
White  
Davis  
Cutting

The Committee on Legislation was not appointed in the 74th Congress.

The Chairman continued the Committee on Patronage, as follows:

Messrs. Metcalf, Chairman  
Keyes  
Frazier

\* \* \*

(Confidential No. 2)

**STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE**

Seventy-fourth Congress

(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

**On Agriculture and Forestry (13–6)**

Messrs. NORRIS, MCNARY, CAPPER, NORBECK, FRAZIER;  
SHIPSTEAD.<sup>1</sup>

**On Appropriations (16–8)**

Messrs. HALE, KEYES, NYE, STEIWER, NORBECK, DICKINSON,  
TOWNSEND, CAREY.

**To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate (3–1)**

Mr. TOWNSEND.

**On Banking and Currency (14–6)**

Messrs. NORBECK, TOWNSEND, CAREY, COUZENS, STEIWER,  
CUTTING.

**On Civil Service (7–3)**

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<sup>1</sup>[Senator Shipstead was a member of the Farmer-Labor party.]

JANUARY 7, 1935

Messrs. WHITE, GIBSON, FRAZIER.

**On Claims (8–5)**

Messrs. CAPPER, TOWNSEND, WHITE, GIBSON, \_\_\_\_\_.

**On Commerce (14–6)**

Messrs. MCNARY, JOHNSON, NYE, VANDENBERG, WHITE, GIBSON.

**On the District of Columbia (10–5)**

Messrs. CAPPER, CAREY, AUSTIN, COUZENS, \_\_\_\_\_.

**On Education and Labor (9–4)**

Messrs. BORAH, METCALF, LA FOLLETTE, Jr., DAVIS.

**On Enrolled Bills (2–1)**

Mr. VANDENBERG.

**On Expenditures in the Executive Departments (5–2)**

Messrs. HASTINGS, DAVIS.

**On Finance (15–6)**

Messrs. COUZENS, KEYES, LA FOLLETTE, Jr., METCALF, HASTINGS, CAPPER.

**On Foreign Relations (16–7)**

Messrs. BORAH, JOHNSON, CAPPER, LA FOLLETTE, Jr., VANDENBERG, CUTTING; SHIPSTEAD.

**On Immigration (10–4)**

Messrs. JOHNSON, KEYES, AUSTIN; SHIPSTEAD.

**On Indian Affairs (9–[4—crossed out] 5 [handwritten insert])**

Messrs. FRAZIER, SCHALL, LA FOLLETTE, Jr., STEIWER, NORBECK.

**On Interoceanic Canals (6–2)**

Messrs. SCHALL, BARBOUR.

**On Interstate Commerce (14–6)**

Messrs. COUZENS, METCALF, HASTINGS, WHITE, DAVIS, SHIPSTEAD.

**On Irrigation and Reclamation (12–5)**

Messrs. MCNARY, JOHNSON, TOWNSEND, CAREY, CUTTING.

**On the Judiciary (13–5)**

Messrs. BORAH, NORRIS, HASTINGS, SCHALL, AUSTIN.

**On the Library (7–3)**

Messrs. NORBECK, BARBOUR, GIBSON.

**On Manufactures (9–4)**

SEVENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1935–1937)

Messrs. [MCNARY—crossed out] METCALF, LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,  
CUTTING, BARBOUR [handwritten insert].

**On Military Affairs** (12–5)

Messrs. CUTTING, CAREY, DICKINSON, AUSTIN, BARBOUR.

**On Mines and Mining** (10–3)

Messrs. FRAZIER, DAVIS, [CAPPER—crossed out] [BARBOUR—hand-  
written insert, also crossed out] MCNARY [handwritten insert].

**On Naval Affairs** (12–5)

Messrs. HALE, METCALF, DAVIS, KEYES, JOHNSON.

**On Patents** (5–2)

Messrs. NORRIS, WHITE.

**On Pensions** (7–3)

Messrs. SCHALL, FRAZIER; SHIPSTEAD.

**On Post Offices and Post Roads** (13–6)

Messrs. SCHALL, FRAZIER, LA FOLLETTE, Jr., BARBOUR, DAVIS,  
GIBSON.

**On Printing** (5–2)

Messrs. VANDENBERG, DICKINSON.

**On Privileges and Elections** (12–5)

Messrs. HASTINGS, AUSTIN, DICKINSON, JOHNSON, NYE.

**On Public Buildings and Grounds** (9–5)

Messrs. KEYES, DICKINSON, AUSTIN, BARBOUR; SHIPSTEAD.

**On Public Lands and Surveys** (10–5)

Messrs. NORBECK, NYE, CUTTING, STEIWER, CAREY.

**On Rules** (9–4)

Messrs. HALE, STEIWER, DICKINSON, VANDENBERG.

**On Territories and Insular Affairs** (12–5)

Messrs. [JOHNSON—crossed out] NYE, METCALF, VANDENBERG,  
MCNARY, WHITE [handwritten insert].

\* \* \*

(Confidential No. 2)

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS OF SENATORS

Seventy-fourth Congress

(To be submitted to the Republican Conference)

Mr. AUSTIN ..... District of Columbia.

*Immigration.*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>[The minutes give no indication of the meaning of the italics. Perhaps they indicate committees that are new to a member in this Congress.]

JANUARY 7, 1935

	Judiciary. Military Affairs. Privileges and Elections. Public Buildings and Grounds.
Mr. BARBOUR .....	Interoceanic Canals. Library. Military Affairs. [Mines and Mining—handwritten insert, later crossed out] Manufactures [handwritten insert] Post Offices and Post Roads. Public Buildings and Grounds
Mr. BORAH .....	Foreign Relations. Education and Labor. Judiciary.
Mr. CAPPER .....	Agriculture and Forestry. Claims. District of Columbia. <i>Finance.</i> Foreign Relations. [Mines and Mining—crossed out]
Mr. CAREY .....	Appropriations. Banking and Currency. District of Columbia. Irrigation and Reclamation. Military Affairs. Public Lands and Surveys.
Mr. COUZENS .....	Banking and Currency. District of Columbia. <i>Finance.</i> Interstate Commerce.
Mr. CUTTING .....	<i>Banking and Currency.</i> <i>Foreign Relations.</i> Irrigation and Reclamation. Manufactures. Military Affairs. Public Lands and Surveys.
Mr. DAVIS .....	<i>Expenditures in the Executive Departments.</i> Education and Labor. Mines and Mining. <i>Interstate Commerce.</i> Naval Affairs. Post Offices and Post Roads.
Mr. DICKINSON .....	Appropriations. Military Affairs. Printing. Privileges and Elections. Public Buildings and Grounds. Rules.



SEVENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1935–1937)

Mr. FRAZIER .....	Agriculture and Forestry. Indian Affairs. Mines and Mining. Pensions. Post Offices and Post Roads. <i>Civil Service.</i>
Mr. GIBSON .....	Civil Service. Claims. Commerce. Library. Post Offices and Post Roads.
Mr. HALE .....	Appropriations. Naval Affairs. Rules.
Mr. HASTINGS .....	Expenditures in the Executive Departments. Finance. Interstate Commerce. Judiciary. Privileges and Elections.
Mr. JOHNSON .....	Commerce. Foreign Relations. Immigration. Irrigation and Reclamation. Naval Affairs. <i>Privileges and Elections.</i> [Territories and Insular Affairs—crossed out]
Mr. KEYES .....	Appropriations. Finance. Immigration. Naval Affairs. Public Buildings and Grounds.
Mr. LA FOLLETTE, Jr. ....	Education and Labor. Finance. Foreign Relations. Indian Affairs. Manufactures. Post Offices and Post Roads.
Mr. MCNARY .....	Agriculture and Forestry. Commerce. Irrigation and Reclamation. [Manufactures—crossed out] Mines and Mining [handwritten insert] Territories and Insular Affairs.
Mr. METCALF .....	Education and Labor. Finance. Interstate Commerce. Manufactures. Naval Affairs.

JANUARY 7, 1935

	Territories and Insular Affairs.
Mr. NORBECK .....	Agriculture and Forestry. Appropriations. Banking and Currency. Indian Affairs. Library. Public Lands and Surveys.
Mr. NORRIS .....	Agriculture and Forestry. Judiciary. Patents.
Mr. NYE .....	Appropriations. Commerce. Public Lands and Surveys. <i>Privileges and Elections.</i> Territories and Insular Affairs.
Mr. SCHALL .....	Indian Affairs. Interoceanic Canals. Judiciary. Pensions. Post Offices and Post Roads.
Mr. SHIPSTEAD .....	Agriculture and Forestry. Foreign Relations. Pensions. <i>Immigration.</i> <i>Interstate Commerce.</i> Public Buildings and Grounds.
Mr. STEIWER .....	Appropriations. Banking and Currency. Indian Affairs. Public Lands and Surveys. Rules.
Mr. TOWNSEND, Jr. ....	Appropriations. Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. Banking and Currency. Claims. Irrigation and Reclamation.
Mr. VANDENBERG .....	Commerce. Enrolled Bills. Foreign Relations. Printing. <i>Rules.</i> Territories and Insular Affairs.

SEVENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1935–1937)

Mr. WHITE ..... Civil Service.  
Claims.  
Commerce.  
Interstate Commerce.  
*Patents.*  
Territories and Insular Affairs.  
[handwritten insert]

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[January 26, 1935]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 26, 1935

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 10:30 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Austin, Capper, Carey, Couzens, Davis, Hale, Hastings, Keyes, McNary, Metcalf, Norbeck, Steiwer, Townsend, Vandenberg, and White.

Total 15, a quorum being present.

There was a discussion of H.J. Res. 117, Making appropriations for relief purposes (so-called \$4,880,000,000. resolution), copy of which is appended to these minutes.

It was voted, that it is the sense of the Conference that open hearings of the full Committee on Appropriations should be held on the said resolution.

The Conference adjourned.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

JANUARY 26, 1935

\* \* \*

74th Congress  
1st Session

**H.J. RES. 117**

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

January 21 (calendar day, January 25), 1935

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Appropriations

**JOINT RESOLUTION**

Making appropriations for relief purposes.

**[The 6-page text of H.J. Res. 117 appears at page 317 of Vol. 1 of the original minutes.]**

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[February 15, 1935]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

February 15, 1935

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 10:30 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators answered to their names, except Messrs. Austin, Barbour and Keyes who wished to be counted for a quorum:

Messrs. Austin, Barbour, Capper, Couzens, Davis, Dickinson, Gibson, Hale, Hastings, Keyes, McNary, Metcalf, Nye, Steiwer, Townsend, Vandenberg, and White.

Total 17, a quorum.

The Conference discussed H.J. Res. 117, making appropriations for relief purposes (so-called \$4,880,000,000. resolution), a copy of which is hereto attached.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

SEVENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1935-1937)

\* \* \*

**Calendar No. 110**

74th Congress  
1st Session

**H.J. RES. 117**

(Report No. 109)

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

January 21 (calendar day, January 25), 1935

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Appropriations

February 14, 1935

Reported by Mr. Glass, with amendments

**JOINT RESOLUTION**

Making appropriations for relief purposes.

**[The 9-page text of H.J. Res. 117 as reported in the Senate appears at page 319 of Vol. 1 of the original minutes.]**

\* \* \*

United States Senate

Minority Committee on Committees

Dear Colleague:

By reason of the death of Senator Cutting there is need for assigning committee places which were his to other Republican Members.

The Committee on Committees is desirous of meeting this need this week, and will appreciate your studying and writing of any wishes which may be yours for additions or changes in your committee assignments.

Will you be so good as to write the Committee before Friday morning, May 17, of your wishes in this connection.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Gerald P. Nye  
Chairman, Committee on  
Committees.

\_\_\_\_\_

**MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES**

May 17, 1935

The Committee met at 12:30 p.m. in the office of Senator Nye (its Chairman).

FEBRUARY 15, 1935

Present: Messrs. Nye, Steiwer, and White, the entire time. Messrs. Hastings and Couzens part of the time. Senator Capper phoned the Chairman to be excused. Senator Carey was absent from the City and Senator Davis was absent due to illness.

There were but five requests. Senator Schall requested Military Affairs but withdrew by phone in favor of Senator Nye.

Senator Austin and Senator White both desired Foreign Relations. Senator White waived seniority, but won the assignment by a toss of a coin by the Chairman.

Senator White withdrew from Territories and Senator Gibson was given that assignment.

Senator McNary was reassigned to Manufactures, which he had yielded the year previously to make a place on that Committee for Senator Barbour.

THE NUMBER OF ASSIGNMENTS TO COMMITTEES OF EACH REPUBLICAN SENATOR IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE FOREGOING ACTION IS AS FOLLOWS:

Senator	Total	Major	Senator	Total	Major
1. Borah .....	3	2	12. La Follette ...	6	3
2. Norris .....	3	2	13. Nye .....	6	3
3. Hale .....	3	2	14. Steiwer .....	5	2
4. Johnson .....	6	3	15. Vandenberg	6	2
5. McNary .....	6	2	16. Hastings .....	5	3
6. Capper .....	5	3	17. Townsend .....	5	2
Keyes .....	5	3	18. Carey .....	6	3
7. Norbeck .....	6	3	19. Davis .....	6	3
8. Couzens .....	4	3	20. Dickinson .....	6	2
9. Frazier .....	6	2	White .....	6	3
Shipstead .....	6	3	21. Austin .....	6	2
10. Metcalf .....	6	3	22. Barbour .....	6	2
11. Schall .....	5	2	23. Gibson .....	6	2
Chairman					

The action of the Committee on Committees was submitted to the Senate in the form of the following order on May 31, 1935, by the Republican Leader (Mr. McNary), and adopted.

ORDERED: That Mr. White be excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs. That the following Senators be assigned to membership on the following committees: Mr. McNary to the committee on Manufactures. Mr. Nye to the committee on Military Affairs. Mr.

White to the committee on Foreign Relations. Mr. Gibson to the committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

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[June 2, 1936]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

June 2, 1936

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 10:30 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Austin, Barbour, Capper, Carey, Couzens, Davis, Gibson, Hale, Hastings, McNary, Townsend, Vandenberg, and White.

Total 13—a quorum being present.

The pending Revenue Bill, H.R. 12395, and the amendments thereto made by the Senate Committee on Finance were discussed, but no action was taken in relation thereto.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

**Calendar No. 2266**  
SENATE

74th Congress  
2d Session

Report  
No. 2156

REVENUE BILL OF 1936

June 1, 1936.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. King, from the Committee on Finance, submitted the following

REPORT

(To accompany H.R. 12395)

The Committee on Finance, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 12395) to provide revenue, equalize taxation, and for other purposes, having had the same under consideration, report favorably thereon with certain amendments and as amended recommend that the bill do pass.

**[The 37-page text of the Report on the Revenue Bill of 1936 appears at page 323 of Vol. 1 of the original minutes.]**

\* \* \*

On June 29, 1936, Senator McNary appointed the following Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee:

JUNE 2, 1936

Mr. Townsend, Chairman  
Mr. Frazier  
Mr. Steiwer  
Mr. Gibson  
Mr. Davis



## Seventy-fifth Congress (1937–1939)

[Editor's Note: After the 1936 election in which President Roosevelt was overwhelmingly reelected, the Democratic Senate majority climbed further to 76, with only 16 Republicans and 4 independents. So overwhelming was the proportion of Democrats, in fact, that they filled their side of the Senate chamber and spilled across the aisle, with 13 Democrats sitting on the Republican side. In the House, the Democrats held 334 seats to 88 Republicans and 13 independents.]

During this period when the party was so deeply in the minority, the Republican Conference met infrequently, usually at the beginning of a Congress to choose its leaders and make committee assignments.

In 1937 President Roosevelt, frustrated by Supreme Court decisions that struck down New Deal legislation, proposed increasing the size of the Court to enable him to appoint supportive justices. This so-called Court packing plan drew intense criticism and split congressional Democrats, so that Republicans felt little need to intervene. Eventually, the administration dropped the proposal after a series of Court rulings upheld legislation from the second New Deal. As it happened, Roosevelt soon had the opportunity to appoint a majority of the Supreme Court as vacancies occurred.]

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[January 7, 1937]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 7, 1937

The conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 10:30 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Austin, Bridges, Capper, Davis, Frazier, Gibson, Hale, Lodge, McNary, Nye, Steiwer, Vandenberg, and White.

Total 13—a quorum being present.

Senator McNary was unanimously reelected Chairman of the Conference and Floor leader for the Minority.

Senator Hale was unanimously reelected Secretary of the Conference.

Senator Vandenberg was unanimously reelected nominee for President Pro Tempore.

JANUARY 7, 1937

Carl A. Loeffler was unanimously reelected Secretary for the Minority.

The Chairman was authorized to appoint a Committee on Committees, and he appointed the following members:

Messrs. Nye, Chairman  
Capper  
Steiwer  
White  
Davis  
Townsend

The Chairman was authorized to appoint a Committee on Patronage.

The list of Committee assignments adopted by the Committee on Committees and concurred in by the conference is appended to these minutes.

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

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#### MEETING [OF] COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES

January 8, 1937

The Committee met in Room 335, Senate Office Building, and completed its work begun the day before. The completed list of assignments was delivered by the Chairman, Senator Nye, to Senator McNary who presented it the same day to the Senate.

The combined assignments as adopted by that body on January 8, 1937, appear below.

Present at the meeting of the Committee were Messrs. Nye, Capper, Steiwer, White, and Davis.

[signed] C. A. Loeffler  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

[Excerpt from *Congressional Record*]

Mr. ROBINSON. On behalf of the majority, pursuant to the resolution just agreed to, I submit the list of assignments to committees.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The assignments will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the assignments submitted by Mr. ROBINSON.

Mr. McNARY. On behalf of the minority I submit the assignments to the various committees.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The assignments will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the assignments.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the two assignments will be considered together.

Mr. ROBINSON. I move the adoption of an order incorporating the names just read.

The order was read and agreed to, as follows:

*Ordered*, That the following shall constitute the standing committees of the Senate of the Seventy-fifth Congress:

On Agriculture and Forestry: Messrs. Smith (chairman), Wheeler, Thomas of Oklahoma, McGill, Bankhead, Bulow, Mrs. Caraway, Pope, Hatch, Bilbo, Moore, Schwellenbach, Gillette, Ellender, Norris, McNary, Capper, Frazier, and Shipstead.

On Appropriations: Messrs. Glass (chairman), McKellar, Copeland, Hayden, Thomas of Oklahoma, Byrnes, Tydings, Russell, Adams, McCarran, Overton, Bankhead, O'Mahoney, McAdoo, Truman, Burke, Duffy, Hitchcock, Green, Hale, Nye, Steiwer, Townsend, and Bridges.

To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate: Messrs. Byrnes (chairman), Tydings, Bachman, and Townsend.

On Banking and Currency: Messrs. Wagner (chairman), Glass, Barkley, Bulkley, Reynolds, Byrnes, Bankhead, McAdoo, Adams, Maloney, Radcliffe, Brown of Michigan, Hitchcock, Hughes, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, Townsend, Steiwer, Frazier, and Lodge.

On Civil Service: Messrs. Bulow (chairman), McKellar, George, Logan, Neely, Dieterich, Byrd, White, Gibson, and Frazier.

On Claims: Messrs. Bailey (chairman), Black, Logan, Burke, Schwellenbach, Brown of Michigan, Ellender, Hughes, Schwartz, \_\_\_\_\_, Capper, Townsend, and White.

On Commerce: Messrs. Copeland (chairman), Sheppard, Bailey, Mrs. Caraway, Clark, Overton, Bachman, Bilbo, Donahey, Guffey, Maloney, Radcliffe, Pepper, Lee, McNary, Johnson of California, Nye, Vandenberg, White, and Gibson.

On the District of Columbia: Messrs. King (chairman), Glass, Copeland, Tydings, Lewis, Bankhead, McCarran, Reynolds, Bilbo, Overton, Hitchcock, Hughes, Capper, Austin, and Bridges.

On Education and Labor: Messrs. Black (chairman), Copeland, Walsh, Thomas of Utah, Murray, Donahey, Holt, Pepper, Ellender, Lee, Borah, La Follette, and Davis.

On Enrolled Bills: Mrs. Caraway (chairman), Messrs. Lonergan and Vandenberg.

On Expenditures in the Executive Departments: Messrs. Lewis (chairman), Wagner, Van Nuys, Pittman, Barkley, Davis, and Lodge.

On Finance: Messrs. Harrison (chairman), King, George, Walsh, Barkley, Connally, Bailey, Clark, Byrd, Lonergan, Black, Gerry, Guffey,

JANUARY 7, 1937

Bulkley, Brown of Michigan, \_\_\_\_\_, La Follette, Capper, Vandenberg, Townsend, and Davis.

On Foreign Relations: Messrs. Pittman (chairman), Robinson, Harrison, George, Black, Wagner, Connally, Lewis, Bachman, Thomas of Utah, Van Nuys, Duffy, Pope, Murray, Chavez, Schwellenbach, Borah, Johnson of California, Capper, La Follette, Vandenberg, White, and Shipstead.

On Immigration: Messrs. Russell (chairman), King, Copeland, McGill, Maloney, Moore, Schwellenbach, Holt, Andrews, Hughes, Johnson of California, Austin, Capper, and Shipstead.

On Indian Affairs: Messrs. Thomas of Oklahoma (chairman), Wheeler, Ashurst, Bulow, Hatch, O'Mahoney, Donahey, Chavez, Johnson of Colorado, Lundeen, Frazier, La Follette, Steiwer, and Shipstead.

On Interoceanic Canals: Messrs. Clark (chairman), Duffy, Hayden, Pepper, Ellender, \_\_\_\_\_, Bridges, and Lodge.

On Interstate Commerce: Messrs. Wheeler (chairman), Smith, Wagner, Barkley, Neely, Dieterich, Lonergan, Brown of New Hampshire, Bone, Donahey, Minton, Moore, Truman, Andrews, Johnson of Colorado, Schwartz, White, Davis, Austin, and Shipstead.

On Irrigation and Reclamation: Messrs. Bankhead (chairman), Sheppard, Pittman, Ashurst, Adams, Pope, McCarran, Overton, Hatch, O'Mahoney, Burke, Chavez, Lee, McNary, Johnson of California, Townsend, and Nye.

On the Judiciary: Messrs. Ashurst (chairman), King, Neely, Van Nuys, McCarran, Logan, Dieterich, McGill, Hatch, Burke, Pittman, Connally, O'Mahoney, Hughes, Borah, Norris, Austin, and Steiwer.

On the Library: Messrs. Barkley (chairman), McKellar, Thomas of Oklahoma, Mrs. Caraway, Bilbo, Moore, Radcliffe, \_\_\_\_\_, Gibson, and McNary.

On Manufacturers: Messrs. Bulkley (chairman), Smith, Sheppard, Russell, Brown of New Hampshire, Overton, Gerry, Guffey, Brown of Michigan, Johnson of Colorado, La Follette, McNary, and Lodge.

On Military Affairs: Messrs. Sheppard (chairman), Black, Lewis, Logan, Reynolds, Bachman, Thomas of Utah, Minton, Pepper, Johnson of Colorado, Lee, Schwartz, Lundeen, Austin, Nye, Bridges, and Lodge.

On Mines and Mining: Messrs. Logan (chairman), Pittman, Hayden, Bulow, Pope, Thomas of Utah, Guffey, Holt, Johnson of Colorado, Schwartz, \_\_\_\_\_, Frazier, and Davis.

On Naval Affairs: Messrs. Walsh (chairman), Tydings, Smith, McGill, Russell, Bone, Byrd, Dieterich, Brown of New Hampshire, Gerry, Holt, Andrews, Gillette, Hale, Davis, Johnson of California, and Gibson.

On Patents: Messrs. McAdoo (chairman), Smith, Bone, Radcliffe, Duffy, Norris, and White.

On Pensions: Messrs. McGill (chairman), Wheeler, Walsh, Bulkley, Lonergan, Thomas of Utah, Minton, Schwartz, Frazier, Townsend, and Shipstead.

SEVENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS (1937–1939)

On Post Offices and Post Roads: Messrs. McKellar (chairman), Hayden, Bailey, Bulow, Byrnes, Logan, Brown of New Hampshire, O'Mahoney, Murray, Chavez, Holt, Ellender, Green, Lundeen, \_\_\_\_\_, Frazier, La Follette, Gibson, and Bridges.

On Printing: Messrs. Hayden (chairman), Walsh, Black, Truman, Pepper, Lundeen, Vandenberg, and Lodge.

On Privileges and Elections: Messrs. George (chairman), King, Smith, Connally, Bulkley, Logan, Bachman, Brown of New Hampshire, Duffy, Hatch, Minton, Hitchcock, Green, Austin, Johnson of California, Nye, and Bridges.

On Public Buildings and Grounds: Messrs. Connally (chairman), Ashurst, Tydings, Walsh, Maloney, Truman, Chavez, Andrews, Gillette, Green, \_\_\_\_\_, Austin, Hale, and Shipstead.

On Public Lands and Surveys: Messrs. Adams (chairman), Pittman, Ashurst, Wagner, Hatch, O'Mahoney, Murray, McCarran, Andrews, Hitchcock, Lee, \_\_\_\_\_, Nye, Steiwer, and Borah.

On Rules: Messrs. Neely (chairman), Robinson, Copeland, Harrison, McKellar, Black, Adams, Byrd, Lewis, Gillette, Hale, Steiwer, and Vandenberg.

On Territories and Insular Affairs: Messrs. Tydings (chairman), Pittman, Hayden, King, Robinson, Clark, Reynolds, Bone, McKellar, McAdoo, Wheeler, Gerry, Lundeen, Nye, Vandenberg, McNary, and Gibson.

REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Appointed April 17, 1937

Senator Townsend, Chairman  
Senator Capper  
Senator Frazier  
Senator White  
Senator McNary



## Seventy-sixth Congress (1939–1941)

[Editor's Note: Republicans gained 7 Senate seats in the 1938 election, making the ratio 69 Democrats, 23 Republicans, and 4 independents. In the House the party gained substantially, leaving the Democrats with 262 seats to 169 Republicans and 4 independents.]

As Nazi Germany began its march across Europe in September 1939 with the invasion of Poland, congressional and administration attention turned from domestic matters to foreign relations, with particular concern about national defense. That fall President Roosevelt called a special session of Congress, which considered and passed neutrality legislation. In 1940, the march continued, with the invasions of Norway, Belgium, and the Netherlands and the evacuation of British troops from Dunkirk, followed by the fall of France. The United States began providing aid to the allies and stepped up defense production, while a debate began between isolationists and interventionists. In view of the national emergency, Congress remained in session continuously, with only brief recesses, throughout 1940.]

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[January 3, 1939]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 3, 1939

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 11 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

Senator White acted as Temporary Secretary in the absence of Senator Hale.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Austin, Barbour, Bridges, Capper, Danaher, Davis, Frazier, Gibson, Gurney, Holman, McNary, Nye, Reed, Taft, Tobey, Townsend, Vandenberg, White, and Wiley.

Total 19—a quorum being present. (Quorum being 14)

Senator Bridges nominated Senator Hale as Permanent Secretary of the Conference, and he was unanimously chosen.

Senator Austin nominated Senator McNary as Chairman of the Conference and Floor Leader, and he was unanimously chosen.

Senator McNary made a statement as to committee assignments, stressing the requirement of reaching an agreement with Senator

JANUARY 3, 1939

Barkley as to proportionate representation before assignments can be made.

The Committee on Committees of the Seventy-fifth Congress, Messrs. Nye, Capper, White, Davis, and Townsend, was re-appointed.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Temporary Secretary.

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### MEETING COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES

January 9, 1939

The Committee met in the Minority Conference room, number 335 Senate Office Building, January 9, 1939, at 2:15 p.m.

Present were Senator Nye, Chairman, Senators Davis, Capper, and White. Senator Townsend was out of the city. The Minority Leader, Senator McNary, attended the first part of the meeting.

The Committee considered the requests of the new group of Senators, and also personally contacted and consulted with the Senators who relinquished existing assignments.

Mr. Bridges gave up Public Buildings and Grounds; Mr. Davis, Interstate Commerce; Mr. Frazier, Mines and Mining; Mr. Gibson, Post Offices and Post Roads; Mr. Lodge, Banking and Currency, Manufactures, and Military Affairs; Mr. McNary, Judiciary and Manufactures; Mr. Nye, Commerce; Mr. Shipstead, Immigration and Public Buildings and Grounds; Mr. Vandenberg, Enrolled Bills and Printing; and Mr. White, Claims.

Mr. Barbour was assigned to Commerce, Manufactures, Naval Affairs, Public Buildings and Grounds, and Rules. Mr. Danaher was assigned to Banking and Currency, Judiciary, Manufactures, Printing, and Territories. Mr. Davis was assigned to Post Offices and Post Roads. Mr. Gurney was assigned to Interstate Commerce, Irrigation and Reclamation, Military Affairs, Printing, and Public Lands. Mr. Holman was assigned to Appropriations, District of Columbia, Immigration, Military Affairs, and Public Lands. Mr. Lodge was assigned to Finance. Mr. McNary was assigned to Indian Affairs. Mr. Reed was assigned to Enrolled Bills, Interstate Commerce, Manufactures, Mines and Mining, and Post Offices and Post Roads. Mr. Taft was assigned to Appropriations, Banking and Currency, Education and Labor, Mines and Mining, and Public Buildings and Grounds. Mr. Tobey was assigned to Banking and Currency, Claims, Interstate Commerce, Library, and Rules. Mr. Wiley was assigned to Agriculture, Claims, Judiciary, Mines and Mining, and Privileges and Elections.



SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS (1939-1941)

This gave all of the new Senators two major and three minor committee assignments.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary

Note: Owing to a desire to make the report the following day in the Senate, the Committee's action was not considered by a Republican Conference.

\* \* \*

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS IN THE SEVENTY SIXTH CONGRESS

Name	Major Committee	Minor Committee
Mr. Austin .....	3	3
Mr. Barbour .....	2	3
Mr. Borah .....	2	2
Mr. Bridges .....	3	3
Mr. Capper .....	3	3
Mr. Danaher .....	2	3
Mr. Davis .....	3	3
Mr. Frazier .....	3	3
Mr. Gibson .....	2	3
Mr. Gurney .....	2	3
Mr. Hale .....	2	2
Mr. Holman .....	2	3
Mr. Johnson .....	3	3
Mr. La Follette .....	3	3
Mr. Lodge .....	2	3
Mr. McNary .....	2	3
Mr. Norris .....	2	1
Mr. Nye .....	2	4
Mr. Reed .....	2	3
Mr. Shipstead .....	3	2
Mr. Taft .....	2	3
Mr. Tobey .....	2	3
Mr. Townsend .....	3	4
Mr. Vandenberg .....	3	2
Mr. White .....	3	2
Mr. Wiley .....	2	3

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[January 17, 1939]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 17, 1939

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 11 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

JANUARY 17, 1939

The roll was not called since it was evident that a quorum was present, but those present were:

Messrs. Austin, Barbour, Bridges, Capper, Danaher, Davis, Gibson, Gurney, Holman, Lodge, McNary, Reed, Taft, Tobey, Townsend, Vandenberg, and White.

Senators Hale and Wiley, though absent, requested to be counted as present.

Total 19 (Quorum being 14)

Senator McNary stated the reason for calling the Conference, which was to enable Senators to consult with regard to the pending nominations, Harry Hopkins to be Secretary of Commerce, Felix Frankfurter to be Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and Frank Murphy to be Attorney General.

Senators Austin, Barbour, Bridges, Danaher, Lodge, McNary, Taft, Vandenberg, Townsend, Davis, and White engaged in the discussion. No action was taken with regard to the same.

The Chairman explained that Republican Conferences were not binding upon the individual and that it was not customary to adopt a concert of action upon nominations.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

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[January 25, 1939]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 25, 1939

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 11 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The following Senators were present:

Messrs. Austin, Barbour, Capper, Danaher, Davis, Gurney, Hale, Holman, Lodge, McNary, Nye, Reed, Taft, Tobey, Townsend, White, and Wiley.

Total 17 (Quorum being 14)

H.J. Res. 83, Making additional appropriations for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, was discussed, but no action was taken.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

**Calendar No. 2**

76th Congress  
1st Session

**H.J. RES. 83**

(Report No. 4)

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

January 16, 1939

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Appropriations

January 21, 1939

Reported, under authority of the order of the Senate of  
January 20, 1939, by Mr. Adams, with amendments

**JOINT RESOLUTION**

Making an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal  
year ending June 30, 1939.

**[The 8-page text of H.J. Res. 83 as reported in the Senate appears  
at page 333 of Vol. 2 of the original minutes.]**

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[April 19, 1939]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

April 19, 1939

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator  
McNary, at 11 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate  
Office Building, pursuant to call.

The following Senators were present:

Messrs. Austin, Barbour, Bridges, Capper, Danaher, Davis,  
Frazier, Gibson, Gurney, Lodge, McNary, Reed, Taft, Townsend,  
Vandenberg, and Wiley.

Total 16 (Quorum being 14)

S. 1265, the Public Works Bill by Mr. Byrnes, was discussed. Mr.  
Bridges moved that a committee of six Senators be appointed to con-  
sider all substitutes and amendments proposed to the bill, which  
was agreed to. The Chairman appointed Senators Vandenberg,  
Lodge, Davis, Frazier, Barbour, and Taft members of said  
committee.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

APRIL 19, 1939

Note: In the absence of the Secretary, Senator Hale, the Chairman requested Mr. Carl A. Loeffler, Secretary of the Minority, to write the minutes.

[signed] C. A. Loeffler

\* \* \*

**Calendar No. 301**

76th Congress  
1st Session

**S. 1267**

(Report No. 283)

**IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES**

February 9, 1939

Mr. Byrnes introduced the following bill: which was read twice and referred to the

Committee on Appropriations

February 13, 1939

The Committee on Appropriations discharged, and referred to the Special Committee

to Investigate Unemployment and Relief April 17, 1939

Reported by Mr. Byrnes, with amendments

**A BILL**

To establish a Department of Public Works, to amend certain sections of the Social Security Act, and for other purposes.

**[The 38-page text of S. 1265 as reported appears at page 335 of Vol. 2 of the original minutes.]**

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[July 20, 1939]

**REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE**

July 20, 1939

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 11 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The following Senators were present:

Messrs. Austin, Barbour, Bridges, Danaher, Davis, Frazier, Gibson, Gurney, Hale, Holman, Lodge, McNary, Reed, Taft, Tobey, Townsend, Vandenberg, White, and Wiley.

Total 19 (Quorum being 14)

The Conference considered S. 2759, The Works Financing Act of 1939 (so-called Self-liquidating Projects Bill). Senators Taft, Danaher, and Townsend (members of the Banking and Currency

Committee) explained the provisions of the bill as revised to date by the Committee. Several Senators engaged in a discussion of the same, but no action was taken by the Conference.

The Conference then adjourned at 11:50 a.m. subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

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[January 5, 1940]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
January 5, 1940

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 11 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

In the absence of Senator Hale, the Chairman requested Senator White to act as Secretary.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Austin, Capper, Danaher, Davis, Frazier, Gurney, Holman, Lodge, McNary, Tobey, Townsend, Vandenberg, White, and Wiley.

Total 14 (Quorum being 14)

After a discussion of the President's budget message of January 4, 1940, the Conference agreed:

That the Conference approve the Harrison proposal and that it recommends expansion of group to include representation of Military and Naval Committees of House and Senate to be especially charged with the study of results of past expenditures for defense, the present size and efficiency of our military and naval forces and our immediate future needs of defense.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Acting Secretary.

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COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

On February 8, 1940, Senator McNary (Republican Leader) worked out the following assignments and after passing the same to members of the Republican Committee on Committees for their approval, he presented the order to the Senate and it was adopted.

JANUARY 5, 1940

Ordered, That the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. Nye) be excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Military Affairs and assigned to service on the Committee on Foreign Relations;

That the Senator from Delaware (Mr. Townsend) be excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation;

That the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. Bridges) be excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads and assigned to service on the Committee on Education and Labor;

That the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Taft) be assigned to service on the Committee on the Judiciary; and that the Senator from Idaho (Mr. Thomas) be assigned to service on the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, the Committee on Military Affairs, the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, and the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary  
Republican Committee on  
Committees

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[June 6, 1940]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

June 6, 1940

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 11 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Austin, Barbour, Bridges, Capper, Danaher, Davis, Gibson, Gurney, Hale, Holman, Lodge, McNary, Nye, Taft, Thomas, Tobey, Townsend, Vandenberg, White, and Wiley.

Total 20 (Quorum being 14)

After discussion, it was unanimously agreed:

That the Congress should remain in session during the present emergency.

After general discussion of pending legislation, the Conference adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Frederick Hale  
Secretary.

HISTORICAL NOTATION: The following resolution was adopted unanimously by a Conference of Republican Members of the House of Representatives on June 3, 1940:

SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS (1939–1941)

Resolved that the Republicans of the House of Representatives are in favor of continuing in session as long as the interest of the Country requires.





## Seventy-seventh Congress (1941–1943)

[Editor's Note: In the 1940 election, President Roosevelt was reelected to a third term over the Republican nominee, Wendell Willkie, and his running mate, the Senate Republican Conference Chairman and floor leader, Charles McNary of Oregon. In the Senate, Republicans continued to make gains, although Democrats still retained control, with 66 seats to the Republicans' 28, and 2 independents. In the House Democrats strengthened their control with 267 seats to 162 for the Republicans, and 6 independents.

During 1941 the war in Europe and North Africa continued to preoccupy Congress and the administration. In March the president signed the Lend-Lease Act to supply arms and equipment to Britain. Then, on December 7, came the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor that drew the United States into the war, both in Europe and the Pacific. On December 11, 1941, the Conference pledged its support to the president in the war effort.]

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[January 4, 1941]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 4, 1941

A conference of Republican members of the Senate was held at eleven o'clock in the forenoon of this date in pursuance of notice thereof.

The meeting was called to order by the senior Senator from Vermont, Mr. Austin, in his capacity as assistant to the Leader of the Minority and at the request of the Minority Leader. Senator Austin, as Chairman, stated to the Conference the general rules governing the procedure in such conferences and, in particular, emphasized that meetings were called for the purpose of exchange of views and for the harmonizing of opinions so far as this could be done but that members were not bound by any action taken.

The Chairman requested the Senator from Maine, Mr. White, to act as temporary Secretary and directed him to call the roll of members. The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Austin, Ball, Brewster, Brooks, Burton, Butler, Capper, Danaher, Gurney, Holman, Langer, Nye, Reed, Taft, Thomas, Vandenberg, White, Wiley, and Willis.

Nineteen members having answered, the Chairman declared a quorum present.

The Chairman then announced that the selection of a Minority Leader was first in order. Senator Capper of Kansas thereupon nom-

JANUARY 4, 1941

inated Senator McNary of Oregon and a vote being had, the Chairman announced that Senator McNary was unanimously elected.

Senator Holman of Oregon moved that the Conference by resolution express its appreciation of the able and courteous services of Senator Austin as Acting Minority Leader, that the members extend their grateful acknowledgments to him and that he be requested to continue to act as such Acting Leader until the return of Senator McNary. This motion was put by Senator Vandenberg of Michigan and upon a vote being had the resolution was declared unanimously adopted.

The Chairman announced that the next business was the selection of a Secretary. Senator Danaher of Connecticut placed in nomination Senator White of Maine for this position and upon a vote being had, the Chairman declared Senator White elected.

Senator Reed of Kansas placed in nomination Senator Vandenberg as the Minority candidate for President pro tempore of the Senate. Upon a vote being had, Senator Vandenberg was declared unanimously elected.

The Chairman announced the appointment by Minority Leader McNary of the following Committee on Committees: Senators Nye, Chairman, Capper, White, Davis, Taft, and Danaher.

Senator Vandenberg moved that the Chairman be authorized to appoint a committee of three Senators to be known as the Calendar Committee to be charged with the obligation of familiarizing themselves with bills upon the Calendar and of following the call of the Calendar in behalf of the Minority. Upon a vote being had, this motion was declared unanimously agreed to.

There being no further business, the Conference voted to adjourn subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Secretary.

By direction of the Chairman, Senator Austin, Mr. Loeffler addressed the following letter to Senators Danaher, Ball, and Butler.

January 7, 1941

Honorable  
United States Senator  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator :

I am directed to inform you that Senator Austin, Vice Chairman of the Conference, has named the following Senators to be members of the Committee on the Calendar, authorized by the Republican Conference of January 4, 1941.

A similar letter is being mailed to each of the other members of this committee.

Honorable John A. Danaher, Chairman  
Honorable Joseph H. Ball  
Honorable Hugh A. Butler

Respectfully yours,  
Carl A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the Minority

cal/wbb

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETINGS  
Seventy Seventh Congress

January 14, 1941.

The Committee met in Room 335, Senate Office Building, at 10 a.m., upon call by the Chairman, Mr. Nye.

Present were Senator Nye, Chairman, and Messrs. Capper, Davis, White, Taft, Danaher.

The Committee took the list of seniority and noted all requests for change on each committee on the work sheets (Confidential Print No. 1).

The Democratic Majority having made Education and Labor a major committee, the Republican Committee on Committees so classified it.

The Committee adjourned to meet January 15, 1941, at 3 p.m.

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January 15, 1941.

The Committee met in Room 335, Senate Office Building, at 3 p.m.

All members attended. Senators White, Davis and Capper left before adjournment.

Tentative assignments were made on all committees.

The Committee adjourned to meet January 17, 1941, at 10:30 a.m.

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January 18, 1941.

The Committee met in Room 335, Senate Office Building, at 10:30 a.m.

JANUARY 4, 1941

All members were present but Senator Davis.

Committee assignments were completed.

The Committee adjourned to meet January 20, 1941, at 10:30 a.m.

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January 20, 1941.

The Committee met in Room 335, Senate Office Building, at 10:30 a.m.

All members were present but Senator Danaher.

The Committee agreed to the report of the Chairman read by Senator Nye.

Senator Davis was to advise Senator Nye which of two committees he would give up, Post Offices or Education and Labor. (1/21/41, he notified Senator Nye he would give up Education and Labor.)

The Committee adjourned.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary.

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[January 21, 1941]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 21, 1941

A Conference of Republican members of the Senate was held at nine-thirty o'clock in the forenoon of this date in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, upon call of the Chairman.

Senator Austin presided.

The records of the previous meeting were read and approved. The Chairman announced the appointment of Senators Danaher, Ball, and Butler as members of the Calendar Committee authorized at the previous conference.

The roll of members was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Aiken, Austin, Ball, Barbour, Brewster, Bridges, Brooks, Burton, Butler, Danaher, Davis, Gurney, Holman, Langer, Nye, Taft, Thomas, Tobey, Vandenberg, White, and Willis.

Twenty-one members having answered, the Chairman declared a quorum present.

Senator Nye, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, in behalf of the Committee, submitted its report to the Conference. Upon mo-

tion of Senator Vandenberg the report was adopted. This report is made a part of this record.

Senator Tobey moved that the Conference express to Senator Nye and to the other members of the Committee on Committees the thanks of the Minority members of the Senate for the satisfactory performance of the task committed to them.

Upon motion it was voted to adjourn subject to the call of the Chair.

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

United States Senate  
Committee on Foreign Relations

January 18, 1941

Honorable Charles L. McNary  
Minority Leader  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator McNary:

Following its appointment at your hands the Committee on Committees for the Republican side of the Senate has met, considered the vacancies existing upon committees along with requests by Republican members for committee assignment and, after much deliberation, is prepared now to report to you and the Republican conference its recommendations.

The task of the Committee has been especially difficult this year, the difficulty growing out of the fact that some members of the minority were of necessity asked to surrender assignments which were already theirs in order that an equitable allotment of committees could be assigned each new member, and by the further fact that the Committee on Education and Labor had been advanced by the majority as a major committee for the first time. This last consideration quite naturally threw the allocation of committee assignments entirely out of gear as respecting a number of members of the Senate.

However, adjustment has finally been made and generally approved by such senior members of the Senate as had to surrender committee places to bring the whole issue of committee assignments among Republicans into a fair and splendid balance.

149 committee places were agreed upon by majority and minority leaders as being the number of places to which the minority would be entitled. With 30 members of the Senate asking assignment by the minority, it will be seen that each of the 30 except one could be assigned 5 committee places. Since Senator Norris consents to only two assignments, the Committee was privileged to afford at least 5 assignments to every Senator, and 6 places to two Senators. In order to afford this balance it was necessary for Senators Johnson, Capper, La Follette, Nye, Taft, Davis and Bridges to surrender one of their 6 committee as-

JANUARY 21, 1941

signments. The two Senators who will retain 6 assignments are Senators Vandenberg and Austin.

The Committee wishes to report to you and to the conference that in those cases of contest for committee assignments it has followed as closely as it could the rule of right accruing to a senior Senator. The Committee has also taken into consideration wherever it could the desirability of assignments on a given committee among the various states and sections of states. The Committee wishes further to report that in determining senior rank upon committees it has permitted previous official experience to take precedence.

While we have not in every instance been able to comply with the first request made by members whom we were serving, it is our opinion that the assignments made come as near to approximating fairness to all Senators as is possible of attainment under all the circumstances which attend a task of this kind.

As to release from committees, some of which have been requested by the individual Senators involved, and some of which are necessitated by reason of adjustment of committee assignments for the Republican side, the Committee recommends as follows:

Mr. Johnson from the Committee on Privileges and Elections;  
Mr. Capper from the Committee on Immigration;  
Mr. La Follette from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads;  
Mr. Nye from the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation;  
Mr. Davis from the Committee on Education and Labor;  
Mr. White from the Committee on Commerce, and the Committee on Civil Service;  
Mr. Austin from the Committee on Immigration;  
Mr. Bridges from the Committee on Interoceanic Canals;  
Mr. Lodge from the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments;  
Mr. Taft from the Committee on Judiciary, and the Committee on Appropriations;  
Mr. Danaher from the Committee on Manufactures;  
Mr. Gurney from the Committee on Printing;  
Mr. Tobey from the Committee on Library;  
Mr. Ball from the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

New appointments to the various committees we recommend as follows:

Mr. Shipstead to Interstate Commerce;  
Mr. Vandenberg to Interoceanic Canals;  
Mr. White to Appropriations and Rules;  
Mr. Austin to Territories and Insular Affairs;  
Mr. Lodge to Military Affairs;  
Mr. Danaher to Finance;  
Mr. Gurney to Appropriations;  
Mr. Taft to Finance;  
Mr. Tobey to Audit and Control;  
Mr. Thomas to Banking and Currency;  
Mr. Ball to Committees on Banking and Currency, Education and Labor, Manufactures, Printing and Immigration;  
Mr. Brooks to Committees on Appropriations, Interstate Commerce, Claims, Interoceanic Canals and Pensions;

SEVENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS (1941–1943)

Mr. Brewster to Committees on Commerce, Naval Affairs, Claims, Library and Public Buildings and Grounds;

Mr. Burton to Committees on Commerce, Judiciary, District of Columbia, Civil Service and Immigration;

Mr. Butler to Committees on Education and Labor, Post Offices and Post Roads, Privileges and Elections, Irrigation and Reclamation and Public Buildings and Grounds;

Mr. Langer to Committees on Judiciary, Post Offices and Post Roads, Indian Affairs, Printing and Civil Service;

Mr. Willis to Committees on Agriculture, Post Offices and Post Roads, Library, Printing and Public Lands and Surveys;

Mr. Aiken to Committees on Agriculture, Education and Labor, Civil Service, Expenditures in the Executive Department and Pensions.

The Committee offers in explanation of the placement of Mr. Shipstead in third ranking place on the Interstate Commerce Committee the following: By telegraphic arrangement following the appointment of Mr. Ball from Minnesota last fall, Mr. Shipstead voluntarily retired from the Interstate Commerce Committee in favor of his colleague, Mr. Ball, so that Mr. Ball might have such assignment as would enable him to have stationery accommodations. Mr. Shipstead at that time enjoyed third place on the minority side of the Interstate Commerce Committee. Reassignment now found the Committee considering it only fair that Mr. Shipstead should have the same rank on the committee that he had when he temporarily resigned it.

In conclusion, permit us to report that under this recommendation no member of the Senate will have more than three major committee assignments, and no Senator less than two major committee assignments.

Respectfully submitted.  
COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES,  
[signed] Gerald P. Nye  
Chairman

\* \* \*

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS IN THE SEVENTY SEVENTH  
CONGRESS

Name	Major Committee	Minor Committee
Aiken .....	2	3
Austin .....	3	3
Ball .....	2	3
Barbour .....	2	3
Brewster .....	2	3
Bridges .....	3	2
Brooks .....	2	3
Burton .....	2	3
Butler .....	2	3
Capper .....	3	2
Danaher .....	3	2
Davis .....	3	2

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Name	Major Committee	Minor Committee
Gurney .....	3	2
Holman .....	2	3
Johnson .....	3	2
La Follette .....	3	2
Langer .....	2	3
Lodge .....	3	2
McNary .....	2	3
Norris .....	2	0
Nye .....	2	3
Reed .....	2	3
Shipstead .....	3	2
Taft .....	3	2
Thomas Idaho .....	3	2
Tobey .....	2	3
Vandenberg .....	3	3
White .....	3	2
Wiley .....	2	3
Willis .....	2	3

\* \* \*

February 14, 1941

To the Minority Members of the United States Senate:

Dear Senator:

Conforming to the custom whereby the Chairman of the Republican Conference selects the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, I designate the following members to serve on that Committee for the Seventy-Seventh Congress:

Ex-Senator Townsend, Chairman  
Senator Capper  
Senator White  
Senator McNary  
Senator Bridges  
Senator Thomas of Idaho

The selection of ex-Senator Townsend for the Chairmanship was unanimously approved by the members of the Campaign Committee.

Very sincerely yours,  
Charles L. McNary  
Chairman of the Conference



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[December 11, 1941]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

December 11, 1941

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 10:30 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Aiken, Austin, Ball, Barbour, Brewster, Bridges, Brooks, Burton, Butler, Capper, Danaher, Davis, Gurney, Holman, Langer, Lodge, McNary, Nye, Reed, Shipstead, Taft, Tobey, Vandenberg, White, Wiley, and Willis.

Total 26 (Quorum being 16)

There was a general discussion of matters of interest, including the war situation. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED that the Republican Conference pledge to the President of the United States its unanimous support in the vigorous and efficient prosecution of the war.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[July 14, 1942]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

July 14, 1942

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 10:30 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Aiken, Bridges, Burton, Danaher, Gurney, Lodge, McNary, Nye, Reed, Thomas, Tobey, Vandenberg, White, Wiley, and Willis.

Total present 15.

JULY 14, 1942

The Chairman requested the views of the Senators present in regard to a recess, and following a brief discussion, on motion of Mr. Vandenberg, it was moved that it was the sense of the Conference that the Chairman should indicate disapproval of a recess for any fixed time but that he be authorized to arrange for three day recesses at such times as the legislative situation might warrant. This motion was adopted.

Senator Lodge was present and spoke on his experiences and observations in the North African campaign as a member of our armed forces in the Libya-Egypt sector.<sup>1</sup>

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[September 17, 1942]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

September 17, 1942

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 10 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Aiken, Austin, Ball, Barbour, Brooks, Burton, Butler, Capper, Danaher, Langer, McNary, Nye, Reed, Shipstead, Taft, Thomas, Tobey, Vandenberg, White, Wiley, and Willis.

Total 21 (Quorum being 16).

S.J. Res. 161, To aid in stabilizing the cost of living, was considered. After discussion the following resolution was adopted:

RESOLVED that the Republican Conference recognizes the present situation with respect to living costs, that it believes action is necessary and will cooperate in efforts to work out a wise solution of the problems presented to the Senate and the country.

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<sup>1</sup>[In 1942, while still a senator, Lodge served with an army tank crew in Libya. Later, when the War Department required members of Congress to choose either to join the armed services or to remain in Congress, Lodge resigned from the Senate on February 4, 1944, and spent the remainder of the war in combat in Europe.]

The Conference then adjourned with the understanding that another meeting would be called for further consideration of the same subject.

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

77th Congress  
2d Session

**S.J. RES. 161**

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

September 14, 1942

Mr. Brown (for himself and Mr. Wagner), under authority of the order of the Senate of September 10, 1942, introduced the following joint resolution; which (the first and second readings having been waived) was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

**JOINT RESOLUTION**

To aid in stabilizing the cost of living.

**[The four-page text of S.J. Res. 161 appears at page 354 of Vol. 2 of the original minutes.]**

\* \* \*

RESOLUTION OF REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I desire to make a brief statement. This morning I called a conference of the Republican Members of the Senate. The conference adopted a resolution which I ask to have inserted in the Record.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

United States Senate,  
Republican Conference,

September 17, 1942.

*Resolved*, That the Republican Conference recognizes the present situation with respect to living costs, that it believes action is necessary, and will cooperate in an effort to work out a wise solution of the problems presented to the Senate and the country.

The text of the above resolution was placed in the Congressional Record by Senator McNary, September 17, 1942, page 7405.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1942

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[September 19, 1942]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

September 19, 1942

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McNary, at 10 a.m., in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Messrs. Aiken, Austin, Brooks, Burton, Butler, Capper, Danaher, Davis, Gurney, Holman, McNary, Nye, Reed, Taft, Thomas, Vandenberg, White, Wiley, and Willis.

Total 19 (Quorum being 16).

The Conference resumed consideration of S.J. Res. 161, To aid in stabilizing the cost of living. Senators Danaher and Taft, members of Banking and Currency Committee, explained the amendments that had been made by the Committee to the resolution.

Following a general discussion, the Chairman was authorized to state to the press that the general view of the Conference was that the Banking and Currency Committee, in its reported draft, had improved the original bill.

The Conference then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

**Calendar No. 1661**

77th Congress  
2d Session

**S.J. RES. 161**

(Report No. 1609)

**IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES**

September 14, 1942

Mr. Brown (for himself and Mr. Wagner), under authority of the order of the Senate of September 10, 1942, introduced the following joint resolution; which (the first and second readings having been waived) was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

September 19, 1942

Reported by Mr. Brown, under authority of the order of the Senate of September 17, 1942, with amendments

**JOINT RESOLUTION**

To aid in stabilizing the cost of living.

**[The eight-page text of S.J. Res. 161 as reported appears at page 357 of Vol. 2 of the original minutes.]**

\* \* \*

**COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEMORANDUM**

December 3, 1942

Senator McNary revised the Committee on Committees membership as follows:

Senator Nye, Chairman  
Senator White  
Senator Davis  
Senator Taft  
Senator Danaher  
Senator Butler  
Senator Thomas of Idaho

\* \* \*

**Townsend Renamed GOP's Senatorial Campaign Leader  
McNary Lauds Delawarean For Party's Gains in Election This  
Year**

By the Associated Press.

Former Senator John G. Townsend, Jr., of Delaware was reappointed today to the chairmanship of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee to serve through the 1944 campaign.

Minority Leader McNary notified the 71-year-old former legislator of the appointment in a letter which said:

“Your splendid services as chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee are sincerely appreciated by the members of the United States Senate and the Republicans throughout the country.

“Your management of the campaign which resulted in the election of nine additional Republican members to the Senate was noteworthy and demands further employment of your talents.

“At this time and in this fashion I appoint you chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee from now until a time seasonably following the fall elections in 1944.”

“Peacemaker” at St. Louis

Mr. Townsend, one of the peacemakers in the recent intra-party scrap at St. Louis which culminated in the compromise selection of Harrison E. Spangler of Iowa as Republican national chairman, believes the GOP has a “good chance” to gain control of the Senate in 1944.

In the Senate convening January 6 the Republicans will have 38 seats against 29 now, the Democrats 57 and Progressives one. The minority party would have to pick up 10 new seats in the 1944 elections to win control,

SEPTEMBER 19, 1942

as that would give them 48 seats, against 47 for the Democrats, and one Progressive.

Mr. Townsend and his associates base their hopes on the fact that of the 32 Senators to be elected two years from now 21 will be for seats now held by Democrats, including only seven from the "Solid South," and 11 will be for seats of Republican incumbents.

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### COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETINGS

Seventy Eighth Congress

December 17, 1942.

The Committee met in the Minority Conference Room, Senate Office Building, at 11 a.m.

Present were Senator Nye, Chairman, and Messrs. McNary, White, Davis, Taft, Danaher, Butler, and Thomas of Idaho.

Senator McNary submitted to the Committee lists of the number of assignments on each committee that had been agreed to between Senator Barkley, the Democratic Leader, and himself.

He also explained the reason why in two instances he had agreed to the request of Senator Barkley to depart from the absolute numerical proportion.

On motion of Senator Danaher it was agreed that they be accepted as stated.

The Committee then adjourned to meet in the Minority Conference room at 10 a.m., on December 18, 1942.

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December 18, 1942.

The Committee met in the Minority Conference Room, Senate Office Building, at 10 a.m.

Present were Senator Nye, Chairman, and Messrs. White, Davis, Taft, Danaher, Butler, and Thomas of Idaho.

The Committee considered requests for committee places received to date, and made tentative assignments in a number of instances, following which they adjourned to meet again December 19, 1942, at 10 a.m.

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December 19, 1942.

The Committee met in the Minority Conference Room, Senate Office Building, at 10 a.m.

SEVENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS (1941-1943)

Present were Senator Nye, Chairman, and Messrs. White, Davis, Taft, Danaher, Butler, and Thomas of Idaho.

The Committee continued their work in assigning places. Mr. Loeffler was authorized to have a new print made on the basis of their action to date, there being only a couple of assignments not definitely decided. He was also authorized to arrange the assignments in the order of seniority as heretofore practiced by the Committee.

It was agreed that the work of the Committee should not be divulged until said Committee should remove the ban of secrecy.

The Committee then adjourned to meet again in the Minority Conference Room at 10 a.m., on January 4, 1943.

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January 4, 1943.

The Committee met in the Minority Conference Room, Senate Office Building, at 10 a.m.

Present were Senator Nye, Chairman, and Messrs. White, Taft, Danaher, Butler, and Thomas of Idaho. Senator Davis was absent from the city.

The Committee continued their work on assignment to committee places.

The Committee called in Senator McNary to advise them concerning the adoption of a rule restricting the same Senator from being assigned to the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Finance, to apply only to assignments hereafter made, and he advised them that the Committee on Committees had plenary power to adopt such a rule. On motion of Senator Taft, seconded by Senator White, it was agreed that hereafter no Senator shall be placed on both the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Finance.

The Committee then adjourned to meet in the Minority Conference Room at 10 a.m., on January 7, 1943.

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January 7, 1943.

The Committee met in the Minority Conference Room, Senate Office Building, at 10 a.m.

Present were Senator Nye, Chairman, and Messrs. White, Davis, Taft, Danaher, Butler, and Thomas of Idaho.

SEPTEMBER 19, 1942

Senator Wilson having failed to qualify,<sup>2</sup> the Committee substituted Senator Bushfield in his place on the Agriculture Committee. Senator Bushfield was placed on Interoceanic Canals and removed from Naval Affairs and Civil Service.

The Committee considered the request of Senator Tobey which reached them later than the time set for replies, and assigned him to Naval Affairs, taking him off the Committee on Rules and the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs in accordance with his telegram.

To effect these changes it was necessary to take Senator Thomas off of Military Affairs and put Senator Wilson on. Also Senator Brewster was assigned to Territories and Insular Affairs and taken off of Claims, and Senator Robertson was placed on Claims and taken off of Irrigation and Reclamation.

Senator Thomas was restored to Irrigation and Reclamation and placed on Rules.

Senator Brooks was taken off of Interoceanic Canals and placed on Civil Service.

The Committee closed the assignments and ordered a third print for Conference use.

There was some discussion concerning the advisability of the Committee on Committees being given authority to designate from time to time what committees should be considered as major committees instead of following the plan heretofore in force whereby both party organizations specified committees to be major ones, but took no action thereon.

On motion of Senator White, Senator Nye was authorized to report the assignments in full as agreed upon to the Republican Conference.

The Committee then adjourned.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler.  
Secretary.

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<sup>2</sup> [George A. Wilson of Iowa was elected to the Senate for the term beginning January 3, 1943, but chose to continue as governor until January 14, when he took the oath as a senator.]



## **Seventy-eighth Congress (1943–1945)**

[Editor's Note: In the 1942 election, Senate Republicans gained 10 seats, narrowing the party ratio to 57 Democrats, 38 Republicans, and 1 independent. Republicans also increased their representation in the House to 209 seats, compared to 222 Democrats and 4 independents.

During 1943 and 1944, World War II continued to rage, with the allies making slow progress in Europe and the Pacific. Yet Republicans were already thinking about the postwar world. In September 1943 the Republican party convened a meeting called the Republican Advisory Council, at Mackinac Island, Michigan, to begin developing a postwar policy that could be incorporated into the party platform for the 1944 election. Attending were Republican governors, fifteen senators and representatives appointed by their party leaders, and members of the Republican National Committee. Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg played a leading role in formulating the foreign policy position that called for U.S. participation "in postwar cooperative organization among sovereign nations to prevent military aggression and to attain permanent peace with organized justice in a free world." In November the Senate passed the Connally-Fulbright Resolution favoring the creation of such an international organization.

Under the leadership of Robert A. Taft of Ohio, the Conference began considering effective ways to organize, since the party was increasing its numbers in the Senate. A committee produced a list of proposed Conference rules and officers, which the Conference adopted in February 1944. The plan included for the first time making the Conference chairman and floor leader separate positions, rather than having one individual hold both posts. Even though it was not the beginning of a new Congress, the Conference then proceeded to elect its officers. In November 1943 Conference Chairman and minority leader Charles McNary of Oregon had become ill with a brain tumor and remained absent from the Senate. The Conference secretary, Wallace H. White, Jr. of Maine, served as acting leader in his absence. After reelecting the absent McNary as chairman and floor leader, the Conference elected White assistant floor leader and asked that he continue to serve as acting floor leader, a title he held for the remainder of the Congress, even after McNary's death on February 25, 1944. The Conference then also chose a whip for the first time since 1933. In addition, the Taft plan created a nine-member Republican Steering Committee, which met frequently during 1944 and hired a research assistant to aid Republican senators.

In addition to organizing the Republican Conference for the postwar world, the members also recognized the need to improve the operation of Congress as a whole, a concern that led in the next Congress to passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.]

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[January 8, 1943]

## REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 8, 1943

A meeting of the Republican Conference was held this day at 10:30 o'clock in the forenoon. The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Mr. McNary.

The roll was called by the Secretary and the following Senators responded to their names:

Austin, Ball, Barbour, Brewster, Bridges, Brooks, Buck, Burton, Bushfield, Butler, Capper, Danaher, Davis, Ferguson, Gurney, Hawkes, Holman, Langer, Lodge, McNary, Millikin, Moore, Nye, Revercomb, Robertson, Shipstead, Taft, Thomas, Vandenberg, Wherry, White, and Willis.

The Chairman declared a quorum present.

Mr. Reed later entered the Conference.

The Chairman reported to the membership of the Conference his negotiations with the Majority Leader and the agreement reached with respect to the division of committee places between the Majority and the Minority of the Senate.

The Chairman announced that the next business would be the selection of the Chairman of the Conference. Mr. Vandenberg moved the reelection of Mr. McNary, Senator from Oregon. This motion was seconded by Mr. Austin. The motion was put by the Secretary and Mr. McNary was declared unanimously elected.

The next business to come before the Conference was the election of a Secretary. Mr. Bridges of New Hampshire nominated Mr. White. This nomination was seconded by Mr. Barbour. There being no other nominations, a viva-voce vote was had and Mr. White was declared elected.

The next business was the selection of the Republican candidate for President Pro Tempore of the Senate and Mr. Vandenberg of Michigan was unanimously nominated. It was agreed that this nomination should not be presented to the Senate until the Majority Party made its nomination of a President Pro Tempore.

The next business was the selection of a Secretary for the Minority. On nomination of Mr. Davis, Mr. Loeffler was reelected by a unanimous vote.

Mr. Nye thereupon presented the report of the Committee on Committees. The Chairman of the Conference reported to the members

of the Conference the conversations between him and the Majority Leader and the understanding reached that Republicans would be entitled to fill the first vacancies happening in the Majority representation on the Committees on Appropriations, Commerce and Foreign Relations. Mr. Nye, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, then explained to the members present the considerations governing the Committee on Committees in making the assignments reported.

Mr. Buck expressed his appreciation of the consideration shown him by the Committee on Committees.

Mr. Nye thereupon moved the adoption of the Committee report. The report was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Bridges moved that no member of the Republican Conference should hereafter be assigned to both the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Finance. This motion was unanimously adopted.

Thereupon the Conference voted to adjourn.

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Secretary.

A copy of the committee assignments as agreed upon and a list of the assignments of each Senator to Major and Minor Committees are appended to these minutes.<sup>1</sup>

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### COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING

Seventy Eighth Congress

January 14, 1943.

Senator McNary called the members of the Committee on Committees together in his office at 11 a.m., to advise them that the Majority Chairman (Mr. Barkley) had made changes in the total membership on certain committees.

Senator McNary and all members of the Committee were present.

The only committee total which affected the minority representation was To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. That was increased to 5 to 3, which gave Republicans one additional place.

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<sup>1</sup> [The lists are not included here, because they consist simply of the lists of committee assignments for all senators, Republican and Democratic, that appear in the *Congressional Directory* for the Seventy-eighth Congress. A typewritten memorandum attached to the top of the list states: "The minority members shown in this list of committees are in accordance with those selected by the Committee on Committees and endorsed by the Republican Conference and later submitted to the Senate through the medium of the minority and Majority Leaders of the Senate."]

JANUARY 8, 1943

Senator Taft moved that Senator Nye be placed on that committee. Senator Butler seconded the motion and it was unanimously adopted.

The Committee then adjourned.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler.  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

NUMBER OF ASSIGNMENTS OF REPUBLICAN SENATORS  
78 Congress, 1 Session

List by Seniority	Majors	Minors	Total
1. Johnson .....	3	2	5
2. McNary .....	2	3	5
3. Capper .....	3	2	5
4. Shipstead .....	3	2	5
5. La Follette .....	3	2	5
6. Nye .....	3	2	5
7. Vandenberg .....	3	2	5
8. Davis .....	3	2	5
9. White .....	3	2	5
10. Austin .....	3	2	5
11. Bridges .....	3	2	5
Lodge .....	3	2	5
12. Barbour .....	2	3	5
13. Danaher .....	3	2	5
Gurney .....	3	2	5
Holman .....	2	3	5
Reed .....	3	2	5
Taft .....	3	2	5
Tobey .....	3	1	4
Wiley .....	3	2	5
14. Thomas, Ida. ....	2	3	5
15. Brooks .....	2	3	5
16. Brewster .....	2	3	5
Burton .....	2	3	5
Butler .....	2	3	5
Langer .....	2	3	5
Willis .....	2	3	5
17. Aiken .....	2	3	5
18. Millikin .....	2	3	5
19. Ball .....	2	3	5
Buck .....	2	3	5
Bushfield .....	2	3	5
Ferguson .....	2	3	5
Hawkes .....	2	3	5
Moore .....	2	3	5
Revercomb .....	2	3	5
Robertson .....	2	3	5

SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS (1943–1945)

List by Seniority	Majors	Minors	Total
Wherry .....	2	3	5
20. Wilson .....	2	3	5
	95	99	194

[September 16, 1943]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

September 16, 1943

A Conference of Republican Senators met this day at 10:30 o'clock in the forenoon pursuant to call by the Senior Senator from Oregon, Chairman of the Republican Conference. The roll of Senators entitled to participate in the Conference was called and the following members responded to their names.

Aiken	McNary
Austin	Millikin
Ball	Moore
Barbour	Robertson
Bridges	Taft
Buck	Thomas
Burton	Tobey
Capper	Vandenberg
Danaher	White
Davis	Wiley
Ferguson	Willis
Hawkes	

The Chairman announced a quorum present.

The Chairman stated that the meeting had been called in order that members of the Conference might hear a report of the proceedings and recommendations of the Republican Advisory Council Meeting held at Mackinac, Michigan, on September 6.

In response to the request of the Chairman, Senator Vandenberg, as Chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Council, reported concerning the organization, procedure and conclusions reached by this Committee. At the suggestion of Chairman McNary, Senator Austin also commented on the work of this Committee.

Senator Taft, of the Domestic Problems Committee of the Council, reported to the members as to the activities and conclusions of this Committee.

Senator Hawkes, a member of the Council, commented generally on the meeting of the Council and, in particular, upon the work of these two Committees.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1943

A suggestion of more frequent meetings of the Republican Conference was made by Senator Wiley of Wisconsin but no action was taken in this matter.

Senator White then moved "that this meeting express its deep sense of obligation to our Republican Senatorial Colleagues who participated in the recent Mackinac Conference for the labor, sound judgment and patriotic spirit which they gave to their infinitely difficult task and our appreciation of their contributions at this Conference in our country's behalf and to the cause of International order, security and peace."

A vote being had, the Chairman declared this motion unanimously adopted.

Thereupon the Conference adjourned.

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Secretary.

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[November 22, 1943]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

November 22, 1943

A Conference of Republican Senators met at 335 Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., Monday, November 22, 1943, at 10:30 a.m. pursuant to the call issued by the Senior Senator from Maine, Wallace H. White, Jr., as Secretary of the Republican Conference; the Senior Senator from Oregon, Chairman of the Republican Conference, being necessarily absent due to illness.

In the absence of the Chairman, the Senior Senator from Maine acted as chairman of the meeting and requested Senator Burton to act as secretary of the meeting. The roll of Senators entitled to participate in the Conference was called and the following were found present:

Aiken	Langer
Ball	Millikin
Brewster	Moore
Bridges	Reed
Brooks	Revercomb
Buck	Robertson
Burton	Shipstead
Bushfield	Taft
Butler	Thomas
Capper	Tobey
Danaher	Vandenberg
Davis	Wherry

SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS (1943–1945)

Ferguson	White
Gurney	Wiley
Holman	Willis
	Wilson

(Total 31; quorum being 20)

The Chairman announced that a quorum was present and stated that the meeting had been called by him at the request of a number of Republican Senators, for whom Senator Vandenberg acted as spokesman, asking for a discussion by the Conference of S. 1285—a bill to provide a method of voting by the armed forces and others in time of war.

While approval of the purpose of the bill was uniformly expressed, strong objection was voiced to its provisions for the procedure and supervision prescribed for the absentee voting and for extending like privileges to others than those in the armed forces. Amendments seeking to meet these objections were presented and discussed. In each instance some Senator undertook to present the matter to the Senate in the form of an amendment, but, in accordance with the established rule of the Conference, no formal action was taken by the Conference on the proposals discussed. Among those voicing objections to features of the bill or joining in the discussion of it were Senators Vandenberg, Bridges, Brooks, Danaher, Holman, Taft, White, Ball, Butler, Bushfield and Millikin.

Several Senators were unable to remain throughout the Conference because of conflicting engagements and the chairman of the meeting pointed out that although specific provisions of the bill had been reviewed, discussion of its acceptability as a whole had not been reached. He stated that while the discussion had indicated that those speaking were generally in favor of the purposes of the bill there were so many objections raised to specific provisions of the bill that it might be advisable to postpone discussion of the bill as a whole until after action had been taken upon many of the amendments proposed.

The Chairman was authorized to announce that the meeting had simply canvassed the best possible way to protect the right of those absent in the armed forces to vote in the next election and that, in accordance with the policy of the Republican Conference, no formal action had been taken either upon the bill as a whole or upon any amendments proposed to it.

The Conference adjourned at 11:50 a.m. subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Harold H. Burton  
Acting Secretary.

NOVEMBER 22, 1943

\* \* \*

**Calendar No. 540**

78th Congress  
1st Session

**S. 1285**

(Report No. 532)

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

June 29 (legislative day, May 24), 1943

Mr. Green (for himself and Mr. Lucas) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections

November 15 (legislative day, November 12), 1943

Reported by Mr. Green, with an amendment

**A BILL**

To amend the act of September 16, 1942, which provided a method of voting, in time of war, by members of the land and naval forces absent from the place of their residence, and for other purposes.

**[The 37-page text of S. 1285 as reported appears at page 373 of Vol. 2 of the original minutes.]**

\* \* \*

**Calendar No. 540**

SENATE

78th Congress  
1st Session

Report  
No. 532

PROVIDING A METHOD OF VOTING FOR THE ARMED FORCES

November 15 (legislative day, November 12), 1943.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. Green, from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, submitted the following:

**REPORT**

(To accompany S. 1285)

**[The 11-page report on S. 1285 appears at page 374 of Vol. 2 of the original minutes.]**

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[January 20, 1944]

**REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE**

January 20, 1944

A Conference of Republican Senators met at 335 Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., Thursday, January 20, 1944, at 10:00 a.m. pursuant to the call issued by the Senior Senator from Maine, Wallace H. White, Jr., as Secretary of the Republican Conference;



the Senior Senator from Oregon, Chairman of the Republican Conference, being necessarily absent due to illness.

In the absence of the Chairman, the Senior Senator from Maine acted as chairman of the meeting and requested Senator Burton to act as secretary. The roll of the Senators entitled to participate in the Conference was called and the following were found to be present:

Aiken	Holman
Austin	Moore
Bridges	Robertson
Buck	Taft
Burton	Thomas
Bushfield	Tobey
Davis	Vandenberg
Ferguson	Wherry
Gurney	White
Hawkes	Willis

(Total 20; quorum being 20)

There later entered the meeting Senators Butler, Capper, Danaher, Lodge, Nye, Millikin, Revercomb, Shipstead, Wiley—(Total 29).

The Chairman announced that a quorum was present and stated that the meeting had been called by him at the request of a number of Republican Senators to consider particularly the question of further organization among the Republican members of the Senate; a question raised by Senator Bridges as to the confirmation of E.K. Jett as a member of the Federal Communications Commission; and such issues as the members of the Conference might wish to discuss in connection with the provisions for the renegotiation of government contracts in the pending tax bill, or the proposal to pay subsidies through the Commodity Credit Corporation.

The entire time was spent in a discussion of further organization among the Republican members of the Senate. In the course of this discussion, Senator White reviewed the present situation arising out of the absence of Senator McNary, and read to the Conference the following resolution adopted by the Republican Conference January 7, 1935: "On motion of Senator Hastings, duly seconded and carried, it was agreed that no Assistant Leader or Whip be elected but that the Chairman be authorized to appoint Senators from time to time to assist him in taking charge of the interests of the Minority." He further stated that he had been designated by Senator McNary pursuant to this resolution as acting leader in the absence of Senator McNary and that unless action was taken to the contrary by the Conference, he would consider it his obligation to continue to act in that capacity. Senator Austin reviewed the circumstances under which he had acted as Minority Leader in the absence of Senator McNary in 1940.

JANUARY 20, 1944

A general discussion of the present situation and that which might arise following the November 1944 election was participated in by Senators White, Holman, Davis, Vandenberg, Tobey, Lodge, Austin, Millikin, Butler, Bridges, Taft, Thomas, Willis, Gurney, Hawkes, Aiken, Revercomb, Danaher and Buck.

During this discussion, Senator Taft made the following motion: "The Conference expresses its confidence in and approval of the leadership of Senator McNary and of Senator White as Acting Minority Leader under Senator McNary's designation and the Conference requests Senator White to continue in that capacity until further action of the Conference."

At the request of Senator White, Senator Austin acted as Chairman during the consideration of this resolution. Senator Aiken moved that the motion be laid on the table; this was seconded by Senator Davis but on a standing vote the motion to lay it on the table was not adopted.

Senator Davis moved to strike out from the motion of Senator Taft the final words, "and the Conference requests Senator White to continue in that capacity until further action of the Conference." On a standing vote, the amendment offered by Senator Davis was not agreed to.

The original motion was then put and on a standing vote was adopted. Senator Gurney requested that the record show that he did not vote on the motion.

Senator Buck moved to make the action upon Senator Taft's motion unanimous and on a viva voce vote the chair declared it adopted—no votes being cast in the negative.

Senator White resumed the chair and Senator Willis made the following motion: "That the acting minority leader be empowered to appoint a committee of five to review the need for further organization among the Republican members of the Senate in view of the coming election and to report back to the Conference one week from today." On a viva voce vote the motion was adopted.

Senator Bridges moved: "That it be a rule of the Conference that the chairman of the Conference shall call a meeting of it upon receipt of a petition from any five Republican members of the Senate requesting such a meeting." Senator Danaher suggested that this motion should be referred to the special committee of five just authorized to be appointed by the chairman. There being no objection, the motion of Senator Bridges was referred to the special committee.

The Chairman stated that he would announce to the press the text of the Taft and Willis resolutions as constituting the business transacted by the Conference.

The Conference adjourned at 11:40 a.m. until 10:00 a.m., at the same place, Thursday, January 27, 1944.

[signed] Harold H. Burton  
Acting Secretary.

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[January 27, 1944]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

January 27, 1944

Pursuant to the order of adjournment entered at the meeting of the Republican Conference of January 20, 1944, a Conference of Republican Senators met at 335 Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., Thursday, January 27, 1944, at 10:00 a.m.

In the absence of the Senior Senator from Oregon, Charles L. McNary, Chairman of the Republican Conference, the Senior Senator from Maine, Wallace H. White, Jr., Secretary of the Conference, acted as Chairman of the meeting and requested Senator Burton to act as Secretary of the meeting. The roll of Senators entitled to participate in the Conference was called and the following were found to be present:

Aiken	Holman
Austin	Lodge
Ball	Millikin
Brewster	Moore
Bridges	Nye
Brooks	Revercomb
Buck	Robertson
Burton	Shipstead
Bushfield	Taft
Butler	Thomas
Capper	Tobey
Danaher	Wherry
Ferguson	White
Gurney	Willis
Hawkes	

(Total 29; Quorum being 20)

The Chairman then announced that pursuant to the motion adopted by the Conference on January 20, he had appointed a committee of five Republican Senators to review the need for further organization among the Republican members of the Senate in view of the coming election with instructions to report back to the Conference on January 27. Those whom he appointed to this committee were Senators Taft, Bridges, Holman, Bushfield and Hawkes.

JANUARY 20, 1944

At the request of the Chairman, Senator Taft then read to the meeting the report of the committee containing its recommendation of a form of permanent organization for the Republican members of the Senate when their numbers exceed thirty. A copy of the report as thus submitted is marked "Exhibit A" and attached to the minutes of this meeting.

Following the reading of the report, Senator Taft moved that the report of the special committee appointed to submit recommendations upon the further organization among Republican members of the Senate be mimeographed and a copy of it sent to every member of the Conference; and that after discussion of the report at this meeting no action be taken upon it today but that action upon it be postponed until a subsequent meeting to be called by the Chairman.

Senator Taft then called attention to the fact that at the present time former Senator John G. Townsend from Delaware was acting as Chairman of the Campaign Committee at the direction of Senator McNary but that there were no members of the Senate Campaign Committee other than the Chairman. Discussion then ensued participated in particularly by Senators White, Brewster, Taft, Austin, Holman, Thomas and Bridges as to the appointment of the balance of the Campaign Committee.

On motion of Senator Taft unanimously adopted by the Conference, the acting leader was authorized and directed to appoint the remaining four members of a Senate Republican Campaign Committee of five; these members to be in addition to the Chairman of such committee, former Senator John B. Townsend, previously appointed to such chairmanship by Senator McNary.

The Chairman suggested that it had been expected at the last meeting to discuss the matter of the nomination of E.K. Jett for membership on the Federal Communications Commission. Senator Bridges who had brought the subject to the attention of the Conference suggested, however, that the meeting proceed at once to the consideration of the Soldiers' Vote Bill, S. 1612, then pending in the Senate.

The Soldiers' Vote Bill was informally and fully discussed by the Conference; those especially participating being Senators Taft, Brewster, Danaher, Shipstead, Holman, Millikin, Lodge, Moore, Ball, White, Wherry, Revercomb, Nye, Austin, Brooks and Gurney. No action was taken following the informal discussion and Senator White advised that the bill would not come to a vote that day but probably would go over for consideration on the following Monday under an agreement for limitation of debate at that time.

The Conference adjourned at 11:45 a.m. to meet at the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Harold H. Burton  
Acting Secretary.

\* \* \*

EXHIBIT “A”—Meeting of January 27, 1944

*COMMITTEE REPORT*

Your Committee, in accordance with the instructions of the Conference, submits this report, setting forth what they consider to be the best form of permanent organization for the Republican Party in the Senate when their numbers exceed thirty. We have considered the question without regard to personalities or the present situation, and if the report meets with the approval of the Conference, we recommend that the Conference determine the time when it shall go into effect.

*I.*

At the beginning of each Congress, or within one week thereafter, a Republican Party Conference shall be held. At that Conference there shall be selected the following officers:

*Chairman of the Conference*

*Vice Chairman of the Conference*

*Secretary of the Conference*

*Floor Leader*

*Assistant Floor Leader*

*Whip*

*A Steering Committee of nine Senators.*

The Chairman of the Conference, the Floor Leader and the Whip shall be members ex officio. The other six members shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference, subject to confirmation by the Conference. The members so appointed shall not be eligible for reappointment on the Steering Committee in the next Conference.

The term of office of all party officers herein provided shall extend for not more than two years, and shall expire at the close of each Congress.

*II.*

The Chairman may call a Conference at any time, and shall call a Conference whenever requested to do so by the Steering Committee or by five or more Senators. The Steering Committee shall meet at least once in two weeks, on a fixed day of the week and at a fixed hour to be determined by the Committee. The Committee shall permit any Senator to appear before it upon his request to present any matter in which he is interested.

*III—Duty of Party Officers.*

The Chairman of the Conference shall preside at all Conference meetings, and perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by this resolution or by the Conference, or as may seem advisable for the welfare of the Party. In the absence of the Chairman of the Conference, the Vice Chairman of the Conference shall perform the duties of the Chairman.

JANUARY 20, 1944

The Secretary shall keep accurate minutes of all Conference proceedings. The minutes of all meetings of committees of the Conference shall be kept by the Party Floor Clerk and shall be filed with the Secretary, which minutes shall be open to inspection by any member of the Conference. The Secretary and Floor Clerk, respectively, shall notify members of all Conference and committee meetings. In the absence of the Chairman and Assistant Chairman, he shall have the same powers and duties to call meetings of the Conference as the Chairman.

The Floor Leader shall perform the customary duties of the Majority or Minority Leader, as the case may be, on the floor of the Senate, and shall have full authority to deal with all questions of procedure after consulting the Republican Senators who are concerned. In the absence of the Floor Leader, the Assistant Floor Leader shall perform his duties.

The Whip shall assist in securing attendance of members at Party Conferences and upon the floor of the Senate when their presence is considered necessary by the Chairman or the Floor Leader, and shall perform such other duties as the Chairman or Floor Leader may require.

The Steering Committee shall consider the legislative program in the Senate and the question whether any Party policy is involved, shall prepare and present recommendations for action by the Conference, and advise all Senators on legislative matters which they desire to present to the Steering Committee.

#### IV.

A Committee on Committees shall be appointed at the beginning of each Congress to prepare and recommend to the Conference the complete assignment of Republican Senators to committees, and shall recommend the filling of vacancies occurring during the session. The Committee shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference immediately after his election subject to confirmation by the Conference.

#### V.

A Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee shall be appointed within six months after the beginning of each Congress by the Chairman of the Conference, subject to confirmation by the Conference.

#### VI.

No action by the Conference upon any matter pending or to be proposed in the Senate shall be binding in any way on members in casting their votes thereon.

#### VII.

These rules may be amended at any time by a majority vote of the Conference, providing notice of the amendment has been given at least one week in advance to every member of the Conference that action will be sought upon the subject covered by the amendment.

\* \* \*

**Calendar No. 642**

78th Congress  
2d Session

**S. 1612**

(Report No. 632)

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

January 11, 1944

Mr. Green (for himself and Mr. Lucas) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections

January 21 (legislative day, January 11), 1944

Reported by Mr. Green, with an amendment

**A BILL**

To amend the Act of September 16, 1942, which provided a method of voting, in time of war, by members of the land and naval forces absent from the place of their residence, and for other purposes.

**[The 49-page text of S. 1612 as reported appears at page 381 of Vol. 2 of the original minutes.]**

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[February 8, 1944]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

February 8, 1944

A Conference of Republican Senators met at 335 Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., Tuesday, February 8, 1944 at 10:00 a.m. pursuant to the call issued by the Senior Senator from Maine, Wallace H. White, Jr., as Secretary of the Republican Conference; the Senior Senator from Oregon, Chairman of the Republican Conference being necessarily absent due to illness.

In the absence of the Chairman, the Senior Senator from Maine acted as Chairman of the meeting and requested Senator Burton to act as Secretary.

The roll of the Senators entitled to participate in the Conference was called and the following were found to be present:

Aiken	Langer
Austin	Millikin
Ball	Moore
Brewster	Nye
Brooks	Reed
Buck	Revercomb
Burton	Robertson
Bushfield	Taft

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Butler	Thomas
Capper	Tobey
Danaher	Wherry
Davis	White
Ferguson	Wiley
Hawkes	Willis
Holman	

(Total 29—Quorum being 19, Senator Lodge having resigned since the last meeting of the Conference.)

The Chairman announced that pursuant to the authorization and direction of the Conference at its meeting on January 27, he had appointed as members of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee in addition to former Senator John G. Townsend, previously appointed as its Chairman, Senator Owen Brewster of Maine, Senator Hugh Butler of Nebraska, Senator Chapman Revercomb of West Virginia and Senator Edward V. Robertson of Wyoming.

The Chairman stated that the resolution of January 27 had not required that the names for the committee be submitted to the Conference for confirmation, but that he reported the names for the information of the Conference. Senator Ball moved that the appointments made by the Chairman be approved by the Conference and there being no objection the motion was agreed to.

The Chairman referred to the fact that Senator Bridges had wished to call to the attention of the Conference the pending nomination of E.K. Jett, Chief Engineer of the Federal Communications Commission for membership on that commission. He further stated that although action on the nomination had been delayed by the Committee on Interstate Commerce the Chairman of that committee had stated that he expected to call a meeting of the committee for February 9 in order to take action on the nomination.

The nomination thereupon was informally discussed, including statements by Senators Tobey, White and Taft.

A motion by Senator Taft was unanimously adopted to the effect that no action be taken by the Conference as to the nomination of E.K. Jett for membership on the Federal Communications Commission.

The Chairman announced that the other business for which the meeting had been called was to consider the pending legislation on the Soldiers' Vote Bill and particularly the relationship between S. 1612 and S. 1285 both before the Senate and relating to the same general subject matter.

Those taking part in the discussion were Senators Taft, Brewster, White, Austin, Willis, Wiley, Reed, Holman, Butler and Ferguson.



SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS (1943–1945)

The Chairman at 11:50 asked to be excused from the meeting in order to attend the opening of the session of the Senate and asked Senator Nye to assume the chair.

With Senator Nye in the chair, the discussion was resumed by Senators Millikin, Hawkes, Taft, Tobey, Brewster, Danaher, Ball, Brooks, Revercomb and Wherry.

The meeting adjourned at about 12:15 p.m. without taking further formal action.

[signed] Harold H. Burton  
Acting Secretary.

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING  
Seventy-Eighth Congress

February 15, 1944

The meeting was called to order at 4 p.m. in Room 335 Senate Office Building.

Those present were Messrs. Nye (Chairman), White, Davis, Butler, Taft, Danaher, and Thomas of Idaho. No members were absent.

The Committee agreed that Senator White as Acting Republican Leader should ask the Vice President to appoint Senator Nye to the vacancy existing on the Special Committee on Conservation of Wildlife Resources.

The Committee examined the letters from Senators expressing their wishes with regard to committee assignments and made some tentative designations.

Because of the absence from the city of certain Senators whom they wished to contact the Committee then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary.

Note: The several members endorsed the action and work of Senator Nye in completing the Committee's work by personal contact with Senators. The completed list of assignments is recorded in the Conference minutes of February 18, 1944.

FEBRUARY 8, 1944

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SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION  
NUMBER OF MAJOR AND MINOR ASSIGNMENTS  
OF REPUBLICAN SENATORS

(As of February 17, 1944)

(Senators listed according to seniority)

Name	Majors	Minors
1. Mr. Johnson .....	3	2
2. Mr. McNary .....	2	3
3. Mr. Capper .....	3	2
4. Mr. Shipstead .....	3	3
5. Mr. La Follette .....	3	2
6. Mr. Nye .....	3	2
7. Mr. Vandenberg .....	3	2
8. Mr. Davis .....	3	2
9. Mr. White .....	3	2
10. Mr. Austin .....	3	2
11. Mr. Bridges .....	3	2
12. Mr. Danaher .....	3	2
Mr. Gurney .....	3	2
Mr. Holman .....	2	4
Mr. Reed .....	3	2
Mr. Taft .....	3	2
Mr. Tobey .....	3	2
Mr. Wiley .....	3	2
13. Mr. Thomas of Idaho .....	3	2
14. Mr. Brooks .....	3	2
15. Mr. Brewster .....	2	3
Mr. Burton .....	2	4
Mr. Butler .....	2	3
Mr. Langer .....	2	3
Mr. Willis .....	2	3
16. Mr. Aiken .....	2	3
17. Mr. Millikin .....	2	3
18. Mr. Ball .....	2	3
Mr. Buck .....	2	3
Mr. Bushfield .....	2	3
Mr. Ferguson .....	2	3
Mr. Hawkes .....	2	3
Mr. Moore .....	2	3
Mr. Revercomb .....	2	3
Mr. Robertson .....	2	3
Mr. Wherry .....	2	3
19. Mr. Wilson .....	2	3
20. Mr. Weeks .....	2	3
Total places 193 .....	94	99

[February 18, 1944]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

February 18, 1944

A Conference of Republican Senators met at 335 Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., Friday, February 18, 1944 at 10:00 a.m. pursuant to the call issued by the Senior Senator from Maine, Wallace H. White, Jr., as Secretary of the Republican Conference; the Senior Senator from Oregon, Chairman of the Republican Conference, being necessarily absent due to illness.

In the absence of the Chairman, the Senior Senator from Maine acted as Chairman of the meeting and requested Senator Burton to act as Secretary.

The roll of the Senators entitled to participate in the Conference was called and the following were found to be present:

Aiken	Nye
Austin	Revercomb
Ball	Robertson
Burton	Taft
Bushfield	Vandenberg
Butler	Weeks
Capper	Wherry
Danaher	White
Davis	Wiley
Ferguson	Willis
Holman	Wilson

(Total 22—Quorum being 20.)

The Chairman stated that the meeting was called to consider and take action upon the reports of the Committee on Committees and of the Special Committee on the further organization among the Republican members of the Senate.

The Chairman stated his personal conviction that a need exists for streamlining the organization of the entire Senate, including a reduction in the number of committees and in the number of committee memberships, and that he would welcome action by which the Republican Party might assume leadership in such a program.

The Senior Senator from North Dakota, Gerald P. Nye as Chairman of the Committee on Committees, submitted the following recommendations:

That the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. Shipstead) be assigned to service on the Committee on Rules;

FEBRUARY 18, 1944

That the Senator from Vermont (Mr. Austin) be relieved from further service on the Committee on Judiciary and that he be assigned to service on the Committee on Foreign Relations;

That the Senator from Oregon (Mr. Holman) be assigned to service on the Committee on Manufactures and the Committee on Rules;

That the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. Tobey) be assigned to service on the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs;

That the Senator from Idaho (Mr. Thomas) be relieved from service on the Committee on Rules and that he be assigned to service on the Committee on Military Affairs;

That the Senator from Illinois (Mr. Brooks) be relieved from further service on the Committee on Pensions and that he be assigned to service on the Committee on Naval Affairs;

That the Senator from Maine (Mr. Brewster) be relieved from further service on the Committee on Naval Affairs and that he be assigned to service on the Committee on Finance;

That the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Burton) be assigned to service on the Committee on Pensions;

That the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. Ball) be relieved from further service on the Committee on Banking and Currency and that he be assigned to service on the Committee on Appropriations;

That the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. Bushfield) be relieved from further service on the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads and that he be assigned to service on the Committee on the Judiciary;

That the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. Hawkes) be relieved from further service on the Committee on Education and Labor and that he be assigned to service on the Committee on Banking and Currency;

That the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Weeks) be assigned to service on the following Committees, District of Columbia, Education and Labor, Interoceanic Canals, Post Offices and Post Roads, and Public Buildings and Grounds.

On motion of Senator Davis, the foregoing report was received and accepted. On the motion of Senator Nye, the Chairman of the Conference was authorized to report these recommendations to the Senate.

A discussion of the procedure and policy involved in making selections for committee appointments ensued. Senator Taft suggested that a rule be considered for the wider distribution of assignments to the more active and influential major committees rather than

treating all major committees on the same basis. He cited with approval the rule adopted by the Conference whereby no Senator is permitted to be selected for service both on the Committee on Finance and on the Committee on Appropriations.

There also was discussion of the status of Senators La Follette and Shipstead based upon their service in the Senate as members of the minority, but not as members of the Republican Party. No action was taken on the subject.

Those taking part in the foregoing discussions included Senators Nye, Taft, White, Davis, Danaher, Wiley, Revercomb and Vandenberg.

At the request of the Chairman, Senator Taft, as Chairman of the Special Committee on the further organization among Republican members of the Senate, reviewed the Committee report which was submitted to the Republican Conference for January 27, 1944 and a copy of which, marked "Exhibit A," is attached to the minutes of that meeting. After the discussion, the following amendments to the report were agreed to by the Conference:

In Section I at the end of the paragraph dealing with a steering committee of nine Senators, strike out "Conference" and insert in place thereof "Congress," and at the end of the same paragraph add "The Chairman of the Steering Committee shall be chosen by the members of the Committee."

In Section II in line 3 before the words "by five or more Senators" insert "in writing," and before the last sentence of the Section insert an additional sentence "It may meet at any time on the call of its Chairman."

In Section III in line 3 strike out the comma following the word "Conference" and insert in place thereof a period, and in lines 3 and 4 strike out "or as may seem advisable for the welfare of the Party."

In Section IV in line 4 strike out "session" and insert in place thereof "Congress."

Discussion as to the committee report was engaged in by Senators Vandenberg, Taft, White, Nye, Bushfield, Davis and Ball.

Upon the motion of Senator Taft, the report of the Committee as amended was unanimously approved.

The Chairman announced that unless there were objection the report as amended would be mimeographed and distributed promptly to the members of the Conference and that Senators to fill the several offices provided for in the report would be chosen at the next meeting of the Conference. No objection was made. A copy of the report as amended and mimeographed, and marked "Exhibit A," is attached to the minutes of this meeting.

FEBRUARY 18, 1944

The Conference adjourned at 11:30 a.m. to meet at 10:00 at the same place, Thursday, February 24, 1944.

[signed] Harold H. Burton  
Acting Secretary.

\* \* \*

EXHIBIT "A"—Meeting of February 18, 1944

COMMITTEE REPORT

Second Print

Your Committee, in accordance with the instructions of the Conference, submits this report, setting forth what they consider to be the best form of permanent organization for the Republican Party in the Senate when their numbers exceed thirty. We have considered the question without regard to personalities or the present situation, and if the report meets with the approval of the Conference, we recommend that the Conference determine the time when it shall go into effect.

I.

At the beginning of each Congress, or within one week thereafter, a Republican Party Conference shall be held. At that Conference there shall be selected the following officers:

*Chairman of the Conference*

*Vice Chairman of the Conference*

*Secretary of the Conference*

*Floor Leader*

*Assistant Floor Leader*

*Whip*

*A Steering Committee of nine Senators.*

The Chairman of the Conference, the Floor Leader and the Whip shall be members ex officio. The other six members shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference, subject to confirmation by the Conference. The members so appointed shall not be eligible for reappointment on the Steering Committee in the next Congress. The Chairman of the Steering Committee shall be chosen by the members of the Committee.

The term of office of all party officers herein provided shall extend for not more than two years, and shall expire at the close of each Congress.

II.

The Chairman may call a Conference at any time, and shall call a Conference whenever requested to do so by the Steering Committee or in writing by five or more Senators. The Steering Committee shall meet at least once in two weeks, on a fixed day of the week and at a fixed hour to be determined by the Committee. It may meet at any time on the call of its

Chairman. The Committee shall permit any Senator to appear before it upon his request to present any matter in which he is interested.

*III—Duty of Party Officers.*

The Chairman of the Conference shall preside at all Conference meetings, and perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by this resolution or by the Conference. In the absence of the Chairman of the Conference, the Vice Chairman of the Conference shall perform the duties of the Chairman.

The Secretary shall keep accurate minutes of all Conference proceedings. The minutes of all meetings of committees of the Conference shall be kept by the Party Floor Clerk and shall be filed with the Secretary, which minutes shall be open to inspection by any member of the Conference. The Secretary and Floor Clerk, respectively, shall notify members of all Conference and committee meetings. In the absence of the Chairman and Assistant Chairman, he shall have the same powers and duties to call meetings of the Conference as the Chairman.

The Floor Leader shall perform the customary duties of the Majority or Minority Leader, as the case may be, on the floor of the Senate, and shall have full authority to deal with all questions of procedure after consulting the Republican Senators who are concerned. In the absence of the Floor Leader, the Assistant Floor Leader shall perform his duties.

The Whip shall assist in securing attendance of members at Party Conferences and upon the floor of the Senate when their presence is considered necessary by the Chairman or the Floor Leader, and shall perform such other duties as the Chairman or Floor Leader may require.

The Steering Committee shall consider the legislative program in the Senate and the question whether any Party policy is involved, shall prepare and present recommendations for action by the Conference, and advise all Senators on legislative matters which they desire to present to the Steering Committee.

*IV.*

A Committee on Committees shall be appointed at the beginning of each Congress to prepare and recommend to the Conference the complete assignment of Republican Senators to committees, and shall recommend the filling of vacancies occurring during the Congress. The Committee shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference immediately after his election subject to confirmation by the Conference.

*V.*

A Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee shall be appointed within six months after the beginning of each Congress by the Chairman of the Conference, subject to confirmation by the Conference.

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VI.

No action by the Conference upon any matter pending or to be proposed in the Senate shall be binding in any way on members in casting their votes thereon.

VII.

These rules may be amended at any time by a majority vote of the Conference, providing notice of the amendment has been given at least one week in advance to every member of the Conference that action will be sought upon the subject covered by the amendment.

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[February 24, 1944]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

February 24, 1944

Pursuant to the order of adjournment entered at the meeting of the Republican Conference of February 18, 1944, a Conference of Republican Senators met at 335 Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., Thursday, February 24, 1944 at 10 a.m.

In the absence of the Senior Senator from Oregon, Charles L. McNary, Chairman of the Republican Conference, the Senior Senator from Maine, Wallace H. White, Jr., Secretary of the Conference, acted as Chairman of the meeting and requested Senator Burton to act as Secretary of the meeting.

The roll of Senators entitled to participate in the Conference was called and the following were found to be present:

Aiken	Millikin
Austin	Nye
Ball	Revercomb
Brewster	Taft
Bridges	Thomas
Buck	Tobey
Burton	Vandenberg
Bushfield	Weeks
Butler	Wherry
Danaher	White
Davis	Wiley
Ferguson	Willis
Hawkes	Wilson
Holman	

(Total 27—Quorum being 20.)



The Chairman announced that the purpose of the meeting was to fill the several offices provided for in the recommended permanent organization for the Republican Party in the Senate as provided at the Conference of February 18, 1944. The Chairman then called for nominations to fill the existing vacancy in the office of Vice Chairman. Senator Taft nominated the Senior Senator from Michigan, Arthur H. Vandenberg. There were no other nominations and upon unanimous vote for the election of Senator Vandenberg, the Chairman declared him elected to serve as Vice Chairman of the Conference and in the absence of Senator McNary to serve as the acting Chairman of the Conference.

Senator Vandenberg thereupon took the chair.

The Senior Senator from Maine, Wallace H. White, Jr., thereupon submitted his resignation as Secretary of the Conference, which resignation was accepted by the Conference.

In response to a call for nominations for the office of Secretary, Senator Brewster nominated the Junior Senator from Ohio, Harold H. Burton. There were no other nominations, and upon unanimous vote he was declared to have been elected Secretary of the Conference.

Before proceeding with the filling of other vacancies, the Chairman suggested that in order that there might be no technical question arise as to the continuance of Senator McNary as Chairman of the Conference and as Floor Leader, he would entertain a motion for Senator McNary's election to those offices which he already held by prior action of the Conference. Upon motion of Senator Taft, the Senior Senator from Oregon, Charles L. McNary, was thereupon unanimously elected Chairman of the Conference and Floor Leader of the Republican Party in the Senate, and the Secretary was instructed so to advise him by telegram and to extend to him the best wishes of the Conference for his early recovery and return to active duty in the Senate.

Senator Taft thereupon nominated the Senior Senator from Maine, Wallace H. White, Jr., as Assistant Floor Leader, and to serve, in the absence of Senator McNary, as the acting floor leader of the Republican Party in the Senate. There were no other nominations and upon unanimous vote of the Conference Senator White was elected Assistant Floor Leader.

Senator Bushfield thereupon nominated the Junior Senator from Nebraska, Kenneth S. Wherry, as Whip. There were no other nominations, and upon unanimous vote of the Conference, Senator Wherry was elected Whip of the Republican Party in the Senate.

The Chairman of the Conference called attention to the fact that the plan of organization called for a steering committee of nine Senators. He stated that the Chairman of the Conference, the Floor Leader and the Whip would be ex officio members of the steering

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committee and the other six would be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference subject to confirmation by the Conference. He stated that he would be glad to receive from each Senator a list of six members whom that Senator would appoint if he had the appointing power and that the chair would give consideration to all suggestions so that the committee might be as representative as possible of the desires of the Conference, having due regard to geographical and other considerations. Senators Taft, Danaher, Vandenberg and Bridges discussed briefly the nature of the representation desirable on the committee.

Senator Wherry brought up for consideration the probability that the House of Representatives would on that day override the President's veto of the Revenue Act of 1943 (H.R. 3687) and that the Senate might be called upon to act upon the veto at once. Senators White, Vandenberg, Brewster, Tobey, Taft, Revercomb, Nye and Wherry discussed the situation and the Chairman thereupon called for an expression of opinion, by a show of hands to show those in favor of taking action on that day and of authorizing the acting Floor Leader to notify the majority leader of the Senate of such desire. Practically all hands were raised indicating an overwhelming opinion in favor of taking action on that day. No hands were raised in opposition.

There being no further business to come before the meeting, it was declared adjourned.

[signed] Harold H. Burton  
Secretary.

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING  
Seventy-Eighth Congress

March 14, 1944.

The committee met in the Conference Room of the Minority, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to request of the Chairman, Senator Nye, to fill the vacancies on the following committees caused by the death of the late Senator McNary:

Agriculture and Forestry  
Commerce  
Indian Affairs  
Irrigation and Reclamation  
Library.

The following Senators were present: Messrs. Nye (Chairman), White, Davis, Taft, and Thomas.

Senator Butler was absent from the city. Senator Danaher was absent because of another committee meeting. Senator Taft was excused during the meeting to attend the Finance Committee meeting.

Senator White called attention to the vacancies formerly held by Senator McNary on the Select Committee on Wild Life and the Select Committee on Post War Planning. He stated that in addition to the McNary vacancy a second vacancy also existed on the Wild Life Committee and that Senators Nye and Ferguson had spoken for these two places. He also stated that Senator Hawkes had spoken for the vacant place on the Post War Planning Committee. Following discussion Senator Taft moved that the matter be presented to the Conference and said motion was agreed to.

Senator Nye brought to the attention of the committee Senator Cordon's desire for places in a letter addressed to him in which he requested Senator McNary's assignments on Agriculture, Commerce, Indian Affairs, and Irrigation and Reclamation.

Senator Nye stated that Senator Wilson should be considered seriously for Agriculture in view of the political situation in Iowa, and that Senator Wilson would give up Post Offices and Post Roads in return therefor. Senator Thomas expressed the belief that other Senators would desire that assignment. He mentioned Senator Robertson.

Senator Nye stated that he had to be absent tomorrow and could not attend the Republican Conference on that day. He requested Senator White to present the matter of committee assignments to the Conference in his stead.

The committee then adjourned.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary.

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[March 15, 1944]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

March 15, 1944

Pursuant to the call of the Acting Chairman, a Conference of Republican Senators met at 335 Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., Wednesday, March 15, 1944 at 10:00 a.m.

The Senior Senator from Michigan, Arthur H. Vandenberg, Acting Chairman of the Republican Conference, presided and the Junior Senator from Ohio, Harold H. Burton, served as Secretary of the meeting.

The following Senators were present:

MARCH 15, 1944

Aiken	Holman
Austin	Langer
Brewster	Millikin
Bridges	Revercomb
Brooks	Robertson
Buck	Shipstead
Burton	Taft
Bushfield	Thomas
Capper	Tobey
Cordon	Vandenberg
Danaher	Weeks
Davis	White
Ferguson	Willis
Hawkes	

(Total 27—Quorum being 20)

Carl A. Loeffler, Secretary to the Minority, was also present.

There being no objection, the Chairman declared the minutes of the Republican Conference of February 24, 1944 approved without the same being read to the meeting. The Chairman welcomed to the meeting the Junior Senator from Oregon, Guy Cordon, who had been appointed to succeed the late Senator Charles L. McNary.

Senator Danaher thereupon presented the following resolution:

“Whereas Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from us our beloved colleague the Honorable Charles Linza McNary, late senior Senator from the State of Oregon; and

“Whereas throughout his more than 27 years in the United States Senate he rendered to our Nation and to his State a most distinguished service, which will ever grace his name in the annals of history; and

“Whereas he was our affectionate friend and trusted counselor, ever ready to give of himself, of his efforts, and of his judgment for our guidance, and hence became our leader and the spokesman for the Republican Party in the United States Senate during a most critical period: Now, therefore, be it

“*Resolved*, That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the Honorable CHARLES LINZA McNARY, express our sense of loss at his passing and join in asking that this evidence of our regard for him and for his memory may be caused to be printed in full in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; and

“*Further*, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Mrs. Cornelia M. McNary, at Salem, Oreg., that she may be assured of our deep respect for her and of our condolences to her upon the passing of our friend, her husband.”

The foregoing resolution was unanimously adopted by a rising vote and the Secretary was instructed to transmit it to the widow of the late Senator Charles L. McNary.

The Chairman announced that at noon on March 16, statements would be made on the floor of the Senate in memory of Senator McNary, and the Chairman requested members of the Conference to be present.

The Chairman announced that arrangements had been made for detaching the office rooms from the Conference room suite so that these rooms would not be attached to any one office but would be available for use by the members of the Conference, as would be the Minority Conference room itself. He stated that reservations for the use of any or all of these rooms could be made through Carl A. Loeffler, Secretary to the Minority.

The Chairman called to the attention of the Conference the following vacancies on Special Committees of the Senate and asked for action of the Conference as to the filling of them:

On the Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning (created by S. Res. 102, 78th Congress, 1st Session), for the vacancy existing through the death of Senator McNary, the Chairman suggested the Senior Senator from New Jersey, Albert W. Hawkes. On motion of Senator Holman, the Conference unanimously approved this recommendation.

On the Special Committee on Conservation of Wildlife Resources (created by S. Res. 246, 71st Congress, 2nd Session), for an existing vacancy of long-standing, the Chairman recommended the Senior Senator from North Dakota, Gerald P. Nye, and for the vacancy created by the death of Senator McNary, the Junior Senator from Michigan, Homer Ferguson. On motion of Senator Bushfield, the Conference unanimously approved these recommendations.

Pursuant to the authorization by the Conference of the appointment of a Steering Committee, the Chairman announced the appointment of the following members of such committee, the last six being subject to confirmation by the Conference. As ex officio members of the Steering Committee: the Acting Chairman Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan, the Acting Floor Leader Wallace H. White, Jr. of Maine and the Minority Whip Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska; in addition: Senators Robert A. Taft of Ohio, John A. Danaher of Connecticut, Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, C. Wayland Brooks of Illinois, Harlan J. Bushfield of South Dakota and Eugene D. Millikin of Colorado. On motion of Senator Holman these appointments were unanimously confirmed and the Chairman requested the members of the Steering Committee to meet immediately following the adjournment of the Conference so that they might choose the Chairman of the Steering Committee and proceed with its business.

MARCH 15, 1944

Senator White called attention to the vacancies on Standing Committees, created by the death of Senator McNary as a member of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, Commerce, Indian Affairs, Irrigation and Reclamation and the Library. After a discussion participated in by Senators White, Aiken, Vandenberg and Danaher, the proposal was made that in order to avoid delay in filling these vacancies, even in the absence of Senator Nye, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, a meeting of such Committee on Committees be held on March 17 and that the Committee communicate its recommendations to Senator Nye with a view to obtaining unanimous consent of such Committee at the earliest practicable date. In the absence of objection, Senator White stated that he would consider such course satisfactory to the Conference.

Referring to the vacancies created in the office of the Chairman and the Floor Leader by the death of Senator McNary, Senator Taft moved that no action be taken during the present session of Congress to fill the vacancies in the position of Chairman of the Conference and Floor Leader unless the Conference otherwise determines.

In support of his motion Senator Taft stated that this would leave the entire question wide open for action by the Conference in the light of the forthcoming election and in the meantime, Senator Vandenberg as Vice Chairman would continue to serve as Acting Chairman of the Conference and Senator White as Assistant Floor Leader would continue to serve as Acting Floor Leader.

Senator Vandenberg stated that in his view this would leave the Conference completely free to reorganize itself de novo in such manner as the situation might suggest and totally free to act on the subject at the next session of Congress in accordance with the discretion of the Conference.

Senator White stated that the motion of Senator Taft was entirely satisfactory to him and that he concurred completely with the statement of Senator Vandenberg. He stated that he wished to make it clear that he felt that no prescriptive or "squatter's" rights would arise by virtue of the service now being rendered by the acting officers and that this service would carry with it no color of right to retain those offices. The motion presented by Senator Taft was thereupon unanimously adopted.

Senator Langer suggested that he would like to have the benefit of the presence of Senator La Follette at meetings of the Conference; whereupon the Chairman stated that Senator La Follette has been regularly notified of each meeting and the participation of Senator La Follette in the Conference would be welcome.

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There being no further business to come before the meeting it was, at 10:35 a.m., declared adjourned.

[signed] Harold H. Burton  
Secretary.

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING  
Seventy-Eighth Congress

March 17, 1944.

The Committee met at 11:00 a.m. in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building.

Senator White presided in the absence of Senator Nye.

Those present were Senators White, Davis and Thomas of Idaho.

A quorum not being present, the Committee adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary.

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING  
Seventy-Eighth Congress

April 24, 1944.

The Committee met at 4:30 p.m. in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building.

The following Senators were present:

Messrs. Nye (Chairman), White, Taft, Thomas and Butler.

A quorum was present.

The objective of the Committee was to fill the vacancies on committees caused by the death of the late Senator McNary, as follows: Agriculture, Commerce, Indian Affairs, Irrigation and Reclamation, and Library. Although the vacancies were in existence for several weeks but two applications were received by the Committee for the vacancy on the Committee on Agriculture; namely, Senators Robertson and Wilson.

The Committee agreed to recommend Senator Wilson for that assignment with the understanding that Senator Robertson shall have the next vacancy on that committee. It was also understood that Senator Wilson should surrender his assignment on the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

MARCH 15, 1944

On motion of Senator Taft it was unanimously agreed that Senator Cordon should be assigned to the Committees on Commerce, Post Offices and Post Roads, Indian Affairs, Irrigation and Reclamation, and Library.

The Chairman stated that the action of the Committee would be submitted to a Republican Conference within the next few days.

The Committee then adjourned.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the Minority.

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[April 28, 1944]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
Seventy-Eighth Congress  
April 28, 1944

Pursuant to the call of the Acting Chairman a Conference of Republican Senators met at 335 Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., Friday, April 28, 1944 at 11:00 a.m.

Senator Vandenberg, Acting Chairman of the Republican Conference, presided and Senator Burton, Secretary of the Conference, served as Secretary of the meeting. At the suggestion of the Chairman, the roll call was omitted.

Senator White, on behalf of Senator Nye, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, read to the Conference a letter from Senator Nye and a report of the Committee on Committees both of which are inserted in this record immediately following the minutes of this meeting. Both relate to recommendations for filling vacancies arising on committees of the Senate from the death of the late Senator McNary.

Following the reading of the letter and of the report, the Conference unanimously adopted the report and authorized the Acting Minority Leader, Senator White, to recommend to the Senate the following committee appointments to fill vacancies created directly or indirectly by the death of Senator McNary: To fill a vacancy on the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, the Junior Senator from Iowa, George A. Wilson; to fill vacancies on the respective committees on Commerce, on Indian Affairs, on Irrigation and Reclamation and on the Library, the Junior Senator from Oregon, Guy Cordon; and to fill a vacancy on the committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, created by the resignation from that committee of Senator Wilson, it was likewise recommended that this vacancy be filled by the appointment of the Junior Senator from Oregon, Guy Cordon. The adoption of the report expressly included recognition of a priority



claim in favor of Senator Robertson upon the next available appointment to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

The Acting Chairman then brought to the attention of the Conference the importance of early action by Congress on legislation dealing with the demobilization and the recovery of industry. He referred to the fact that S. 1718 on this subject recently had been approved unanimously by the Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning and that it was then pending before a subcommittee of the Committee on Military Affairs. He further indicated that the May and Vinson bills on a similar subject were being held up in the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives awaiting temporary action by the Senate on S. 1718. In accordance with the recommendation of the Acting Chairman and on a motion by Senator Taft, unanimously adopted by the Conference, the Conference went on record in favor of the immediate consideration of S. 1718 by the Senate. Later in the meeting, it was reported by Senator Revercomb that during the morning the Senate Committee on Military Affairs had voted to recommend S. 1718 favorably to the Senate.

Senator Taft, as Chairman of the Steering Committee, brought up for consideration H.R. 4278 "An act for the control and eradication of certain animal and plant diseases and other purposes," known as the Agricultural Authorization Bill. He stated that this had been reported to the Senate by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry without hearings on the bill and that there had been practically no hearings on the bill in the House of Representatives before its passage by that body. Senators Aiken, Bushfield, Danaher and Vandenberg joined in the discussion of the bill and Senator Taft reported that the Steering Committee had indicated that it felt that the bill should be recommitted in order that hearings might be held on it or that, in any event, the consideration of the bill in the Senate, where it is now the pending business, should go over until next week so that there might be further opportunity to examine its provisions.

Upon motion unanimously adopted, it was declared to be the sense of the meeting that Senator Taft, as Chairman of the Steering Committee, should ask on the floor of the Senate that no vote be taken on H.R. 4278 until next week.

Senator Taft, as Chairman of the Steering Committee, then brought up the question of the validity and propriety of the seizure by force under orders from the President of the properties of Montgomery Ward & Company in Chicago. This issue was discussed by Senators Hawkes, Brewster, Vandenberg, Ferguson and Revercomb.

On motion duly made and unanimously adopted, it was declared to be the sense of the meeting that Senator Taft should at once make a brief statement to the Senate on the issue calling attention to the

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danger arising from the abuse of discretion and the extension of authority indicated by this seizure.

Senator Taft, as Chairman of the Steering Committee, called attention to the letter dated April 20, 1944, copy of which is inserted in the records immediately following the minutes of this meeting, which he had sent to each member of the Conference calling attention to the employment of George H.E. Smith as Research Assistant for the Minority and setting forth a list of suggested subjects to be studied by him. Senator Taft stated that Mr. Smith would be available to help develop constructive measures on behalf not only of the entire Conference but of individual members of the Conference and likewise would be prepared to assist members of the Conference in the preparation of speeches and material in opposition to federal policies with which the member found himself in disagreement.

Senator Taft then presented to the meeting Mr. Smith, who made a brief statement as to his experience and his conception of the work he was undertaking.

There being no further business to come before the meeting, it was declared adjourned.

[signed] Harold H. Burton  
Secretary

The Senators present during part or all of the meeting were:

Aiken, Ball, Brewster, Buck, Burton, Bushfield, Capper, Cordon, Danaher, Davis, Ferguson, Hawkes, Holman, Revercomb, Robertson, Taft, Vandenberg, Wherry, White, Wiley.

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United States Senate  
Committee on Appropriations  
April 26, 1944

The Honorable Wallace H. White, Jr.,  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator:

In my absence, you will of course pass to the conference the recommendations by the Committee on Committees with respect to assignment to the vacancies left by the departure of our colleague, Senator McNary.

I hope that there will be very definite recommendation made to the conference for its adoption of the assurances given to Senator Robertson that with development of an additional vacancy or vacancies on the Agricultural Committee, he, Senator Robertson, is going to be entitled to a prior consideration. You will recall how gracious he was in standing aside under the circumstances which would permit us to name Senator Wilson to the Agricultural Committee. He was most gracious and con-

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siderate in this connection, and you will recall how appreciative we all were of the extent to which our Wyoming colleague cooperated in meeting the emergency which we wanted to combat.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Gerald P. Nye

This Committee on Committees submits the following report:

The death of Senator McNary created vacancies to be filled by Republican Senators upon the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry; the Committee on Commerce; the Committee on Indian Affairs; the Committee on the Library and the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

Applications were received for appointment to the Committee on Agriculture from Senator Robertson of Wyoming and Senator Wilson of Iowa. The desires of these two Senators for this appointment presented a difficult problem to your Committee. The rule of seniority gave definite preference to Senator Robertson for this place but because of considerations urged on him by Senator Nye, Senator Robertson waived his rights of seniority and your Committee thereupon designated Senator Wilson for this vacant membership. The Committee in appreciation of the generous and cooperative spirit shown by Senator Robertson in solving this problem gave assurance that they would recommend to this Conference that Senator Robertson be accorded prior consideration in filling the next vacancy happening on this Agricultural Committee and it now makes such recommendation.

No requests for appointment to either of the other Committees having vacancies were presented to your Committee on Committees. In these circumstances, the Committee on Committees voted to recommend and do recommend the appointment of Senator Cordon of Oregon to the Committee on Commerce; the Committee on Indian Affairs; the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation; the Committee on the Library and the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, upon which latter Committee a vacancy will be created by the retirement therefrom of Senator Wilson if his designation as a member of the Committee on Agriculture is approved by this Conference.

\* \* \*

April 28, 1944

United States Senate  
Committee on Finance  
April 20, 1944

My dear Senator:

In accordance with the resolutions adopted by the Republican Conference, the Acting Chairman appointed a Steering Committee of nine Senators. That Committee has organized and held a number of meetings. The Committee has agreed to meet every Friday morning at ten o'clock in the Minority Conference Room. If any Senators desire to appear before the Committee and discuss with the Committee any matter relating to any legislative program of the Senate or of the Senate Committees, I should be obliged if he

APRIL 28, 1944

would notify my office not later than the night before, and the Committee will be delighted to have him appear at the Committee meeting.

Some time ago, the Congress authorized the appointment of two research assistants, one to the majority, and one to the Minority Conference. Senator Barkley filled that position some time ago for the Majority by the appointment of Mrs. Bratten. At the request of the Steering Committee, Senator Vandenberg has appointed to this position for the Minority, Mr. George H.E. Smith. A brief statement of Mr. Smith's background and qualifications is attached hereto. Mr. Smith will be located in the Minority Conference Room, and adequate assistance has been provided for him by action of Senator White as Acting Minority Leader.

Mr. Smith will be known as the Secretary of the Steering Committee. We hope through him to coordinate the entire legislative program of the Minority members. He will be prepared to consult with and advise any Senators on any legislative matter which has any relation to party policy. He has had a wide experience in nearly every field with which we are likely to deal during the present session. I do not need to dwell upon the importance of prompt and considered action on the matters immediately before Congress, but the Steering Committee has felt that it is even more important that Republicans who have affirmative views on post-war policy, formulate those views into definite programs and present them for consideration at this time. That does not mean that the Republican Conference as a whole will back any particular measure or any particular program, but we think we should assist individual Senators in formulating constructive suggestions from which an affirmative Republican program can be drawn in this and the next session of Congress.

We urge very strongly, therefore, that any Senator who is interested in the present development of policy on any particular question consult as promptly as possible with Mr. Smith.

I enclose herewith a list of subjects on which some legislation must undoubtedly be undertaken during the next year and a half.

The Steering Committee expects to ask the Chairman of the Conference to call a meeting of the Conference, either at the end of next week or at the beginning of the week of May first to consider suggestions regarding the Committee's plan. In the meantime, we hope that as many Senators as possible will arrange to discuss matters in which they have a particular interest with Mr. Smith, so that we may have a more definite plan for dividing the work which should be done.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Robert A. Taft, Chairman  
Republican Steering Committee.

Enc.

RT/pr

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\* \* \*

George H.E. Smith  
King's Highway  
Shelton, Connecticut

Mr. Smith was born in New York. He is a graduate of the University of Michigan and of the University of Michigan Law School. After practicing law for five years in Michigan, he returned to the University and took an M.A. degree in 1928. Since then he has been an economist and free lance writer. From 1935 to 1941 he was associated with Yale University and became an Assistant Professor, working with the Institute of International Relations. He was associated for nine years with Dr. Charles A. Beard, the eminent American historian, in conducting research and writing on American business and economic conditions. He has written a number of books. He has not been associated with any organization or party, but has been an independent writer of articles and book reviews on economic, historical, and political subjects.

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LIST OF SUGGESTED SUBJECTS TO BE STUDIED BY THE  
SECRETARY OF THE  
STEERING COMMITTEE

1.
  - A. Current Legislative Problems.
  - B. Post-War Program.
    - (1) Stimulation of business and employment.
      - (a) Tax policy and post-war budget.
      - (b) Banking and currency problems.
      - (c) Relaxation of unnecessary regulation after the war. (Price control, Priorities, etc.)
      - (d) Agricultural Program.
      - (e) Labor conciliation and arbitration and other labor legislation.
      - (f) Post-War Aviation.
      - (g) Housing Industry.
      - (h) Public Works.
      - (i) Financing Small Business.
2. Social Security
  - (a) Extension of old age, unemployment and existing aid programs.
  - (b) Medical Care.
  - (c) Housing.
3. Government Reform.
  - (a) Reorganization and abolition of bureaus and departments.
  - (b) Revision of power of administrative boards.

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(c) Repeal of War legislation.

4. Foreign Policy.

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[August 8, 1944]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
Seventy-eighth Congress  
Tuesday, August 8, 1944

Pursuant to the call of the Acting Chairman, a Conference of Republican Senators met at 335 Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., Tuesday, August 8, 1944 at 10:00 a.m. Senator Vandenberg, Acting Chairman of the Republican Conference, presided and Senator Burton, Secretary of the Conference, served as Secretary of the meeting. The following members of the Conference were present:

Aiken	Robertson
Burton	Taft
Butler	Tobey
Capper	Vandenberg
Davis	Weeks
Ferguson	Wherry
Gurney	White
Millikin	Willis
Moore	Wilson
Revercomb	

Senator Vandenberg presented to the meeting a letter which he had received from the wife of the late Senator Charles L. McNary, and there being no objection he directed that it be spread upon the minutes of this meeting. Such letter in full is as follows:

THE MAYFLOWER HOTEL  
Washington, D.C.  
May 31st

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg  
Chairman Conference of the Minority  
United States Senate

My dear Senator:

A few days ago Senator Burton called and presented me with a "Resolution of the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate expressing the deep appreciation of the distinguished service, and great sense of loss at the passing of the Republican Leader, Charles Linza McNary."

This beautifully bound resolution with the signatures of the members of the Minority Conference of the Senate

means very much to me, and I wish to ask you, as Chairman of the Conference, to thank the members for me, and to express to them my great appreciation of this tribute of their high esteem for my husband. It is most touching and gratifying to me to know of the affection and devotion that has been demonstrated on the part of his colleagues, as well as the appreciation and recognition of his long and distinguished service to his country in the Senate of the United States.

Very sincerely,  
Cornelia Morton McNary

Senator Vandenberg then reviewed the status of pending bills affecting the reconversion and unemployment compensation policy of the government including particularly S. 2051 (the George Bill) and S. 2061 (the Kilgore-Murray-Truman Bill). This discussion was further participated in by Senators Revercomb, Taft, Weeks, Gurney, Aiken, Wherry, Butler and Wilson.

On motion of Senator Wherry, unanimously adopted, the Conference authorized the sending of the following telegram to absentee members of the Conference.

The Conference instructs us to advise you that the pending Senate question is so important that the presence of all Senators immediately is very desirable.

Arthur H. Vandenberg  
Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Robert A. Taft  
Kenneth S. Wherry

Senator Davis thereupon brought to the attention of the meeting a number of questions as to the pending legislation which he wished to have called to the attention of the individual members of the Conference before final action on the pending bills.

There being no further business to come before the meeting, it was, on motion duly made and carried, declared adjourned at 11:55 a.m.

[signed] Harold H. Burton  
Secretary

AUGUST 8, 1944

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[August 24, 1944]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
Seventy-eighth Congress  
Thursday, August 24, 1944

Pursuant to the call of the Acting Chairman, a Conference of Republican Senators met at 335 U.S. Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., Thursday, August 24, 1944 at 10:30 a.m. Senator Vandenberg, Acting Chairman of the Republican Conference, presided and Senator Burton, Secretary of the Conference, served as Secretary of the meeting. Carl Loeffler, Secretary for the Minority and Party Floor Clerk, was also present.

The roll call was omitted but the following members of the Conference were present during most of the proceedings:

Aiken	Ferguson
Austin	Gurney
Bridges	Hawkes
Buck	Langer
Burton	Millikin
Capper	Vandenberg
Cordon	Weeks
Danaher	Wherry
Davis	Wiley

Senator Vandenberg reported that on August 22, during a session of the Steering Committee, it developed that it would be of substantial benefit if there were a Vice Chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee to assist former Senator John G. Townsend, Chairman of that Committee, and accordingly Senator Owen Brewster of Maine, a member of the Senatorial Campaign Committee had been requested to act as such Vice Chairman. The Chairman asked for confirmation of this appointment and upon motion by Senator Danaher, duly seconded and unanimously adopted, the appointment was declared confirmed.

The Chairman then stated that the principal purpose of the meeting was to consider the provisions of S. 2065, "A bill to establish a Surplus War Property Administration; to provide for the proper disposal of surplus war property; and for other purposes," then pending before the Senate. Because of the necessity that he soon attend a meeting of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, he requested Senator Austin, as ranking Republican member of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs which recommended passage of the bill, to take charge of the meeting.



Senator Austin thereupon assumed the chair and many provisions of the bill were discussed. Among those participating in this discussion were Senators Vandenberg, Millikin, Cordon, Danaher, Bridges, Gurney and Weeks.

No formal action was taken as to the bill or any of its provisions, but after full consideration of it had been completed, the meeting, on motion duly made, seconded and adopted, was adjourned at 12:10 p.m.

[signed] Harold H. Burton  
Secretary

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[September 16, 1944]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

September 16, 1944

The Conference was called to order by the Acting Chairman, Senator Vandenberg, pursuant to call.

The Secretary, Mr. Burton, being absent from the city on business of the Truman Committee, the Chairman requested Mr. Loeffler to take the minutes, and directed that the roll be called.

The following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Millikin
Austin	Reed
Ball	Revercomb
Bridges	Robertson
Bushfield	Shipstead
Capper	Vandenberg
Cordon	Wherry
Danaher	White
Gurney	Wiley
Langer	Willis

A quorum being present.

The Chairman invited discussion on the part of those present upon the subject of a recess, particularly as to the form of the same.

The ensuing discussion was participated in by Senators Bridges, Vandenberg, Reed, Shipstead, White, Willis, Millikin, Danaher, Langer, Wherry, Aiken, Austin, Robertson, and Ball. No formal motion was made or adopted, but a count of raised hands showed a majority of those present favored a recess under a resolution (patterned after S. Con. Res. 46 adopted by the Senate on June 23, 1944) authorizing the recall of Congress into session by joint action of the Majority Leaders of the Senate and House, or by joint action of the Minority Leaders of the Senate and House.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1944

The Chairman pointed out that in no event would a recess be taken until the pending post-war legislation had been signed by the President or the period for veto expired.

The Conference then adjourned at 11:30 a.m.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the Minority.

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[December 15, 1944]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
Seventy-eighth Congress  
Friday, December 15, 1944

Pursuant to the call of the Acting Chairman, a Conference of Republican Senators met at 335 U.S. Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., Friday, December 15, 1944 at 10:00 a.m. Senator Vandenberg, Acting Chairman of the Republican Conference, presided and Senator Burton, Secretary of the Conference, served as Secretary of the meeting. Carl Loeffler, Secretary for the Minority and Party Floor Clerk, and George H.E. Smith, Secretary of the Steering Committee and Research Assistant for the Minority, were also present. The following Senators were present:

Aiken	Capper	Jenner	Taft
Austin	Cordon	Langer	Vandenberg
Brewster	Danaher	Millikin	Weeks
Brooks	Davis	Reed	Wherry
Burton	Ferguson	Revercomb	White
Bushfield	Gurney	Robertson	Wiley
Butler	Hawkes	Smith	Willis

(Total 28. Quorum being 21 out of total membership of 40.)

The Chairman welcomed Senators Jenner and Smith to their first Republican Conference.

There was presented to the meeting a notice of proposed amendments to Paragraphs I and III of the Rules of the Conference, which notice had been given at least one week in advance of the meeting to every member of the Conference with advice that action would be sought at this meeting upon the subjects covered by the amendments. A copy of the notice, marked Exhibit A, is attached to the minutes of this meeting.

Pursuant to the notice of the proposed amendments to the Rules of the Conference, Senator White moved that Paragraph I of the Rules be amended by striking out the words "Vice Chairman of the Conference" and the words "Assistant Floor Leader". After brief dis-

cussion this motion was unanimously adopted and the Rules were declared amended accordingly.

In accordance with the notice of the proposed amendments to the Rules, Senator White moved that Paragraph I of the Rules be amended by striking out the sentence “The members so appointed shall not be eligible for reappointment on the Steering Committee in the next Congress” and insert in place thereof, the words “Of the members so appointed and confirmed in 1945, the Chairman of the Conference shall designate two who shall be ineligible for reappointment in 1947, two who shall be ineligible for reappointment for 1949, and two who shall be ineligible for appointment in 1951. Thereafter, no member shall be eligible for reappointment after having served six years except after a two year interval.”

Senator Hawkes suggested that the amendment be modified so that the insertion would read as follows: “Of the members so appointed and confirmed in 1945, the Chairman of the Conference shall designate three who shall be ineligible for reappointment in 1947, and three who shall be ineligible for reappointment in 1949. Thereafter, no member shall be eligible for reappointment after having served four years except after a two year interval.”

After a full discussion of the original proposal and the proposed modification of it, including a statement by Senator Langer in opposition to the amendment either in its original or modified form, the Secretary called attention to the fact that Paragraph I, in the event that the amendment were adopted, would still include the following sentence: “The term of office of all party officers herein provided shall extend for not more than two years, and shall expire at the close of each Congress.” He pointed out that the effect of the proposed amendment, therefore, was not to permit the appointment of members of the Steering Committee for terms of more than two years and was merely to make eligible for reappointment certain members of the Steering Committee at the expiration of their original two year term if the Chairman of the Conference so desired and provided the appointments were confirmed by the Conference.

Senator White accepted the modification proposed by Senator Hawkes and after further discussion the motion to amend the Rules of the Conference in accordance with his proposal modified as suggested by Senator Hawkes, was adopted and the Rules were declared to be amended accordingly.

Pursuant to the notice of the proposed amendments Senator White moved to amend Paragraph III of the Rules of the Conference by striking out the references in that Paragraph to the Vice Chairman of the Conference and to the Assistant Floor Leader. There being no objection, this motion was declared unanimously adopted and the Rules of the Conference to be amended accordingly.

DECEMBER 15, 1944

A copy of the Rules of the Conference, as amended by the actions taken at this meeting, marked Exhibit B, is attached to the minutes of this meeting.

The Chairman then brought to the attention of the Conference the nominations pending before the Senate, on its Executive Calendar, of Joseph C. Grew, as Under Secretary of State, and of Nelson A. Rockefeller, Will L. Clayton, James C. Dunn, Julius C. Holmes and Archibald MacLeish for appointment as Assistant Secretaries of State.

The action of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations as to these nominations was reviewed in detail and the subject fully discussed but no action was taken by the Conference on the nominations.

The Chairman thereupon called to the attention of the Conference the nominations pending before the Senate, on its Executive Calendar, of Robert A. Hurley and Edward Heller to be members of the Surplus Property Board. These nominations were discussed, particularly by the Chairman and by Senators Austin, Revercomb, Gurney, Danaher and Hawkes, but no action was taken by the Conference as to these nominations.

Senator Taft, as Chairman of the Steering Committee, reported upon its recent work and particularly upon the desirability of the introduction in the next Congress by members of the Conference of constructive measures dealing with a number of issues before the country without, however, attempting to identify the measures expressly as a party program. He asked that before introducing such bills members proposing to introduce them confer with one or more Republican members of the Committees likely to consider them.

Senator Gurney urged the prompt confirmation of nominations for appointments to the newly created posts of "Generals of the Army" and "Fleet Admirals."

There being no further business to come before the Conference it was declared adjourned at 11:58 a.m.

[signed] Harold H. Burton  
Secretary

\* \* \*

#### Exhibit A

The following amendments to the form of permanent organization adopted by the Conference will be considered by the Conference:

#### In Paragraph I

1. Strike out the words "Vice Chairman of the Conference."
2. Strike out the words "Assistant Floor Leader."

3. Strike out the sentence “The members so appointed shall not be eligible for reappointment on the Steering Committee in the next Congress,” and insert “Of the members so appointed and confirmed in 1945, the Chairman of the Conference shall designate two who shall be ineligible for reappointment in 1947, two who shall be ineligible for reappointment for 1949, and two who shall be ineligible for appointment in 1951. Thereafter, no member shall be eligible for reappointment after having served six years except after a two year interval.

In Paragraph III

Strike out the references to the Vice Chairman of the Conference and to the Assistant Floor Leader.

\* \* \*

*Exhibit B*

*REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE RULES*

(As amended by the Conference, December 15, 1944.)

*I.*

At the beginning of each Congress, or within one week thereafter, a Republican Party Conference shall be held. At that Conference there shall be selected the following officers:

*Chairman of the Conference*

*Secretary of the Conference*

*Floor Leader*

*Whip*

*A Steering Committee of nine Senators.*

The Chairman of the Conference, the Floor Leader and the Whip shall be members ex officio. The other six members shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference, subject to confirmation by the Conference. Of the members so appointed and confirmed in 1945, the Chairman of the Conference shall designate three who shall be ineligible for reappointment in 1947, and three who shall be ineligible for reappointment in 1949. Thereafter, no member shall be eligible for reappointment after having served four years except after a two year interval. The Chairman of the Steering Committee shall be chosen by the members of the Committee.

The term of office of all party officers herein provided shall extend for not more than two years, and shall expire at the close of each Congress.

*II.*

The Chairman may call a Conference at any time, and shall call a Conference whenever requested to do so by the Steering Committee or in writing by five or more Senators. The Steering Committee shall meet at least once in two weeks, on a fixed day of the week and at a fixed hour to be determined by the Committee. It may meet at any time on the call of its Chairman. The Committee shall permit any Senator to appear before it upon his request to present any matter in which he is interested.

DECEMBER 15, 1944

*III—Duty of Party Officers.*

The Chairman of the Conference shall preside at all Conference meetings, and perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by this resolution or by the Conference.

The Secretary shall keep accurate minutes of all Conference proceedings. The minutes of all meetings of committees of the Conference shall be kept by the Party Floor Clerk and shall be filed with the Secretary, which minutes shall be open to inspection by any member of the Conference. The Secretary and Floor Clerk, respectively, shall notify members of all Conference and committee meetings. In the absence of the Chairman, he shall have the same powers and duties to call meetings of the Conference as the Chairman.

The Floor Leader shall perform the customary duties of the Majority or Minority Leader, as the case may be, on the floor of the Senate, and shall have full authority to deal with all questions of procedure after consulting the Republican Senators who are concerned.

The Whip shall assist in securing attendance of members at Party Conferences and upon the floor of the Senate when their presence is considered necessary by the Chairman or the Floor Leader, and shall perform such other duties as the Chairman or Floor Leader may require.

The Steering Committee shall consider the legislative program in the Senate and the question whether any Party policy is involved, shall prepare and present recommendations for action by the Conference, and advise all Senators on legislative matters which they desire to present to the Steering Committee.

*IV.*

A Committee on Committees shall be appointed at the beginning of each Congress to prepare and recommend to the Conference the complete assignment of Republican Senators to committees, and shall recommend the filling of vacancies occurring during the Congress. The Committee shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference immediately after his election subject to confirmation by the Conference.

*V.*

A Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee shall be appointed within six months after the beginning of each Congress by the Chairman of the Conference, subject to confirmation by the Conference.

*VI.*

No action by the Conference upon any matter pending or to be proposed in the Senate shall be binding in any way on members in casting their votes thereon.

*VII.*

These rules may be amended at any time by a majority vote of the Conference, providing notice of the amendment has been given at least one

week in advance to every member of the Conference that action will be sought upon the subject covered by the amendment.

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING  
Seventy-Eighth Congress

December 19, 1944.

The Committee met in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, at 10 a.m. pursuant to call by the Chairman, Senator White.

Those present were:

Messrs. White (Chairman), Taft, Butler, Austin, Brooks, Willis, and Robertson.

Senator White explained to the committee the method heretofore employed in nominating appointees to special committees, by which method names were submitted by the Minority Leader without action of the Committee on Committees. All members present participated in the discussion. It was the sense of the Committee that recommendations to special committees should be made by the Committee on Committees in view of Paragraph IV of the Conference rules.

The Committee then considered nominations to serve as members of the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress (created by S. Con. Res. 23). It was the sense of the Committee that Senator La Follette should be appointed to serve on that committee, but the said action was not to be considered as setting a precedent. After further discussion Senator Butler moved that Senators White, Brooks and La Follette be recommended for appointment, and said motion was agreed to.

Senator White next called attention to the need of nominating a member to serve on the Stadium Site Committee (created by S.J. Res. 155, 78–2), and following discussion Senator Willis moved that Senator Burton be recommended for the appointment. Said motion was agreed to.

Senator White next brought to the attention of the Committee vacancies on the special Committee on Gasoline and Oil Shortage (created by S. Res. 156, 77–1) and the special Committee on Wild Life (created by S. Res. 246, 71–2). It was the sense of the Committee that nominations for places on these two committees should be deferred for the present.

The Committee then adjourned.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the Minority.

Approved by:

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Chairman, Committee on Committees

DECEMBER 15, 1944

\* \* \*

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE OFFICERS AND  
COMMITTEES—9/22/45

79th Congress

Senator Vandenberg—Chairman of the Conference

Senator White—Floor Leader

Senator Gurney—Secretary of the Conference

Senator Wherry—Whip

*Steering Committee*

Taft, Chairman—ineligible 1949

Vandenberg—ex officio

White—ex officio

Wherry—ex officio

Austin—ineligible 1947

Bridges—ineligible 1947

Bushfield—ineligible 1947

Brooks—ineligible 1949

Millikin—ineligible 1949

*Committee on Committees*

White, Chairman

Taft

Butler

Thomas, Idaho

Austin

Brooks

Willis

Robertson

*Committee on the Calendar*

Revercomb, Chairman

Buck

Cordon

*Campaign Committee 1/29/45*

Townsend, Chairman

Bridges, Vice Chairman

Gurney

Millikin

Morse

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING  
Seventy-Ninth Congress

December 27, 1944

The Committee met in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, at 10:30 a.m. pursuant to call by the Chairman, Senator White.



Those present were:

Messrs. White (Chairman), Taft, Butler, Thomas, Austin, and Brooks.

Senator Taft moved that Senator Austin be relieved of service on the Committee on Privileges and Elections and that Senator Capehart be appointed to fill the vacancy, and the motion was agreed to. Senator Austin requested that he be assigned to four committees only.

Discussion was had regarding Senators Gurney and Wiley for the vacancy on the Committee on Foreign Relations and the assignment of Senator Saltonstall to the vacancy created on the Committee on Interstate Commerce by the assignment of Senator Gurney to the Committee on Foreign Relations or that created on the Committee on Naval Affairs by the assignment of Senator Wiley to the Committee on Foreign Relations. No action was taken in these cases.

Senator White stated that the work of the Committee should not be divulged until said Committee had completed its work and made its report to the Conference.

The Committee then adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Howard C. Foster  
Assistant Secretary for the Minority.

Approved by:

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Chairman, Committee on Committees



## Seventy-ninth Congress (1945–1947)

[Editor's Note: The Seventy-ninth Congress opened with no change in party representation in the Senate, still 57 Democrats, 38 Republicans, and 1 independent. In the House, the Democrats had increased their numbers to 242 seats, with 190 Republicans and 2 independents. In 1944 President Roosevelt won election to a fourth term with his new vice president, former Senator Harry S. Truman of Missouri. When Roosevelt died suddenly on April 12, 1945, Truman succeeded to the presidency.

World War II was ending; Germany surrendered in May of 1945, and Japan followed in August after the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Planning for a postwar United Nations organization was already well underway, with a conference scheduled to be held in San Francisco from April to June of that year. Republican Conference Chairman Arthur H. Vandenberg served as a delegate to the San Francisco conference. In January 1946 the UN held its first General Assembly session in London, but the cold war with the Soviet Union was already beginning.

During 1945, Robert A. Taft of Ohio, chairman of the Senate Republican Steering Committee, instituted the practice of twice monthly joint meetings with the House Republican Steering Committee. The joint group produced a statement of Republican principles for considering postwar legislation.

Planning for the postwar period also pointed up the need for Congress to improve its functioning and become more efficient. In the summer of 1946 Congress passed and the president signed the Legislative Reorganization Act, making a number of changes in the operations of Congress. Among other provisions, it drastically reduced the number of standing committees in both houses of Congress, more than halving the number of Senate committees from thirty-three to fifteen. Arising from consideration of the act, although embodied in separate legislation, was a requirement that both Republicans and Democrats establish party policy committees in each house of Congress. For Senate Republicans, the new Policy Committee was based upon, and an adaptation of, the existing Steering Committee.]

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### COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING Seventy-Ninth Congress

January 2, 1945.

The meeting was called to order at 2:05 p.m. by Senator White, the Chairman, pursuant to call.

Those present were:

Messrs. White (Chairman), Taft, Butler, Thomas, Austin, Brooks, Willis, and Robertson, all members being present.

Senator White, the Chairman, read the report which he intended to submit to the Conference in connection with the committee as-

signments and requested comment upon the same. There being no suggestion of changes, the Committee approved the same as read.

Senator White requested the attitude of the Committee with regard to the method to be employed in determining the rank of Senators of equal seniority assigned to the same committee, and it was the sense of the Committee that their position on the committees should be determined by draw.

In the manner thus agreed to, and later in the meeting, Senator Ferguson was placed above Senator Wherry on the Appropriations Committee; Senator Hawkes was placed above Senator Moore on the Finance Committee; and the new members on Post Offices and Post Roads were ranked in the following order, Capehart, Morse, Hickenlooper, Saltonstall, and Donnell.

Senator White then requested action by the Committee on the question whether Senator Wiley should be considered eligible for a place on the Foreign Relations Committee notwithstanding the fact that Senator La Follette (Progressive) from the same state was a member of that committee. On a show of hands the Committee voted that he should be considered eligible for the place.

Senators Gurney and Wiley, having equal seniority, on motion it was voted to assign Senator Wiley to the vacancy.

The Committee continued its work on assignments and directed the Secretary to have a confidential print No. 3 made showing all assignments tentatively completed to date.

The Committee then adjourned with the understanding they would recovene at 2:30 p.m. the following day, January 3, 1945.

[signed] C.A Loeffler  
Secretary for the Minority.

Approved by:

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Chairman, Committee on Committees

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING  
Seventy Ninth Congress

January 3, 1945.

The meeting was called to order at 2:30 p.m. by Senator White, the Chairman.

Those present were:

Messrs. White (Chairman), Taft, Butler, Austin, Brooks, Willis and Robertson.

Senator Thomas was absent.

Senator Butler moved that Senator Bushfield be placed on the Committee on Finance following Senator Brewster, and that Senator Moore be placed on the Committee on Judiciary following Senator Wherry, and said motion was agreed to.

Senator Taft moved that Senator Hickenlooper be placed following Senator Buck on the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, and said motion was agreed to.

Senator White was unanimously authorized by the Committee to report Confidential Print No. 3 with the above changes to the Republican Conference as constituting the complete work of the Committee on Committees.

The Committee then adjourned at 3:30 p.m.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the Minority.

Approved by:

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Chairman, Committee on Committees

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[January 4, 1945]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
Seventy-Ninth Congress  
Thursday, January 4, 1945

The Chairman appointed Senator Chan Gurney to act as temporary secretary of the Conference for this day's meeting, who on being appointed called the roll and announced the following members present:

*SENATORS:*

Aiken	Morse
Austin	Reed
Ball	Revercomb
Brewster	Robertson
Brooks	Shipstead
Buck	Smith
Bushfield	Taft
Butler	Thomas
Capehart	Tobey
Capper	Vandenberg

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Cordon	Wherry
Ferguson	White
Gurney	Wiley
Hickenlooper	Willis
Langer	Wilson
Millikin	

The meeting was called to order by Senator Vandenberg with an address of welcome to the new Republican members of the Senate attending the Conference for the first time.

#### *ORDER OF BUSINESS*

The temporary chairman, Senator Vandenberg, announced that the first order of business was the election of the permanent chairman. A discussion was had as to the advisability of electing a permanent chairman at this time, which was resolved by unanimous consent that a permanent chairman should be elected. Also, by unanimous consent, Senator Willis of Indiana made the motion that Senator Vandenberg be permanent chairman of the Conference. This motion was seconded by Senator Wiley of Wisconsin. The motion put by Senator Willis carried unanimously.

It was moved by Senator Millikin of Colorado that Senator Wallace White be the Republican floor leader of the Senate. The motion was properly seconded and when put to a vote, carried unanimously.

Senator Taft then nominated Senator Burton to be Secretary of the Conference. After being properly seconded and put to a vote, carried unanimously.

Senator Bushfield then nominated Senator Kenneth Wherry as Republican Whip. After being properly seconded and put to a vote, carried unanimously.

Under the rules of the Republican Conference the Chairman, Senator Vandenberg, then announced the following appointments to membership on the Republican Steering Committee:

Senators Austin, Bridges and Bushfield, who shall be ineligible for reappointment after 1947; Senators Taft, Brooks and Millikin, who shall be ineligible for reappointment after 1949.

It was moved by Senator Wiley of Wisconsin to confirm these six appointments to the Republican Steering Committee, which on being put carried unanimously.

The Chairman of the Conference, Senator Vandenberg, then named a special committee on the Calendar, composed of Senators Revercomb, Buck and Cordon.

Senator Brewster then advised the Conference that the Special Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee was ready to report and

suggested that the Conference assemble at some future early date to hear the Committee report.

After an announcement by the Chairman that he had during the 78th Congress appointed a Working Committee of Senators White, Taft, Butler, Thomas, Austin, Brooks, Willis and Robertson, a motion was put to make these Senators the permanent Committee on Committees of the 79th Congress. It was moved by Senator Buck that this motion be agreed to and on being put, was adopted unanimously.

Senator White then made the following committee report:

January 3, 1945

Arthur H. Vandenberg, Chairman  
Republican Senatorial Conference  
United States Senate

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The Committee on Committees appointed by you to consider and to recommend Minority assignments to committees of the Senate, submit the following unanimous report:

Your Committee has given consideration to the assignment of members only to the Standing Committees of the Senate. The total membership of such committees in the last Congress was 490. In the present Congress, the size of each committee and the total number of committee places remain as they were in the preceding Congress. The proportional representation of Majority and Minority members upon committees at the convening of the 79th Congress, as the ratio has been agreed to with the Majority Leader, is the same as in the 78th Congress. This rule of committee representation gives the Minority 1 place for 1.461 places for the Majority.

The application of this basic yardstick to the Standing Committees of the Senate, and counting a major fraction as equivalent to a member, gives to the Minority in the present Congress, 8 places upon the Committee on Agriculture; 10 upon Appropriations; 3 upon Audit and Control of Contingent Expenses; 8 upon Banking and Currency; 4 on Civil Service; 5 on Claims; 8 on Commerce; 6 on the District of Columbia; 7 on Education and Labor; 1 on Enrolled Bills; 3 on Expenditures in the Executive Departments; 9 on Finance; 9 on Foreign Relations; 6 on Immigration; 6 on Indian Affairs; 3 on Interoceanic Canals; 9 on Interstate Commerce; 7 on Irrigation and Reclamation; 7 on Judiciary; 4 on Library; 5 on Manufactures; 7 on Military Affairs; 5 on Mines and Mining; 7 on Naval Affairs; 3 on Patents; 4

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on Pensions; 8 on Post Offices and Post Roads; 3 on Printing; 7 on Privileges and Elections; 6 on Public Buildings and Grounds; 6 on Public Lands and Surveys; 5 on Rules and 7 on Territories and Insular Affairs. Under this apportionment the Minority would lose 1 place on District of Columbia; 1 on Education and Labor; 1 on Indian Affairs but would gain 1 on Appropriations, 1 on Commerce and 1 on Naval Affairs.

Preliminary to its task of assigning Senators to the available positions, your Committee made an effort to ascertain the wishes and preference of Minority members with respect to committee service and it has sought to meet these expressed desires. It has not been possible to completely do so. It has been done in substantial degree. There are 97 places on major committees open to the 39 Minority members. This has permitted your Committee to assign 2 major committees to each Senator and an additional major to 19 other Senators. It has permitted every Senator to have 5 committee assignments, if he so wished, and 2 Senators to have 6 places.

Your Committee has made, subject to Conference approval, the following assignments:

<i>Committee</i>	<i>Members</i>
Agriculture and Forestry.	Capper, Shipstead, Willis, Aiken, Bushfield, Wilson, Butler, Cordon,
Appropriations .....	Bridges, White, Gurney, Brooks, Reed, Burton, Ball, Willis, Ferguson, Wherry
Audit and Control of Contingent Expenses.	Tobey, Brooks, Wherry
Banking and Currency	Tobey, Taft, Thomas, Idaho, Butler, Capper, Buck, Millikin, Hickenlooper
Civil Service .....	Langer, Burton, Aiken, Hickenlooper
Claims .....	Capper, Wiley, Wherry, Wilson, Morse
Commerce .....	Johnson, California, Vandenberg, Brewster, Burton, Wiley, Robertson, Cordon, Brooks
District of Columbia .....	Capper, Bridges, Burton, Buck, Smith, Saltonstall
Education and Labor ....	La Follette, Jr., Taft, Aiken, Ball, Smith, Morse, Donnell
Enrolled Bills .....	Reed
Expenditures in the Executive Departments.	Aiken, Ferguson, Hickenlooper
Finance .....	La Follette, Jr., Vandenberg, Taft, Thomas, Idaho, Butler, Millikin, Brewster, Bushfield, Hawkes
Foreign Relations .....	Johnson, California, Capper, La Follette, Jr., Vandenberg, White, Jr., Shipstead, Austin, Bridges, Wiley



SEVENTY-NINTH CONGRESS (1945–1947)

<i>Committee</i>	<i>Members</i>
Immigration .....	Johnson, California, Burton, Ball, Buck, Ferguson, Donnell
Indian Affairs .....	La Follette, Jr., Shipstead, Langer, Bushfield, Moore, Robertson
Interoceanic Canals .....	Bushfield, Hawkes, Saltonstall
Interstate Commerce ....	White, Jr., Austin, Shipstead, Tobey, Reed, Gurney, Hawkes, Moore, Capehart
Irrigation and Reclamation.	Johnson, California, Gurney, Thomas, Idaho, Butler, Millikin, Langer, Cordon
Judiciary .....	Wiley, Langer, Ferguson, Revercomb, Wherry, Moore, Smith
Library .....	Brewster, Hawkes, Cordon, Saltonstall
Manufactures .....	La Follette, Jr., Millikin, Ball, Buck, Capehart
Military Affairs .....	Austin, Bridges, Gurney, Revercomb, Wilson, Thomas, Idaho, Burton
Mines and Mining .....	Reed, Millikin, Revercomb, Robertson, Morse
Naval Affairs .....	Johnson, California, Tobey, Willis, Brooks, Brewster, Robertson, Saltonstall
Patents .....	White, Jr., Hawkes, Capehart
Pensions .....	Shipstead, Aiken, Moore, Donnell
Post Offices and Post Roads.	Reed, Langer, Buck, Hickenlooper, Capehart, Morse, Saltonstall, Donnell
Printing .....	Willis, Ball, Donnell
Privileges and Elections	Bridges, Ferguson, Moore, Revercomb, Wilson, Smith, Capehart
Public Buildings and Grounds.	Taft, Revercomb, Wherry, Wilson, Smith, Morse
Public Lands and Surveys.	Gurney, Thomas, Idaho, Willis, Robertson, Cordon, Hickenlooper
Rules .....	Vandenberg, White, Wiley, Shipstead, Bushfield
Territories and Insular Affairs.	Vandenberg, Austin, Taft, Brewster, Butler, Tobey, Brooks

Your Committee has labored long and patiently in working out these assignments. We express the hope that they may have the approval of the Conference.

Believe me

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Chairman

After presentation of the report naming senators to the several committees of the Senate, it was moved by Senator White that the Committee's report be adopted. After a discussion in which Senator Langer asked why some senators were given more major committee appointments than others and citing specifically the six committee assignments of Senator Burton as against the five committee assignments of Senator Saltonstall, a motion was put that the committee report be adopted and it carried unanimously.

JANUARY 4, 1945

It was moved by Senator Butler, with Senator Willis acting as temporary chairman, that Senator Vandenberg be the Republican nominee to be the Republican candidate for President Pro Tempore of the Senate. The motion, on being put, carried unanimously.

Then followed an explanation by Senator Kenneth Wherry of what was in prospect on the Senate floor during the next ten days.

Senator Taft, Chairman of the Senate Republican Steering Committee, then told of the possibility of a joint meeting with the House Republican Steering Committee during the period of the 79th Congress, said meetings to be held at least every other week. He also advised the Conference membership of research help available in Mr. Smith and his assistants, and he unfolded the possibilities of worthwhile Republican action in both the Senate and the House and notified the memberships of the responsibility of the Republicans for beneficial legislation in the 79th Congress. He also advised the membership of the Steering Committee's meeting with Governor Thomas E. Dewey and stated that Governor Dewey as the titular head of the Republican Party was glad to accept any responsibility that was his because of his position, but was not in any way seeking to lay out his own program for Republican action during the next four years. Governor Dewey made it plain that he was not shirking any duty that was rightfully his, and was certainly willing to cooperate in any way on a sound Republican program.

Senator Willis then made the following motion:

It is hereby resolved by the members of the Minority Conference that we express our appreciation of the conscientious and constructive services rendered during the past two years by the officers and committees of the Conference; that in their re-election we express our confidence in their ability to guide the Conference in the consideration of the momentous problems which will confront this 79th Congress, and assure them of our unqualified support.

The motion was put by the Senior Senator of Indiana, Mr. Willis, and carried by unanimous vote of the Conference, the Senior Senator from North Dakota, Mr. Langer, dissenting.

Senator Robertson, after being recognized by the Chairman, then addressed the new members of the Conference and invited the new members to meet weekly at a luncheon with the members who came into the Senate with the 78th Congress.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:10 a.m.

[signed] Chan Gurney  
Temporary Secretary.

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[January 29, 1945]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
Monday, January 29, 1945  
Minority Room, Senate Office Building  
10:30 a.m.

Chairman Arthur H. Vandenberg, presiding, announced the absence from the City on official business of Harold Burton, Secretary of the Conference. Chan Gurney was appointed Acting Secretary for this day's session.

Thirty-two senators answered present to the call of the roll. The following senators were absent: Brooks, Burton, Hawkes, Johnson, La Follette, Millikin and Shipstead.

Chairman Vandenberg then announced to the membership the death of Colonel Edwin A. Halsey, Secretary of the Senate. This was heard by the membership with deep regret. All of them agreed with the statement of the Chairman that Colonel Halsey was one of the great characters in public life; that he had given a full life of public service, and that he had faithfully served Republicans and Democrats alike. Each and every member present felt that he had lost a personal friend. On motion, duly seconded, a committee of three, composed of Warren Austin, Arthur Capper and Alexander Wiley, was appointed to draft a resolution to convey the deep sympathy of the entire Republican membership of the Senate.

The Chairman announced the first order of business was the appointment of the 1946 Senatorial Campaign Committee and that under the rules of the Conference the Conference chairman was authorized to make the appointment. He desired, however, complete concurrence of the Conference. He stated further that he had requested from the present Senatorial Campaign Committee their views in letter form as to whether the chairman of the Campaign Committee should be appointed from among the present sitting senators or whether it was their suggestion that a chairman of the committee could be selected outside of the Senate.

Chairman Vandenberg advised the Conference that he had conferred with the present campaign committee chairman, ex-Senator Townsend, and with the National Chairman of the Republican Party, Herbert Brownell.

JANUARY 29, 1945

He then presented to the Conference the recommendation of the present committee in letter form, which is hereby made part of the minutes of this meeting.

United States Senate  
Special Committee Investigating  
The National Defense Program

January 25, 1945

Honorable Arthur H. Vandenberg, Chairman  
Republican Senate Conference  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Van:

In compliance with our various conversations and your recent letter to me, I am submitting hereunder the views of the four Senate members of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee regarding the constitution of the Committee for the next two years.

Out of our experience during the last campaign and certainly without previous predilections we are completely persuaded of the wisdom of the following course:

1. That the Chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee may well be one outside the membership of the Senate in order to avoid any embarrassments as to any immediate personal connection of a Senator with either the raising or distributing of funds.

2. We are all deeply impressed with the effectiveness with which John Townsend has functioned in carrying out the duties of his office as Chairman and we believe it would be unfortunate at this time to make a change.

3. We are further convinced that the long standing practice of not including in the membership of the campaign committee any Senator from a state where there is a contest is altogether wise in order to avoid any suspicion of prejudice in the allocation of funds or other activities.

Cordially yours,  
[signed] Owen Brewster  
Hugh Butler  
E.V. Robertson  
Chapman Revercomb

Chairman Vandenberg then stated that with the complete concurrence of the present Campaign Committee and others with whom he had conferred he was nominating ex-Senator John G. Townsend as chairman, Senator Styles Bridges as Vice Chairman, and as

members of the committee, Senators Chan Gurney, Eugene Millikin and Wayne Morse.

It was moved by Senator Clyde Reed that the nominations be approved. Senator Bushfield moved that the nominations be closed. On being duly seconded, it was put to a vote and carried unanimously.

Chairman Vandenberg then made the suggestion that the Conference might want to discuss the nomination of Henry Wallace to become Secretary of Commerce and that too they might want to discuss the George bill, the purpose of which is to separate the functions of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation from the jurisdiction of the Commerce Department.<sup>1</sup> It was the sense of the meeting that these were subjects for discussion, but not for action. Statements were made by Senators Taft, Reed, Brewster, Robertson, Butler and Wherry.

The Chairman then brought up the important matter of proper organization among the Republican members of each Senate committee for more efficient work on each of these committees. He brought to the attention of the Conference the excellent work Senator Bridges had done in organizing the Republican membership of the Senate Appropriations Committee in that Senator Bridges had agreed with the Republican membership of the Appropriations Committee that on each subcommittee one Republican member would be responsible for full attendance at each subcommittee meeting and would as nearly as possible become fully informed on all appropriation bills brought to that subcommittee for consideration; further, that Republican on each subcommittee would follow through and be in position to inform the Republican senators on the Senate floor of the full facts relating to the necessity for the appropriations on each bill brought before that subcommittee.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned.

[signed] Chan Gurney  
Temporary Secretary.

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING  
Seventy-Ninth Congress

February 6, 1945.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Senator White, at 9:30 a.m. in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to notice.

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<sup>1</sup> [Many members of Congress who doubted the financial skills of former Vice President Wallace were concerned that as Commerce secretary he would also control the massive loans made by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC). Senators who supported his nomination to the cabinet therefore sought to defuse the controversy by removing the RFC from the jurisdiction of the Commerce Department.]

JANUARY 29, 1945

Those present were:

Senator White (Chairman) and Senators Taft, Butler, Austin and Willis.

A quorum being present.

Those absent were:

Senators Thomas of Idaho, Brooks and Robertson.

Senator White called attention to two vacancies existing on theoint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures caused by the resignation of Senator La Follette and the retirement of Senator Nye. Following discussion, Senator Taft moved that Senators Bridges and Butler be assigned to the Committee. The motion was agreed to.

Senator White next called attention to the vacancy existing on the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission caused by the death of Senator McNary. No final action was taken on this vacancy.

Senator White called attention to the vacancy on the Committee on Conservation of Wildlife Resources caused by the retirement of Senator Nye. Following discussion, Senator Taft moved that Senator Cordon be assigned to the Committee. The motion was agreed to.

Senator White then called attention to the vacancy on the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise Committee existing by reason of the resignation of Senator Lodge. Senator Taft moved that Senator Saltonstall be assigned to the Committee. The motion was agreed to.

Senator White called attention to the vacancy existing on the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution caused by the death of Senator McNary. The Committee decided to take no action on the same.

Senator White raised the question whether recommendations for the filling of these vacancies should be submitted to the Republican Conference. It was the judgment of the Committee that such action was not required by the Conference rules.

The Committee then adjourned.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved by:

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Chairman, Committee on Committees

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING  
Seventy-Ninth Congress

February 12, 1945.

The meeting called for 10 a.m. on Monday, February 12, 1945, took no action owing to the lack of a quorum.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved by:

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Chairman, Committee on Committees

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING  
Seventy-Ninth Congress

February 28, 1945.

The Committee met at 10 a.m. in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building.

Present: Senator White (Chairman), and Senators Taft, Butler, Willis and Robertson.

Absent: Senators Thomas, Austin and Brooks.

A quorum was present.

Senator White explained his negotiation with the Majority Leader with regard to committee assignments for Senator Hart, and stated that Senator Barkley was willing to accord the Minority a place on the following committees: Commerce, Public Buildings and Grounds, and Manufactures. Senator White further told the Committee that Senator Burton was willing to give up his place on Civil Service in order that it might be assigned to Senator Hart.

Senator Taft stated that he would relinquish his place on the Special Committee to Study and Survey Problems of Small Business Enterprises for the purpose of assigning the same to Senator Hart.

It was the opinion of the Committee that Senator White should communicate with Senator Vandenberg, Chairman of the Conference, concerning the advisability of calling a Conference for the purpose of passing upon the Committee's action on the Hart assignments.

Senator White explained the situation caused by his resignation from the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, particularly with regard to the long standing precedent whereby the Minority Floor Leader heretofore served in that capacity, and requested the feeling of the Committee upon the same. It was the opinion of the Committee that Senator White should withdraw his resignation and accept service on the Board of Regents.

Senator White called the attention of the Committee to a Minority vacancy existing on the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission.

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It being necessary for members of the Committee to attend other committee meetings, action on that vacancy was postponed.

The Committee thereupon adjourned.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved by:

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Chairman, Committee on Committees

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING  
Seventy-Ninth Congress

April 5, 1945.

The Committee met pursuant to call by the Chairman, Senator White, in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, at 10 a.m. April 5, 1945.

Present: Senator White (Chairman), and Senators Austin, Willis, and Butler, who had to leave the meeting but left the proxies of Senator Thomas and himself for Senator White.

Absent: Senators Taft, Thomas, Brooks and Robertson.

Senator White explained the changed situation with regard to Majority and Minority representation on the committees under the new ratio created by the death of the Democrat, Senator Moses, and the appointment of the Republican, Senator Young.

Senator White further explained the negotiations he had with Senator Barkley, the Democratic Leader, with reference to committee assignments for Senator Young, and stated that Senator Barkley was willing to have Senator Young appointed to the Committee on Agriculture, the Committee on Manufactures, the Committee on Immigration, and the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The changed ratio on the Judiciary Committee whereby the Minority could base a claim for an additional place on said Committee came under discussion.

It was the consensus of opinion that Senator White should accept the assignments for Senator Young tendered by the Majority Leader, on condition that the vacancy on Judiciary remain unfilled for this Congress or until some substitute agreement be worked out.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the Minority



Approved by:

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Chairman, Committee on Committees

[April 13, 1945]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
Seventy-Ninth Congress  
Friday, April 13, 1945

Pursuant to the call of Chairman Arthur H. Vandenberg, the Conference of Republican Senators met at 335 U.S. Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., Friday, April 13, 1945 at 11:00 a.m. Senator Vandenberg, Chairman of the Republican Conference presided; Senator Burton, Secretary of the Conference served as Secretary of the meeting. Carl Loeffler, Secretary for the Minority and Party Floor Clerk and George H.E. Smith, Secretary of the Steering Committee and Research Assistant for the Minority were also present. The following Senators were in attendance at the Conference:

Aiken	Donnell	Revercomb
Austin	Ferguson	Saltonstall
Ball	Gurney	Shipstead
Bridges	Hart	Smith
Brooks	Hawkes	Taft
Burton	Langer	Vandenberg
Bushfield	Millikin	Wherry
Butler	Moore	White
Capehart	Morse	Wiley
Cordon	Reed	Willis

(Total—30. Quorum being 21 out of total membership of 41.)

The Chairman stated that the meeting had been called on short notice on recommendation of the Steering Committee which met in regular session at 10:00 a.m., April 13. The Chairman stated that the purpose of the meeting was to consider instructions to the officers of the Conference as to appropriate action to be taken in connection with the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt on April 12 and with the succession to the Presidency on the same date of Vice President Harry S. Truman.

A draft of a telegram to be sent in the name of the Conference to President Harry S. Truman as recommended by the Steering Committee was presented at the meeting by the Chairman. Senators Reed, Langer, Cordon, Taft, Hart, Saltonstall, Revercomb, Bridges, White, Ball, Capehart, Austin and Donnell took part in a discussion of the language to be used in the telegram, of the proposal of the Steering Committee that its members be instructed to call upon the

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President and of the suggestion that a telegram of sympathy be sent to Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

As a result of such discussion, the following telegrams were authorized to be sent in the name of the Senate Minority Conference to President Harry S. Truman and to Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt:

President Harry S. Truman  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

In this critical and sorrowing hour when you are called to the supreme responsibility of the Republic, we send you this expression of our faith and trust in you and the assurance of our sustaining prayers. We shall cooperate with you for the winning of the war and a successful peace at home and abroad. We have directed a committee to call upon you at your convenience to advise with you.

Senate Minority Conference  
By Senator A.H. Vandenberg, Chairman  
Senator Harold H. Burton, Secretary

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

With deepest respect and profoundest sorrow we send you our sympathy in this dark moment of the country's tragic loss and your great bereavement.

Senate Minority Conference  
By Senator A.H. Vandenberg, Chairman  
Senator Harold H. Burton, Secretary

The Minority Leader, Senator White, stated that it was contemplated that a brief session of the Senate be held at noon at which time an appropriate resolution would be presented by the Majority Leader paying respect to the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt. It was agreed by the Conference that while no restrictions were to be placed on anyone who wished to make an oral statement at the session of the Senate it was contemplated that one or two responses should be made on behalf of the Republican members of the Senate and that the Chairman of the Conference should place in the record of the Senate a copy of the telegram authorized to be sent to President Harry S. Truman in the name of the Senate Minority Conference.

The Chairman of the Conference asked that during his impending absence in attendance at the San Francisco Conference, to be held beginning April 25, 1945, the Minority Leader be authorized to call

meetings of the Conference. There being no objection the Chairman declared such authority to have been granted by the Conference.

There being no further business to come before the meeting, it was at 11:50 a.m. declared adjourned.

[signed] Harold H. Burton  
Secretary.

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING

Seventy-Ninth Congress

April 21, 1945.

The Committee met pursuant to call by the Chairman at 10 a.m. in Room 335 Senate Office Building.

Present: Senator White (Chairman), and Senators Taft, Robertson, Willis, Brooks.

A quorum being present.

Absent from the city: Senators Austin and Butler. Absent because of illness: Senator Thomas of Idaho.

Senator White stated that the reason for the meeting was to recommend to the Presiding Officer of the Senate (Senator McKellar) the appointment of a Senator to fill the Republican vacancy on the Migratory Bird Commission. He also advised the Committee that Senators Brooks and Bushfield had expressed a desire for the assignment.

Following a brief discussion, during which the application of the rule of seniority was suggested, Senator Taft moved that the Chairman be authorized to recommend the name of Senator Brooks; and said motion was put and carried.

There being no further business, the Committee adjourned at 10:30 a.m.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the Minority

APRIL 13, 1945

Approved by:

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Chairman, Committee on Committees

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[May 11, 1945]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

Seventy-Ninth Congress

Friday, May 11, 1945

Pursuant to the call of the Minority Leader, Senator Wallace H. White, Jr., issued pursuant to the authority recognized by the Conference at its meeting of April 13, the Conference of Republican Senators met at 335 U.S. Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., Friday, May 11, 1945 at 10:30 a.m. Senator White presided and Senator Burton, Secretary of the Conference, served as Secretary of the meeting. Carl Loeffler, Secretary for the Minority and Party Floor Clerk and George H.E. Smith, Secretary of the Steering Committee and Research Assistant for the Minority, were also present. The following Senators were in attendance at the Conference:

Austin	Millikin
Ball	Moore
Brewster	Morse
Bridges	Reed
Brooks	Revercomb
Buck	Robertson
Burton	Saltonstall
Bushfield	Shipstead
Butler	Smith
Capper	Taft
Cordon	Wherry
Donnell	White
Hart	Wiley
Hickenlooper	Young

(Total 28—quorum being 21 out of a total membership of 41)

The Chairman stated that the meeting had been called at the suggestion of Senator Taft, Chairman of the Steering Committee, in order that the Conference might receive an informal report from Senators Brooks, Wherry and Saltonstall who had just returned from a trip to Europe to investigate the atrocities at the German concentration camps in accordance with a special request issued to the Senate and House of Representatives by General Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Senator Brooks thereupon made a statement reviewing the route of the trip taken by the joint committee consisting of six members from the Senate and six members from the House of Representatives and reporting briefly on the general impressions gained during the trip which was taken from April 22 to May 8. Senator Wherry reported upon what was observed at the prison camps and distinguished particularly between the treatment given by the Nazis to political prisoners who were under the control of the SS troops and the Gestapo as contrasted with the treatment given to military prisoners who were under the control of the Wehrmacht. Senator Saltonstall reported on the investigation made of the destruction of industrial centers in Germany and also reported on the conferences held by representatives of the committee in France and England with those who were there studying the procedure and policies to be followed in connection with the prosecution and punishment of war criminals.

There being no further business to come before the meeting, it was at 12:10 p.m. adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman of the Conference or Minority Leader.

[signed] Harold H. Burton  
Secretary.

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[June 9, 1945]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
Seventy-Ninth Congress  
Saturday, June 9, 1945

Pursuant to the call of the Minority Leader, Senator Wallace H. White, Jr., issued by authority of the Conference at its meeting of April 13, 1945, the Conference of Republican Senators met at 335 Senate Office Building, June 9, 1945 at 10 o'clock a.m.

Senator White presided, and in the absence of Senator Burton, Secretary of the Conference, requested Senator Aiken to act as Secretary Pro Tempore for the meeting.

The roll was not called, but the Secretary pro Tempore noted the presence of the following Senators:

Aiken	Moore
Austin	Morse
Ball	Reed
Brewster	Robertson
Bridges	Saltonstall
Brooks	Shipstead
Bushfield	Smith
Butler	Taft

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Capper	Tobey
Donnell	Wherry
Hart	White
Hickenlooper	Wiley
Langer	

A quorum was present.

Senator White opened the meeting by stating the purpose for which it had been called, namely, to discuss Senate Joint Resolution 30, Extending the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, now pending in the Senate; H.R. 3240, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Extension Resolution; H.R. 3314, To provide for the participation of the United States in the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; and what may come in the way of legislation from the San Francisco Conference.

Discussion of the Emergency Price Control Extension Act and amendments thereto was then invited, and the following Senators participated in the same: Messrs. Taft (who distributed copies of his revised amendment and explained the same), Austin, Smith, Ball, Brewster, Hickenlooper, Butler, White, Wherry, Saltonstall, Tobey, Morse, Aiken, Brooks, and Donnell.

No definitive action was taken by the Conference.

The Conference then entered upon a general discussion of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Extension Act, the following Senators participating: Messrs. Taft, Smith, Butler, Robertson, Brewster, Aiken, Hart, White, Austin, and Langer, but no action was taken by the Conference.

At 12:10 p.m. the Conference adjourned.

[signed] George D. Aiken  
Secretary Pro Tempore.

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[June 29, 1945]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
Seventy-Ninth Congress  
Friday, June 29, 1945

Pursuant to the call of the Chairman, Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, the Conference of Republican Senators met in the Office of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia in the Capitol Building, Washington, D.C., Friday, June 29th, 1945 at 3:00 p.m. The Chairman presided and Senator Burton, Secretary to the Conference, served as Secretary of the meeting. Carl A. Loeffler, Secretary for the Minority and Party Floor Clerk and George H.E.

Smith, Secretary of the Steering Committee and Research Assistant for the Minority, were also present.

The following Senators were present:

Aiken	Hart
Austin	Hawkes
Ball	Langer
Brooks	Millikin
Burton	Moore
Bushfield	Morse
Butler	Smith
Capehart	Taft
Capper	Vandenberg
Cordon	Wherry
Donnell	White
Ferguson	Wiley
Gurney	

(Total 25—Quorum being 21 out of a total membership of 41)

The Chairman stated that the meeting had been called to consider the procedure of the Senate during the coming three months and especially in connection with consideration of the Treaty for the formation of the United Nations.

Senator Taft reported that an informal proposal was under consideration whereby the Senate and House of Representatives would consent to adjournments of the respective Houses for differing periods: The House of Representatives to adjourn on Friday, July 6 until Monday, October 1, 1945, the Senate to remain in session until action upon the Treaty and then to adjourn until Monday, October 15, 1945.

The procedure in connection with the Treaty for the formation of the United Nations, both before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and before the Senate, was discussed. Those participating in the discussion included Senators Taft, Wiley, Hawkes, Burton, Wherry, Millikin, Austin, Ball and Donnell.

While no formal action was taken, the discussion indicated approval of a policy which would include: the adjournment of the House of Representatives from July 6 to October 1; the beginning of hearings in the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations as to the United Nations Charter, on July 9th; the continuation of those hearings for whatever time might be necessary to develop a full discussion of the Treaty without undue cumulation of evidence; and a full consideration of the Treaty by the Senate, ending in normal course about August 15th. This would be followed by an adjournment of the Senate until October 15th. Between July 9th and the date of adjourn-

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ment, the business of the Senate would be conducted under a strict agreement that no important legislation would be acted upon.

A protest was made by Senators Morse and Ball against the manner in which the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate conducted himself in his enforcement of attendance by a quorum at the evening session of the Senate on June 28th. Complaint was made that he had not carried out in good faith the instructions of the Senate and had unduly delayed bringing in a quorum of the Senate until after midnight on June 28th.

There being no further business to come before the meeting, it was, at approximately 4:00 p.m., declared adjourned.

[signed] Harold H. Burton  
Secretary.

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING  
Seventy-Ninth Congress

September 7, 1945.

The Committee met at 9:30 a.m. pursuant to call of Senator White (Chairman) in the Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, to consider assignments to the committee vacancies caused by the death of Senator Hiram Johnson; to wit:

Foreign Relations  
Naval Affairs  
Commerce  
Immigration  
Irrigation and Reclamation.

Present: White (Chairman), Taft, Brooks and Robertson.  
Senator Austin authorized Senator White to vote his proxy.

Absent: Butler, Thomas, Austin and Willis.

Also present: Carl A. Loeffler.

A voting quorum was present.

On motion by Senator Brooks, it was agreed that Senator Gurney be assigned to Foreign Relations and removed from Interstate Commerce.

On motion of Senator Taft, it was agreed that Senator Morse be assigned to Naval Affairs and removed from Post Offices and Post Roads.

On motion of Senator Taft, it was agreed that Senator Knowland be assigned to Commerce, Irrigation and Immigration.



The Committee decided to make no assignments to Post Offices and Post Roads and Interstate Commerce or other vacancies until a later time.

Senator Taft brought the matter of Senate Minority representation on the Joint Committee to Investigate the Pearl Harbor Disaster to the attention of the Committee. No action was taken on this matter.

The Committee then adjourned at 10:30 a.m.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved by:

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Chairman, Committee on Committees

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[September 15, 1945]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
Seventy-Ninth Congress  
Saturday, September 15, 1945

Pursuant to the call of the Chairman, Senator Vandenberg, the Conference of Republican Senators met at 335 U.S. Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., Saturday, September 15, 1945 at 10:30 a.m. Senator Vandenberg presided and Senator Burton, Secretary of the Conference, served as secretary of the meeting. Carl Loeffler, Secretary for the Minority and Party Floor Clerk was also present.

The following Senators attended the Conference:

Aiken, Ball, Brewster, Bridges, Brooks, Burton, Butler, Capper, Cordon, Donnell, Ferguson, Gurney, Hart, Hawkes, Hickenlooper, Knowland, Langer, Millikin, Moore, Morse, Reed, Revercomb, Robertson, Smith, Taft, Vandenberg, Wherry, White, Wiley, Young.

(Total 30, a quorum being 21 out of a total membership of 41).

The Chairman welcomed Senator Knowland to this his first Conference following his appointment to the Senate to succeed the late Senator Hiram W. Johnson.

Senator White, Chairman of the Republican Committee on Committees, thereupon submitted a report, dated September 15, 1945, dealing with the vacancies caused by the decease of Senator Johnson. This report is marked "Exhibit A" and inserted immediately following the minutes of this meeting. In accordance with the recommendation of the Committee on Committees as stated in such

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communication, the Conference recommended the appointment of Senator Knowland to the Committee on Commerce, Committee on Immigration, and Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation. It likewise recommended the appointment of Senator Gurney to the Committee on Foreign Relations and Senator Morse to the Committee on Naval Affairs. Senator White stated that, pursuant to the unanimous action of the Conference, he would see that the assignments were presented promptly to the Senate for approval.

Senator Vandenberg, as a member of the Committee on Finance, thereupon presented to the meeting S. 1274 in the form in which it was reported to the Senate on September 14 (legislative day, September 10) 1945, it bearing Calendar No. 564. This bill, marked "Exhibit B", is inserted in these records following the minutes of this meeting. This is a bill to amend the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act of 1944, to provide for an orderly transition from a war to a peacetime economy through supplementation of unemployment compensation payable under state laws, and for other purposes. Senator Vandenberg stated that he was presenting the bill for the information of the Conference and that no action by the Conference was requested upon it. He thereupon discussed the provisions in the bill, including particularly amendments which had been incorporated in the bill since its original introduction. Those participating in the discussion of the measure, in addition to Senator Vandenberg, were Senators Smith, Aiken, Millikin, Wherry, Brewster, Burton, Langer, White, Donnell, Moore, Revercomb, Ball, Hawkes, Wiley and Taft.

Senator Taft, as a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency and of the Subcommittee to which S. 380 had been assigned, presented to the Conference the Committee Print of S. 380, dated September 15, 1945, a copy of which marked "Exhibit C" is inserted in these records following the minutes of this meeting. This is a bill to establish a national policy and program for assuring continuing full employment in a free competitive economy, through the concerted efforts of agriculture, labor, state and local governments, and the federal government.

He explained the principal provisions and controversial points in the bill in the form presented to the Conference, which is the form in which the Subcommittee had reported it favorably to the full Committee on Banking and Currency for consideration by that full Committee on September 18. Among those joining in the discussion of the bill with Senator Taft were Senators Hickenlooper, Revercomb, Hawkes, Vandenberg, Millikin, Brewster, White, Aiken, Wiley, Smith and Ball.

As the discussion of S. 380 was not concluded at noon, the meeting was then declared adjourned to meet again in the same place on Saturday, September 22, at 10:00 a.m.

[signed] Harold H. Burton  
Secretary.

\* \* \*

Exhibit A (minutes of Conference 9/15/45)

United States Senate  
Committee on Interstate Commerce  
September 15, 1945

Arthur H. Vandenberg, Chairman  
Republican Conference  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The death of Senator Johnson created minority vacancies on three major committees of the Senate. Your Committee on Committees felt it desirable that members should be assigned to these places at an early date.

A meeting of the Committee was held on September 7 for the purpose of considering the filling of these vacancies. Various requests for assignments were received from members of the Senate in the interval between Senator Johnson's death and September 7. After consideration of these applications, your Committee, subject to Conference approval has assigned Mr. Gurney to Foreign Relations, Mr. Morse to Naval Affairs and Mr. Knowland to Commerce. In addition to this major committee assigned to Mr. Knowland, your Committee recommends his appointment to the Committee on Immigration and the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, both minor committees upon which Senator Johnson served.

Senator Gurney's new assignment required him to vacate one of his present major committees and he has indicated his willingness to withdraw from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. It also became necessary for Mr. Morse, in view of his assignment to Naval Affairs, to yield up one of his other major committees and your Committee recommends that he be released from service upon the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

These changes leave certain vacancies which must be filled and certain inequities which must be adjusted as soon as it is possible to do so. Senator Hart is entitled to a second major committee, Senator Young should have a second major committee and Senator Knowland is also entitled to another major assignment and a third minor place. Your Committee will address itself to these problems at an early opportunity. At the moment, we ask Conference approval of the assignments made.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1945

Believe me

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Chairman

\* \* \*

Exhibit B  
(Minutes of Conference 9/15/45)

**Calendar No. 564**

79th Congress  
1st Session

**S. 1274**

(Report No. 565)

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

July 17 (legislative day, July 9), 1945

Mr. Kilgore (for himself, Mr. Murray, Mr. Wagner, Mr. Guffey, Mr. Thomas of Utah, and Mr. Pepper) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Finance

September 14 (legislative day, September 10), 1945

Reported by Mr. George, with an amendment

**A BILL**

To amend the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act of 1944 to provide for an orderly transition from a war to a peacetime economy through supplementation of unemployment compensation payable under State laws, and for other purposes.

**[The 25-page text of S. 1274, as reported, appears at page 526 of Vol. 2 of the original minutes.]**

\* \* \*

Exhibit C  
(Minutes of Conference Sept. 15, 1945)

(Committee Print)  
September 15, 1945

**Calendar No.**

79th Congress  
1st Session

**S. 380**

(Report No. )

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

January 22, 1945

Mr. Murray (for himself, Mr. Wagner, Mr. Thomas of Utah, Mr. O'Mahoney, Mr. Morse, Mr. Tobey, Mr. Aiken, and Mr. Langer) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

September , 1945

Reported by Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, with amendments

**A BILL**

To establish a national policy and program for assuring continuing full employment in a free competitive economy, through the concerted efforts of industry, agriculture, labor, State and local governments, and the Federal Government.

**[The 20-page text of S. 380, as reported to the full Banking and Currency Committee by the subcommittee, appears at page 527 of Vol. 2 of the original minutes.]**

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[September 22, 1945]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

Seventy-Ninth Congress

Saturday, September 22, 1945

Pursuant to the call of the Chairman, Senator Vandenberg, the Conference of Republican Senators met at 335 U.S. Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., Saturday, September 22, 1945, at 10:00 a.m. Senator Vandenberg presided and Senator Burton, Secretary of the Conference, served as Secretary at the start of the meeting. Carl Loeffler, Secretary for the Minority and Party Floor Clerk, was also present.

The following Senators attended the Conference:

Aiken, Ball, Brewster, Bridges, Burton, Butler, Capehart, Capper, Cordon, Donnell, Ferguson, Gurney, Hart, Hickenlooper, Knowland, Langer, Millikin, Moore, Morse, Reed, Robertson, Taft, Vandenberg, Wherry, White, Wiley, Willis, Wilson, Young.

(Total 29, a quorum being 21 out of a total membership of 41)

The Chairman announced one of the purposes of the meeting was to fill the vacancy of Conference Secretary, occasioned by the resignation of Senator Burton who had been appointed as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Chairman then called for nominations to fill the existing vacancy.

Senator Taft nominated the senior Senator from South Dakota, Chan Gurney. Second to the nomination was made by Senator Wiley of Wisconsin. There being no further nominations, and upon unanimous vote for the election of Senator Gurney, the Chairman declared him elected to serve as Secretary of the Conference.

Senator Taft announced a buffet supper in honor of Senator Burton and his appointment to the Supreme Court, to be attended by all

SEPTEMBER 22, 1945

members of the Conference and their ladies, on the following Thursday, September 27, 1945, at 6:30 p.m.

There then followed a discussion on the Full Employment Plan, S. 380. (Committee Print attached hereto and made Exhibit I) [not attached]. First in the discussion on this bill was Senator Taft of Ohio, who read and explained two amendments he intended to offer to the bill, followed by questions and answers by Senator Taft and other members of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency. Further statements were made by Senators Vandenberg, Robertson, Aiken, Hickenlooper, Bridges, Wiley and Knowland. It was the consensus of the meeting that the Conference does not believe that deficit spending by the government is the only solution for full employment.

Senator White then made a statement on the inequity of present Senate Committee assignments. Members were requested to indicate to the Committee on Committees, their preferences for any change in their Committee assignments.

[signed] Chan Gurney  
Secretary.

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING  
Seventy-Ninth Congress

October 23, 1945.

The Committee was called to order at 10 a.m. in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, by the Chairman, Senator White, pursuant to call.

Present: Senators White (Chairman), Taft, Butler, Austin and Robertson.

Absent: Senators Thomas, Brooks and Willis.

Also present: Carl A. Loeffler.

A quorum was present.

Senator White called the Committee's attention to one Minority place on the special Committee to Investigate the National Defense (So-called Mead Committee) and to five probable Minority places on the Special Committee on Atomic Energy, to be designated by the President pro tempore, and requested suggestions of Republican Senators whom the Committee should recommend for appointment thereto.

Following discussion, Senator Butler moved that the Committee recommend Senator Knowland for the Mead Committee assignment and said motion was unanimously agreed to.

The Committee next considered recommendations for appointment to the Atomic Energy Committee. Following discussion, Senator Butler moved that the following Senators be recommended in the following order: Vandenberg, Austin, Millikin, Hickenlooper, Hart. The question was put and agreed to unanimously.

Senator White then called the committee's attention to the general situation regarding the vacancies and ratios on the standing committees caused by the resignation of Senator Burton and the probable early restoration of the former ratio which will occur when Senator Chandler resigns and is succeeded by a Republican.

It was the sense of the Committee after consideration that no action should be taken at the present time.

The Committee then adjourned at 10:30 a.m.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved by:

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Chairman, Committee on Committees

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[December 4, 1945]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
Seventy-Ninth Congress  
Tuesday, December 4, 1945

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Vandenberg, at 10 a.m. pursuant to notice.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Ball, Brooks, Buck, Bushfield, Butler, Capehart, Capper, Donnell, Gurney, Hart, Hawkes, Hickenlooper, Knowland, Langer, Moore, Reed, Saltonstall, Shipstead, Smith, Stanfill, Taft, Tobey, Vandenberg, White, Wiley, Willis, Young.

(Total 27, a quorum being 21 out of a total membership of 40)

The Chairman welcomed Senator Stanfill, the recently appointed Senator from Kentucky, to the Conference.

He then turned the meeting over to Senator Taft, Chairman of the Republican Steering Committee of the Senate.

Senator Taft thereupon read the statement of Republican principles as thus far agreed to by joint meetings of the Republican Steering Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives.

DECEMBER 4, 1945

He explained that the House group had requested cooperation of the Senate Republicans, that the National Republican Committee will meet in Chicago on December eight, and that they want suggestions from the Republicans in Congress on post-war problems and issues. He explained also that the idea of such a statement had been initiated by the Republican National Committee.

There was discussion upon the sections as they were read, and thereafter discussion of suggestions or inquiries participated in by nearly all Senators present.

The Conference adjourned at 11:45 a.m. to meet again on Tuesday, December 5, 1945 immediately following the adjournment of the Senate.

[signed] Chan Gurney  
Secretary.

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[December 5, 1945]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

Seventy-Ninth Congress  
Wednesday, December 5, 1945

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Vandenberg, at 4 p.m.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Austin, Ball, Brewster, Brooks, Buck, Bushfield, Butler, Capehart, Capper, Donnell, Ferguson, Gurney, Hawkes, Hickenlooper, Knowland, Millikin, Reed, Revercomb, Saltonstall, Shipstead, Smith, Stanfill, Taft, Vandenberg, White, Wiley, Willis.

(Total 27, a quorum being 21 out of a total membership of 40)

The chairman announced the purpose of the meeting was to conclude the conference of yesterday, at which time a statement of Republican principles was before the Committee for approval. Senator Taft then carefully explained the action taken by the House Republican Conference and presented the language of the several paragraphs which the House Conference recommended be approved by the Senate Conference.

There then followed a discussion of several paragraphs which had not been fully approved in yesterday's meeting, with final Conference approval on all sections except the last paragraph in the attached final draft of principles. On this last paragraph the Conference unanimously approved appointment of a subcommittee who



were to agree with the House group and were fully empowered to finally approve the entire draft of principles for the Senate Conference.

With the appointment of this committee it was thereby unanimously agreed that the full statement of principles had the full unanimous approval of the Senate Conference.

The Conference adjourned at 5:30 p.m.

[signed] Chan Gurney  
Secretary

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING  
Seventy-Ninth Congress

December 11, 1945.

The Committee was called to order at 9:30 a.m. in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, by the Chairman, Senator White, pursuant to call.

Present: Senators White (Chairman), Taft, Austin, Brooks, Willis, and Robertson.

Absent: Senator Butler.

Also present: Carl A. Loeffler.

A quorum was present.

Senator White advised the Committee of the requests for assignments received by him in response to his circular letter sent to all Republican Senators.

On formal motion by Senator Austin, made and carried, it was agreed that Senators Smith and Hart should be assigned to Military Affairs.

Thereafter several tentative assignments were made.

It being necessary for several members of the Committee to attend important Senate committee meetings, it was agreed that Senators White and Taft should work up a complete list of assignments based as far as possible upon the Committee's consideration and submit the same to a meeting of the Committee to be held later in the week.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the Minority

DECEMBER 5, 1945

Approved by:

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Chairman, Committee on Committees

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING  
Seventy-Ninth Congress

December 17, 1945.

The Committee was called to order at 10 a.m. in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, by the Chairman, Senator White, pursuant to call.

Present: Senators White (Chairman), Taft, Austin, Brooks, Robertson, and Willis.

Absent: Senator Butler.

Also present: Carl A. Loeffler.

A quorum was present.

Senator White read the list of Senators released by their request, and also the list of those assigned to places on the standing committees of the Senate as they had been worked out by Senator Taft and himself following the prior meeting of the Committee. There being no objection raised, Senator Taft moved that the assignments be approved as read. The motion was agreed to unanimously.

It was the sense of the Committee that a Republican Conference should be called to receive and act upon the report, and the Chairman, Senator White, was authorized to confer with Senator Vandenberg, Chairman of the Conference, on this point.

The Committee then adjourned at 10:35 a.m.

[signed] C.A. Loeffler  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved by:

[signed] Wallace H. White, Jr.  
Chairman, Committee on Committees

Note: The assignments as agreed to by the Committee appear as Exhibit "A" appended to these minutes. [Not included in minute book.]

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[December 18, 1945]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

Seventy-Ninth Congress  
Tuesday, December 18, 1945

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Vandenberg at 11 a.m.

The roll was called and the following senators responded to their names:

Austin, Capehart, Capper, Gurney, Hart, Hickenlooper, Knowland, Millikin, Moore, Morse, Robertson, Saltonstall, Smith, Stanfill, Taft, Vandenberg, White, Willis, Young.

The Chairman announced the purpose of the meeting was to discuss and decide on assignment of Minority senators to vacancies on Senate committees; also to discuss and decide on transfer from one committee to another as requested by a number of senators and recommended by the Republican Conference Committee on Committees.

A discussion was then had after listening to a report by the Chairman of the Committee on Committees, the Senator from Maine, Mr. White, who stated that there were a great many inequalities in committee assignments, but that now our Conference leadership has worked out the ratio of assignments for our Minority members with the leadership of the Majority, and he therefore moved that the following assignments and transfers be approved by the Conference:

That the following Senators of the Minority be released from service upon the committees of the Senate here named:

The Senator from Oregon, Mr. Cordon, from Agriculture  
The Senator from New Jersey, Mr. Smith, from Judiciary  
The Senator from Indiana, Mr. Capehart, from Post Offices and Post Roads  
The Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Saltonstall, from Post Offices and Post Roads  
The Senator from Minnesota, Mr. Shipstead, from Pensions  
The Senator from Connecticut, Mr. Hart, from the Special Committee to Study and Survey Problems of Small Business Enterprise.

Further, that the following Minority Senators be assigned to service upon the following standing committees of the Senate:

DECEMBER 18, 1945

The Senator from California, Mr. Knowland, on Agriculture.  
The Senator from Oregon, Mr. Cordon, on Appropriations  
The Senator from Indiana, Mr. Capehart, on Banking and Currency  
The Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Saltonstall, on Finance  
The Senator from Kentucky, Mr. Stanfill, on Judiciary  
The Senator from New Jersey, Mr. Smith, on Military Affairs  
The Senator from Connecticut, Mr. Hart, on Military Affairs  
The Senator from North Dakota, Mr. Young, on Post Offices and Post Roads  
The Senator from Kentucky, Mr. Stanfill, on Post Offices and Post Roads  
The Senator from California, Mr. Knowland, on pensions  
The Senator from Kentucky, Mr. Stanfill, on the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation and on Public Lands  
The Senator from North Dakota, Mr. Langer, on the Senate Special Silver Committee  
The Senator from Indiana, Mr. Capehart, on the Special Committee to Study and Survey Problems of Small Business Enterprise

After being properly seconded the question was put by the Chair and agreed to unanimously.

The Senator from Maine, Mr. White, had previously stated that all members of the Minority Conference had been requested to file their choice of committee assignments with the Committee, and that with the approval of the recommendation of the Committee there would now be sixteen members of the Minority with three major committee assignments and twenty-four members with two major committee assignments.

The Conference adjourned at 11:30 a.m.

[signed] Chan Gurney  
Secretary

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[January 19, 1946]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
Seventy-ninth Congress  
Saturday, January 19, 1946

The Conference was called to order by the Acting Chairman—Minority Floor Leader Wallace White, at 10:15 a.m.

The roll was called and the following Senators responded to their names:

Aiken, Austin, Ball, Brewster, Bridges, Bushfield, Butler, Capehart, Cordon, Donnell, Gurney, Hart, Langer, Millikin, Morse, Saltonstall, Smith, Stanfill, Taft, Tobey, Wherry, White, Wiley, Willis, Young.

The Chairman announced the purpose of the meeting was to discuss the present parliamentary situation in the Senate as a result of the introduction of the Fair Employment Practices legislation.

A discussion then followed with Senator Smith suggesting that the Republican leadership confer with the Majority leadership on efforts to stop the filibuster which was blocking consideration of much needed remedial legislation.

Senator Tobey pointed to the Republican responsibility of suggesting needed changes in present rules governing the procedure in both Houses of Congress. Senator White brought out the glaring deficiencies in present day Senate rules.

Senator Ball brought to the attention of the Conference the fact that it is the present Senate rules that now make it possible to even filibuster any attempt to change the Senate rules, stating further than in his opinion the issue at present is not on the present order of business but on the question of whether the Senate can function as a body in the face of opposition by a fanatical minority; that now is the time to face the issue when there is no urgent matter before the Senate.

Senator Morse made a similar statement, that the present issue is not FEPC legislation, but whether a minority or majority shall rule the conduct of the Senate.

A long discussion then followed on the present parliamentary situation and statements were made by Senators Capehart, Cordon, Taft, Bridges, Wherry, White, Gurney, Millikin, Donnell.

Motion was made that the Chairman appoint a committee to recommend the best procedure to correct the parliamentary situation; this committee also to recommend procedure intended to effectively terminate the present filibuster on the Senate floor, and bring its recommendations back to the conference at its next meeting scheduled to be held January 23. After being properly seconded, the motion carried unanimously. Thereupon, the Chairman appointed the following Committee: Taft, Wherry, Donnell, Ball, and Morse.

There being no further business, the committee adjourned.

[signed] Chan Gurney  
Secretary

JANUARY 19, 1946

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REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
SENATE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE  
Saturday, January 19, 1946

Present: Bridges, Gurney, Millikin, Morse

Absent: John Townsend

It was moved by Senator Millikin that Senator Gurney act as Secretary to the committee.

It was asked by the Vice-Chairman of the committee, Senator Bridges, that the committee approve his authorization that Mr. Jeffrey make a trip to Florida. All members present voted in the affirmative.

There followed a discussion of the political situation in some of the states which will elect Senators this year and the subject of financial aid in behalf of Republican candidates was considered.

There followed a general discussion of matters important to the campaign, and it was decided that the next meeting would be held immediately on return of the Chairman.

[signed] Chan Gurney  
Secretary

APPROVED:

[signed] Wayne Morse  
Styles Bridges  
E.D. Millikin

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[January 23, 1946]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

Seventy-Ninth Congress

10:00 a.m.

Wednesday, January 23, 1946

Present: Austin, Brewster, Bridges, Buck, Bushfield, Butler, Capehart, Cordon, Donnell, Ferguson, Gurney, Hickenlooper, Millikin, Morse, Reed, Robertson, Saltonstall, Shipstead, Smith, Stanfill, Taft, Tobey, Wherry, White, Wiley, Willis, Young.

Absent: Aiken, Ball, Brooks, Capper, Hart, Hawkes, Knowland, La Follette, Langer, Moore, Revercomb, Vandenberg, Wilson.

The meeting was called to order by the acting chairman—Minority Floor Leader Wallace White, who first brought to the attention of the Conference the request by the officials of Time Magazine that members of the Conference pose for a picture to be used in their magazine some time soon. After discussion, it was agreed that the best time for the photograph would be on January 30 at 11:30 a.m. Senator White was authorized to make the necessary arrangements with the Time Magazine people.

The chairman then asked for a report from the committee appointed at our last meeting to investigate the possibilities of ending the present filibuster on Fair Employment Practices Commission legislation now before the Senate.

Senator Taft reported that after a thorough canvass of the situation there was no method by which a filibuster could be broken through regular parliamentary procedure, excepting that an effort can be made to terminate the present filibuster by presenting a resolution for cloture with the proper number of signatures.

There followed a discussion of the entire matter by Senator Taft, who concluded with the statement that continuous sessions of the Senate on a 24-hour basis probably was not possible, judging from the small attendance of Senators on both sides of the aisle and experience this week in obtaining quorums.

Senator Morse recommended that all amendments to the FEPC bill be made ready and filed before the vote is taken on any cloture resolution.

Senator Hickenlooper stated it was highly important that the cloture petition be prepared and presented as soon as possible, stating that in his opinion it was necessary that we make it known to the

JANUARY 23, 1946

country that we are doing everything we can to bring the present filibuster to a close.

Senator Saltonstall made the statement that the cloture petition should be filed today.

Senator White proceeded with a discussion of the parliamentary situation, stating that the present motion before the Senate is to approve or disapprove an amendment to the Journal and that this motion is a privileged matter. Further, that the cloture motion should be filed as soon as possible; that then there would be a ruling from the chair as to whether or not the resolution on cloture would set aside the present privileged matter presently before the Senate and that then a vote would probably be called on whether or not to uphold the ruling of the chair.

He further stated that in his opinion an effort should be immediately made to as nearly as possible ascertain if there were sufficient votes on both sides of the aisle to bring about cloture—then should there not be, the only sensible course to follow would be to come to an agreement that the FEPC legislation cannot pass and that then other legislation take its place as the pending business before the Senate, stating that—in other words—it was his opinion unless cloture could be accomplished, it would be better to displace the FEPC legislation as the pending business and be done with it.

Senator Wherry reported that he had received notice that Senator Ball is quite sick and therefore unable to be present either at the conference this morning or on the floor of the Senate.

It was moved by Senator Saltonstall that the committee (Taft, Wherry, Donnell, Ball, Morse) appointed by the Conference on procedure on the FEPC legislation, be authorized to file a petition on cloture on or before Thursday, January 24 at one o'clock. On being properly seconded, the motion was put and carried.

Senator Shipstead made a statement that he had never voted for cloture for he had, during his membership in the Senate, seen many times when cloture would be very dangerous and that he observed also that in many cases the majority opinion was not always the right one.

General discussion was then had and statements were made by Senators Wiley, Bridges and Donnell—Senator Bridges stating that he was fundamentally against cloture on the Senate floor at any time and would only vote in favor of cloture in case of national peril.

Senator Wiley made the statement that by our impotency in bringing this filibuster to an end it was being believed all over the land that members of our party were responsible for the delay in considering other important matters at this time and that therefore our party was becoming the target of leftist groups. Therefore he made



the observation that we should recognize the fact that this bill cannot be passed and therefore let it go to the foot of the calendar.

Senator Donnell suggested that we not object to the introduction of unanimous consent requests such as are usually made during the morning hour, introduction of bills and items for printing in the Appendix of the Record.

Motion was then made by Senator Taft and seconded by Senator Smith that hereafter during the filibuster of the FEPC legislation prior to one o'clock each day, no objection be made on such unanimous requests. Motion carried.

[signed] Chan Gurney  
Secretary

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[February 5, 1946]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

Seventy-Ninth Congress

5:00 p.m.

Tuesday, February 5, 1946

The Conference was called to order by the Acting Chairman, White, at 5:10 p.m.

The roll was called and the following senators responded to their names:

Aiken, Austin, Ball, Brewster, Buck, Butler, Capehart, Cordon, Donnell, Ferguson, Gurney, Hart, Hickenlooper, Knowland, Langer, Millikin, Moore, Reed, Revercomb, Robertson, Saltonstall, Smith, Taft, Tobey, Wherry, White, Wiley, Willis, Young.

The discussion was entirely on the parliamentary situation in the Senate on account of the filibuster on the FEPC bill, S. 101. Senator White led the discussion with a statement that almost every affirmative step that could be taken is stopped by the present parliamentary situation.

A general discussion was had, joined in by Senators Taft, Ball, Brewster, Donnell, Saltonstall, Knowland, Aiken, Capehart, Wiley, Gurney and Reed.

Taft, as chairman of the subcommittee handling the present matter on the floor for the Conference, made the statement that their committee had not found any parliamentary way to break the filibuster. Definite statements were made by Ball, Brewster, and Donnell that the responsibility for breaking the filibuster, thereby allowing constructive legislation to come before the Senate, rests with the Majority. There was general agreement, after full discussion, that there

FEBRUARY 5, 1946

should be a vote on cloture before any other legislation was allowed to displace the present bill as the pending matter before the Senate.

[signed] Chan Gurney  
Secretary

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[March 18, 1946]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE  
Seventy-Ninth Congress  
2:00 p.m.  
Monday, March 18, 1946

Present:

Aiken, Ball, Brewster, Bushfield, Capehart, Capper, Cordon, Donnell, Ferguson, Gurney, Hart, Hickenlooper, Knowland, Millikin, Moore, Revercomb, Smith, Stanfill, Taft, Vandenberg, White, Wiley, Willis.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Conference Chairman Arthur H. Vandenberg, who stated the purpose of the meeting was to hear a report from Senator Taft, ranking Republican on the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate.

Before Senator Taft took the floor, the Chairman made a statement to the effect that his amendment to the bill to be reported to the Senate by the Special Committee on Atomic Energy merely permits the President to intervene in case any action taken by the Atomic Control Commission (set up in the bill) adversely affects the national security.

Senator Taft then proceeded to discuss the pending legislation on labor and wage controls before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. He prefaced his remarks by saying that the discussion would be carried along as a matter of information and not to make this meeting in any sense a discussion of a question that would be a direct partisan or party issue.

He stated that the basic question is the Minimum Wage Law, under which the minimum wage was set in 1938 at 25¢ per hour and for the succeeding six years raised to 30¢ and thereafter to 40¢, the present Minimum Wage Bill not being a compulsory matter until the year 1944. The present proposal is to raise to 65¢ this minimum wage which would be further raised after two years to 70¢ and after four years to 75¢.

After a great deal of discussion by several members of the Conference it was stated by Senator Taft it is his opinion that the proposal is too rapid an increase in the minimum wage and that the

rate should be only 55¢ per hour with an increase to 60¢ an hour after a period of eighteen months. Further, that if wages are fixed too high (federally) then the Congress must immediately accept the responsibility of fixing prices on all commodities.

As the first provision in the bill presently to be reported to the Senate floor, there is set up a Mediation Board which is to deal with all anticipated labor troubles for a period of sixty days before any strike is called, and that both parties to a dispute must first exhaust all peaceful negotiations before striking.

The purposes of the bill, four in number, are:

FIRST—Making unions equally responsible under the law;

SECOND—To determine whether or not injunctions prohibiting violence should be permitted;

THIRD—To determine whether secondary boycotts should be prohibited; and

FOURTH—To determine whether or not foremen who are actually supervisors should be allowed to become bona fide union members.

A discussion was joined in by many members of the Conference, with statements made by Senators Taft, Ball, Capehart, and others.

[signed] Chan Gurney  
Secretary

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[May 28, 1946]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

Seventy-Ninth Congress

Tuesday, May 28, 1946

The meeting was called to order with Chairman Vandenberg in the chair, at 3:00 o'clock, p.m.

The Secretary reported all members present, with the exception of Senators Butler, La Follette, and Langer.

The meeting was called for the purpose of considering emergency labor legislation as written in H.R. 6578. Many amendments were presented and discussed by the Caucus Committee on labor legislation.

MAY 28, 1946

The Conference adjourned at 5:15 p.m.

[not signed]  
Secretary

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[June 24, 1946]

### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

Seventy-Ninth Congress

June 24, 1946.

The Conference was called to order by Senator White, Chairman Designate, in the absence of the Chairman, Senator Vandenberg, at 10 a.m. Monday, June 24, 1946, pursuant to call.

The Chairman requested Senator Knowland to act as Secretary because of the necessary absence of the Secretary, Senator Gurney.

The roll call was omitted, but the following Senators attended:

Aiken, Austin, Brewster, Buck, Bushfield, Butler, Capehart, Capper, Hart, Knowland, Millikin, Moore, Morse, Revercomb, Robertson, Taft, Wherry, White, Wiley, and Willis.

Senator Brewster addressed the Conference upon the Civil Aviation Treaty (Ex. A, 79th Cong. 1st Sess.), pending on the Senate Executive Calendar, explaining the terms and effects of the same, and advising deferment of its consideration by the Senate until next session.

There was general discussion, but no expression of opinion by the Conference as to action on the same.

Senator Taft drew attention to the situation in regard to bills on the Calendar and the consequent need of attendance by Senators.

Senator Taft also outlined the status of negotiations existing in the Conference between the Senate and House Conferees on H.R. 6042, the Price Control Act.

Following general discussion he solicited individual expression of opinion but no action was taken by the Conference.

The Conference adjourned at 11:50 a.m.

[signed] William F. Knowland  
Acting Secretary

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[July 13, 1946]

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

Seventy-Ninth Congress

July 13, 1946.

The Conference was called to order by Senator White, Chairman Designate, in the absence of the Chairman, Senator Vandenberg, at 10:30 a.m. Saturday, July 13, 1946 in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, pursuant to call.

The Chairman stated that the purpose of the Conference was to discuss S. Con. Resolutions 64, 65, and 66, relating to the President's Reorganization Plans Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

The Secretary, Senator Gurney, called the roll. The following Senators responded to their names upon the call or attended later:

Aiken, Austin, Ball, Brooks, Buck, Cordon, Donnell, Ferguson, Gurney, Hart, Hawkes, Knowland, Millikin, Moore, Morse, Robertson, Smith, Stanfill, Taft, White, Wiley, and Young.

Senators Wiley, Ferguson and Taft reviewed the three plans, following which there was general discussion. No action by the Conference was requested and none was taken. There was a general feeling that there should be a limitation of the debate in the Senate on the resolutions.

There was a brief discussion of the Railroad Retirement Bill, participated in by Senators Taft, Hawkes and White.

The Conference then adjourned at 11:55 a.m.

[signed] Chan Gurney  
Secretary

\* \* \*

United States Senate  
Committee on Finance

July 18, 1946.

JULY 13, 1946

Senator Chan Gurney  
Secretary, Republican Minority Conference  
U.S. Senate  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator Gurney:

I wish you would indicate in the record of the Republican Minority Conference that I have appointed Senator Brewster of Maine to succeed Senator Bridges (resigned) of New Hampshire to the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. Senator Brewster's appointment does not take effect until September following his re-election. But he will cooperate unofficially with the Committee until that time.

With warm personal regards and best wishes,

Cordially and faithfully,  
[signed] Arthur H. Vandenberg

\* \* \*

United States Senate  
Special Committee Investigating the National Defense Program

July 19, 1946

Hon. Chan Gurney  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Chan:

Confirming our conversation I shall be glad to entertain at luncheon Saturday noon at 12:30 in the Vandenberg Room for the Senate Campaign Committee together with the Chairman of the Conference and Chairman of the Steering Committee.

Cordially yours

[signed] Owen Brewster  
U.S.S.

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COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES [MEETING]  
Seventy-Ninth Congress

December 9, 1946.

The Committee on Committees for the Seventy-Ninth Congress met in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, at 2 p.m. pursuant to call by the Chairman, Senator White.

Present: Senators White (Chairman), Taft, Brooks, Willis, Butler, and Robertson, and Carl A. Loeffler, Secretary of the Committee.

It was agreed by the Committee that none of the work of the Committee in making tentative assignments for submission to the new Conference should be made public pending their report to the Conference.

It was agreed that the committees be set up as follows:

Appropriations	12 Republicans
	9 Democrats
Labor and Public	8 Republicans
Welfare	5 Democrats
Public Lands	8 Republicans
	5 Democrats
Rules and	8 Republicans
Administration	5 Democrats
All other committees	7 Republicans
	6 Democrats

By this plan the Democrats would get 90 places and the Republicans 113, thus complying with the provisions of the Act and completely filling all places as close as possible to the former ratio system.

Mr. Loeffler was directed to bring this set up to the attention of Mr. Biffle<sup>2</sup> with the request that he bring it to Senator Barkley's<sup>3</sup> attention.

Senator Brooks suggested the advisability of a meeting of the Chairmen of the Committees, when chosen, to go into the matter of room space and staffing under the Act.

Senator White brought up the question of seniority in assignments. There was discussion but no formulated policy was adopted.

The question of whether committee chairmanships should be given to officers of the Republican Conference was discussed briefly.

On suggestion of Senator Taft, Mr. Loeffler was requested to consolidate all requests for assignments on the several committees.

The Committee then adjourned subject to call of the Chairman.

[signed] Carl A. Loeffler  
Secretary

Note: After the meeting Mr. Loeffler gave Mr. Biffle a copy of the mathematical formula for the committee set up, and Mr. Biffle said he would bring it to the attention of Senator Barkley.

<sup>2</sup>[Leslie L. Biffle was secretary of the Senate from 1945 to 1947 and later from 1949 to 1953.]

<sup>3</sup>[Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky was the Democratic floor leader from 1937 to 1949.]





## **Eightieth Congress (1947–1949)**

[Editor's Note: The 1946 election brought the Republicans control of Congress for the first time since 1933. In the Senate the party had 51 seats to 45 Democrats, while in the House there were 246 Republican members to 188 Democrats and 1 independent. The Democratic Truman administration still controlled the executive branch, making this the first time since 1897 that both houses of Congress were held by a different party than controlled the White House. (On two occasions in the twentieth century, during the Republican administrations of William Howard Taft and Herbert Hoover, Democrats had controlled the House for a single Congress, but in those instances the Senate had remained Republican.) This "divided government" led to contention between the legislative and executive branches, with Truman vetoing a total of 76 bills during those two years and Congress only able to override the vetoes on 6. In both sessions of the Eightieth Congress, in October 1947 and July 1948, President Truman called extraordinary sessions to consider domestic issues. In the 1948 session, he challenged the Republican leaders to pass civil rights, housing, and other legislation supported in that year's Republican platform. When the House and Senate failed to accomplish much in the July session, the president based his successful 1948 reelection campaign on complaints about the "do-nothing" Congress.

Enthusiastic about being in the majority, the Republican Conference met often in the first half of 1947 (fourteen times between January and July of that year), both for organizational purposes and to plan for budget cutting and legislative initiatives. By 1948, however, the meetings became less frequent.

During the Eightieth Congress, the effects of the congressional reorganization adopted the previous year began to be felt. The Committee on Committees had a more manageable group of fifteen committees to deal with, and each senator generally served on only two standing committees, compared to as many as six or seven in the past. Committees were to have professional staff, and the Conference changed its Steering Committee to become the Majority Policy Committee now required by law. Policy Committee Chairman Robert A. Taft, who also chaired the new Labor and Public Welfare Committee, took the lead on the labor legislation that passed both houses that year as the Taft-Hartley Act.]

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### **COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES MEETING**

Seventy-Ninth Congress

December 24, 1946.

The Committee on Committees met at 9:30 a.m. in the Minority Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building pursuant to call.

DECEMBER 30, 1946

Present: Senators White (Chairman), Taft, Butler, Brooks, Robertson, and Carl A. Loeffler, Secretary of the Committee.

The Committee reviewed the work of the prior meeting and made several reassignments.

The Secretary was directed to have a new print made showing the work to date.

The Committee then adjourned to meet again at 2 p.m. on Friday, December 27, 1946.

[signed] Carl A. Loeffler  
Secretary

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[December 30, 1946]

#### REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

Eightieth Congress  
December 30, 1946.

The Conference was called to order at 2:30 p.m. in the Republican Conference Room, 335 Senate Office Building, by Senator Vandenberg, Chairman during the Seventy-ninth Congress.

The roll was called by the Secretary, Senator Gurney, and the following Senators responded to their names:

Senators Aiken, Baldwin, Ball, Brewster, Bricker, Bridges, Brooks, Buck, Bushfield, Butler, Cain, Capehart, Capper, Cooper, Donnell, Dworshak, Ferguson, Flanders, Gurney, Hawkes, Hickenlooper, Ives, Jenner, Kem, Knowland, Langer, Lodge, McCarthy, Malone, Martin, Millikin, Moore, Morse, Reed, Revercomb, Robertson, Saltonstall, Smith, Taft, Thye, Tobey, Vandenberg, Watkins, Wherry, White, Wiley, Williams, Wilson, and Young.

Total 49.

Senators Cordon and Ecton were absent.

Senator-elect Kingsley Taft was present.

Senator Vandenberg extended a word of welcome and explained that Republican Conferences were free and open forums and never bound the Senators who attended them.

Senator Tobey made the point of order against proceeding to elect officers and committees, pointing out that Rule I of the Republican Conference rules states that:

“AT THE BEGINNING OF EACH CONGRESS, OR WITHIN  
ONE WEEK THEREAFTER, a Republican Party Conference

shall be held. AT THAT CONFERENCE THERE SHALL BE  
SELECTED the following officers:

Chairman of the Conference  
Secretary of the Conference  
Floor Leader  
Whip  
A Steering Committee of nine Senators”

and Rule IV states that:

“A Committee on Committees shall be appointed AT THE BEGINNING OF EACH CONGRESS to prepare and recommend to the Conference the complete assignment of Republican Senators to committees. . . . The Committee shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference immediately after his election subject to confirmation by the Conference.”

Senator Tobey read both of the foregoing rules and made a point of order that the election of officers of the Conference was not in order because it contravened Rule I and Rule IV of the Conference rules as quoted above, and that in accordance with the provisions of the rule the election of officers or appointment of committees would not be in order.

Senator Tobey’s point of order was overruled by Chairman Vandenberg on the following grounds:

The phrase in the Conference rules regarding “the beginning of Congress” does not refer to the actual day when Congress itself convenes; but refers to the time when Republican Senators “begin” to organize their preparations for the new Congress. Therefore, it is appropriate for the Republican Conference to meet before Congress itself actually convenes. Furthermore, all Conference precedents almost invariably indicate that it is the annual custom for the Republican Conference to organize *ahead* of the actual opening of Congress. There is a third justification for this point of view this year; namely, that the Senate itself could not organize and proceed unless and until the Republican Conference met ahead of it and nominated a President Pro Tempore and determined what to do when Senator Bilbo presents himself at the door. Otherwise, there could be no preparation for the Bilbo case and the Senate itself—in the absence of a Vice President—would be powerless to proceed. Conference rules are made to facilitate and not to impede the work of the Conference. With forty-nine out of fifty-one Republican Senators present—having had four weeks notice of the meeting—it is certainly “the beginning” of the next session so far as the Republican Conference is concerned. It is on this basis that the point of order is overruled.

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Senator Tobey further argued that the language was clear on the point and that the Conference should not cast aside the rules which they themselves had adopted in the matter of organization and the time thereof.

The Chairman then asked Senator Tobey if he wished to appeal from the rule of the chair and Senator Tobey declined.

He then announced the first order of business was the election of a Chairman of the Conference, whereupon Senator Robertson nominated Senator Millikin. Nominations were closed and Senator Millikin was unanimously elected.

Senator Millikin then took the chair and made a few appropriate remarks.

He announced that the next order of business was the election of a Secretary of the Conference.

Senator Langer nominated his colleague, Senator Young, and after a second he was unanimously elected.

The Chairman then announced the next order of business was the nomination of a President Pro Tempore of the Senate.

Senator Vandenberg was nominated by Senator Ferguson and the Chair was directed to cast a unanimous ballot for him.

The next order of business being the election of the Majority Floor Leader, Senator Brewster nominated Senator White. The nomination was seconded by Senator Reed and Senator White was unanimously elected Majority Floor leader.

The next order of business being the election of the Majority Whip, Senator Bushfield nominated Senator Wherry and the nomination being seconded by Senator Butler, Senator Wherry was unanimously elected Majority Whip. Senator Wherry spoke briefly in appreciation of his election.

The Chairman announced the next order of business being the nomination of the Secretary of the Senate. Senator Bridges recommended and nominated Carl Loeffler and after a second by Senator Martin, he was unanimously nominated.

The Chairman announced the next order of business being the nomination of Sergeant At Arms. Senator Bridges recommended and nominated Edward F. McGinnis of Illinois. Senator Wilson moved that further nominations be dispensed with until Congress had convened and organized. Senator Capehart seconded the nominations and spoke in behalf of Mr. McGinnis and suggested that the Conference proceed with nominations and elections.

Senator Reed addressed the Conference and requested the Conference lay over further nominations and elections until Friday. He was supported in his recommendation by Senator Revercomb.

Senator Brooks addressed the Conference in behalf of Mr. McGinnis explaining why his name was brought forward at this time. He stated further that no other nominations for Sergeant At Arms had been formerly presented to the Conference. Senator Brooks reviewed the outstanding record of Mr. McGinnis in Illinois, and his high recognition at many national American Legion conventions.

Senator Bridges also told the Conference that some other candidates had been mentioned but no formal presentation had been made to the Committee. Senator Brewster speaking to the Conference urged immediate action in the selection of the candidates to fill the existing vacancy. Senator Wilson again insisted on his motion on the grounds that full information on the various candidates was needed and this information was not available.

Senator Ball spoke in behalf of Mr. McGinnis and expressed his belief that delay in the selection would not help the situation.

Senator Wilson withdrew his pending motion and made a new motion to appoint a committee of three to bring in nominations, which motion received no second. Senator Wilson's motion having been withdrawn, the Conference unanimously nominated Mr. McGinnis.

The Chairman then announced the next order of business was the nomination of Secretary for the Majority.

Senator Bridges nominated Mark Trice as Secretary for the Majority, which motion was seconded by Senators Gurney and Wherry, and after which motions Mr. Trice was unanimously nominated.

The Chairman then announced selection of the following members to serve on the Committee on Committees: Senator Robertson, Chairman, and Senators Taft, Brooks, Butler, Bushfield, Capehart, Donnell and Knowland.

Senator Tobey addressing Conference criticized the method of selection and asked for new procedure in determining Republican policy. He believed that new blood would make for a more healthy condition.

Senator Reed asked for a delay until Thursday, expressing his belief that more time was needed.

Senator Tobey raised seniority question as to Committee chairmanship and memberships. He was followed by Senator Taft who explained the difficulty the Committee encountered in the selection. He also stated that the intricate seniority question involved presented them with a most perplexing problem and moved the confirmation of the nomination of the members selected to the Committee on Committees.

Senators Reed and Wilson urged this action be delayed until the convening of Congress.

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After a brief discussion, Senator Wilson moved that unanimous ballot be cast for the proposed names on the Committee on Committees, which motion after a second by Senator Wiley was unanimously carried.

Senator White then addressed Conference explaining the most difficult problem the Committee had in giving consideration to the geographical distribution, ability, and experience of the ninety-six senators.

Senator Wilson then asked to have a list of proposed Committee assignments presented to the Conference. After the Chairman explained that all the work of the temporary Committee will be turned over to the new Committee selected by the Conference, Senator Wilson withdrew his request.

The Chairman announced the next order of business was the selection of the Committee on Personnel and the following names were given: Senators Bridges, Bushfield, Robertson, Martin and Cain. Senator Bushfield moved that the Committee on Personnel be approved, which motion after being duly seconded was unanimously carried.

The Chairman announced the designation of the following senators to constitute the Steering Committee: Senators Taft, Brooks, Hawkes, Ferguson, Cordon and Saltonstall.

Senator Taft made the following motion: "Resolved that the Republican Steering Committee be designated as the Majority Policy Committee for the purpose of all existing appropriate legislation," which motion was duly seconded and carried.

Senator Taft then introduced his colleague, Senator Kingsley Taft, who was elected to fill the short term vacancy in Ohio.

Senator Robertson announced the Committee on Committees would meet at 10:00 a.m. Tuesday, December 31st.

Senator Taft called a meeting of the Steering Committee at 10:00 a.m. in the Agriculture Room also on Tuesday, December 31st.

Senator Wherry suggested a Republican get-together of Senators and their wives in the Conference Room at a tentative date, preferably about the third week in January. Definite date to be announced later.

Senator Wiley spoke briefly to the Conference on termination of war controls and presented an outline of his studies to the Committee. He asked the Conference for approval at a later date.

Senator Tobey read a resolution he had prepared for presentation to the Senate, which would restore to Senator Lodge the seniority he had lost by reason of his resignation from the Senate to enter the armed forces. He stated that he planned to present this later to the Senate for approval. Senator Lodge thanked Senator Tobey

for his consideration but asked that no action be taken on it, expressing his wish that no special consideration be given him and that the regular seniority procedure be applied to him. He was given a most hearty applause from the members of the Conference.

Upon motion of Senator Taft, the meeting was adjourned subject to the call of the chair.

[not signed] Chairman of the  
Conference

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON  
COMMITTEES CALLED BY  
THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EDWARD V. ROBERTSON,  
FOR DECEMBER 31, 1946, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE  
BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m.

Members of the Committee present were: Senators Robertson, Knowland, Donnell, Capehart, Bushfield and Butler. Members of the Committee absent were: Senators Taft and Brooks. Also present were Carl A. Loeffler, Secretary for the Minority and J. Mark Trice, Secretary-elect for the Majority.

The Chairman in his opening remarks informed the members of the Committee what had transpired previously with respect to procedure and assignments. He spoke of the total number of places, 203 being divided as follows: 113 places for the Republicans and 90 places for the Democrats. The 113 Republican places would be divided as follows: On the Committee on Appropriations 12 Republicans and 9 Democrats, 11 committees to have a ratio of 7 to 6, and 3 committees, namely, Labor and Public Welfare, Public Lands, and Rules and Administration, with a ratio of 8 to 5. He called attention to the provision in the Reorganization Act limiting the service of each Senator on two standing committees, with the exception that Senators of the Majority Party who were members of the Committee on the District of Columbia or of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments may serve on three standing committees; and that by giving to each Senator an assignment on two major committees there would remain available eleven places for assignment to Senators as a third place on the District of Columbia Committee and the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

Confidential work sheet No. 2 entitled "Standing Committees of the Senate," and confidential work sheet No. 2 entitled "Committee As-

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signments of Senators" were given to the members present for study.

Senator Butler spoke on the question of seniority and informed the Committee that in the past seniority had been respected in all committee assignments.

Individual cases of committee assignments were raised and discussed in general.

Senator Butler said he had received a telephone call from Senator Tobey who had requested to appear before the Committee.

Senator Tobey appeared before the Committee and explained his interest in committee assignments.

Senator Morse appeared at his own request and explained his position, expressing his desire to be assigned to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and giving his reasons therefor. He said that he desired to receive an assignment to a "domestic" committee, also an assignment to a committee "with greater implications." He mentioned both the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on the Armed Forces as his choice.

Senator Reed appeared on the invitation of the Committee and spoke of the importance of the Committee on Interstate Foreign Commerce, and of his great interest in that Committee. He gave to each member of the Committee an editorial taken from the New York Herald Tribune, dated Sunday, December 29, 1946, entitled "For Republican Teamwork," a copy of which is attached.

After further discussion the Committee recessed at 12:30 p.m. until 2:00 p.m.

The Committee was called to order by the Chairman at 2:00 p.m.

Members of the Committee present were: Senators Robertson, Taft, Knowland, Brooks, Donnell, Capehart, Butler and Bushfield. Also present were Carl A. Loeffler and J. Mark Trice.

Senator Taft spoke of the assignment of places on the Committee on Foreign Relations, with particular reference to Senator Lodge who was assigned a place thereon by reason of his services in the armed forces, and that for Committee assignments seniority had been extended to him. He spoke also of an exception made in the case of Senator Brewster who was assigned a place on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce because of his service on the old Commerce Committee. He stated that the appointment of two Senators from the same state was overlooked because of the particular knowledge of Senator Brewster of aviation affairs.

Senator Capehart informed the Committee that he had communicated with Senator Jenner and that the latter was satisfied to remain on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.



The assignment of Senator Vandenberg as a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia was withdrawn at the request of the Senator who requested that he serve only on the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Senator Moore appeared before the Committee at his own request and made inquiry as to his committee assignments. He made inquiry as to the status of the Special Oil Committee. It was the consensus of opinion that the continuation of select committees and assignments thereto should be considered by the Committee on Rules and Administration.

After general discussion, the Committee recessed at 3:05 p.m. until 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, January 1, 1947.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary-elect for the Majority

APPROVED:

[signed] E.V. Robertson  
Chairman of the Committee on  
Committees

Transmitted to the Secretary of the Conference on January 31, 1947, for incorporation in the Minutes Book.

[signed] J. Mark Trice,  
Secretary for the Majority

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EDITORIAL—NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE  
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1946

“FOR REPUBLICAN TEAMWORK”

The announcement by Senator Wallace H. White, of Maine, that he will seek both the Chairmanship of the important Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and the post of majority leader in the new Senate raises the question, how thin should a statesman spread himself?

Senator White's willingness to serve and to accept positions of responsibility in the Eightieth Congress is understandable. He is one of that group of Republicans who for many years were a frustrated minority in the Senate. They sat silent and ineffectual while the New Deal thrashed and thundered around them. Now the political wheel has turned, releasing their energies. Small wonder that they want to make the most of their opportunities when the new Congress gets under way next month under Republican auspices.

Yet there are two sound reasons why Senator White should restrain his ambition and not take on too many burdensome chores. He will be seventy years old next August 6; not a great age as United States Senators grow, but the demands of the majority leadership during this coming Senatorial session will assuredly challenge the physical resources of the hardest

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Maine countryman, however rugged his constitution. The duties of that exacting office are such that they leave little time or energy for other important Senate tasks. Were he to take the chairmanship, in addition, of such an important committee as Interstate and Foreign Commerce, one or the other must suffer.

The second reason has nothing to do with human capacity, but is as important in the psychological sense as the first is in the physical. No Senator should undertake two major assignments when able and willing colleagues have none. Seniority and prestige have necessary functions in so complex an organization as the United States Senate, but they should not enable one elder statesman to assume too much authority. It is important to the welfare of the Republican Party and the healthy sense of teamwork which must dominate the Eightieth Congress, that younger members be given a fair share of the responsibility and the spotlight. Senator White should reconsider. It would be a mistake to spread himself too thin.

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EDWARD V. ROBERTSON, FOR JANUARY 1, 1947 IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m.

Members of the Committee present were: Senators Robertson, Brooks, Bushfield, Capehart, Donnell, Butler, Taft and Knowland. Also present were Carl A. Loeffler, Secretary for the Minority and J. Mark Trice, Secretary-elect for the Majority.

The Chairman informed the Committee that he had called upon Senator Reed and offered to him the Chairmanship of the Committee on Civil Service, together with an assignment on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, but that the Senator had expressed no approval or disapproval of the assignment. After discussion of the matter the Chairman was requested to communicate again with Senator Reed and offer to him the Chairmanship of the Civil Service Committee and state that if he could not commit himself at that time, the Committee would assign him to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and the Committee on Appropriations. The Chairman then communicated with Senator Reed by telephone and informed the committee that Senator Reed did not wish the Chairmanship of the Committee on Civil Service but would prefer to remain as a member of the Committees on Appropriations and Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Senator Taft reported to the Committee that his conference with Senator Capper about the Senator relinquishing his assignment on the Committee on Foreign Relations was a failure.

The Chairman informed the Committee that he had received a telephone call from Senator Gurney about Senator Martin being as-

signed to the Committee on Armed Services in lieu of the present tentative assignment to the Committee on Finance.

Senator Donnell reported to the Committee that Senator Kem had no desire to serve on the District of Columbia Committee but that he would prefer an assignment to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry due to his qualifications in that field.

Senator Butler informed the Committee of the desire of his colleague, Senator Wherry, to be assigned to the Committee on Judiciary instead of his present assignment to the Committee on Rules and Administration. He also spoke of the Senator's particular interest in the Special Committee on Small Business.

Senator White appeared on invitation of the Committee and the Chairman explained to him the difficulties which the Committee was having in making assignments. Senator White spoke explaining his position concerning his present assignments and said that he would leave the entire matter in the hands of the Committee on Committees for determination.

Senator Donnell expressed the opinion that the language appearing in the Reorganization Act, "Each Senator shall serve on two standing committees" is mandatory.

A question arose as to the seniority listings on committees of Senators falling within the same class. After discussion, it was decided that those Senators falling within the same class would draw for their relative position on the same Committee.

In regard to the committee assignment of Senator Lodge, the Committee took the position that seniority was extended to the Senator by reason of his services in the armed forces to the extent that he would be placed at the top of that group of Senators-elect taking the oath of office on January 3rd, and by reason of his assignment to the Committee on Foreign Relations, seniority was extended to him over any and all Senators.

The Committee then approved draft No. 2 with the changes thereon and ordered a printing of it for submission to the Conference.

The meeting recessed at 12:55 p.m., subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J. Mark Trice

Secretary-elect to the Majority

APPROVED BY:

[signed] E.V. Robertson

Chairman of the Committee on Committees

DECEMBER 30, 1946

Transmitted to the Secretary of the Conference, on January 31, 1947, for incorporation in the Minutes Book.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

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[January 2, 1947]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 2, 1947, IN ROOM 335 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 2:30 p.m., and suggested a delay in proceeding with the order of business pending the arrival of Senator Taft and other members who were attending another meeting.

The Chairman recognized Senator Robertson for the purpose of introducing to the Members of the Conference, Senator-elect Ecton.

At 3:05 p.m. the Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 48:

Aiken	Bushfield	Ecton
Baldwin	Butler	Ferguson
Ball	Cain	Flanders
Brewster	Capehart	Gurney
Bricker	Capper	Hawkes
Bridges	Cooper	Hickenlooper
Brooks	Donnell	Ives
Buck	Dworshak	Jenner
Kem	Knowland	Langer
McCarthy	Malone	Millikin
Moore	Morse	Reed
Revercomb	Robertson	Saltonstall
Smith	Taft	Thye
Tobey	Vandenberg	Watkins
Wherry	White	Wiley
Williams	Wilson	Young

Absent 3:

Cordon	Lodge	Martin
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The Secretary said that Senator Cordon was on his way to Washington and expected to be present. He read the following telegram from Senator Martin: "Owing to Inauguration of my successor cannot be with you Thursday afternoon."

The Chairman recognized Senator Robertson, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, who addressed the Conference on the work of that Committee, and who then read the Republican nominations for membership for the 15 standing committees of the Senate and named the recommendations of the Committee for Chairmen. There is attached hereto confidential Work Sheet No. 3, "Exhibit A," entitled "Standing Committees of the Senate" and confidential Work Sheet No. 3, "Exhibit B," entitled "Committee Assignments of Senators" which is the report of the Committee on Committees, together with a copy of the remarks made by Senator Robertson, "Exhibit C."

Senator Robertson then moved the adoption of the Committee's report.

The Chairman recognized Senator Reed who spoke of the importance of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and of the assignment made of the Chairmanship of that Committee by the Committee on Committees.

The Chairman recognized Senator Williams who spoke of the assignments recommended for the Committee on Agriculture, and expressed the opinion that the East should be entitled to more representation on that Committee.

The Chairman recognized Senator Morse who spoke of the assignments recommended for the Committee on Foreign Relations. His contentions were that there was no representation on the Committee for the Pacific Coast area, and that the rule of seniority had not been followed.

The Chairman recognized Senator Saltonstall who said that his colleague, Senator Lodge, had been unable to attend the Conference session because of grounded airplanes. He spoke of the services of Senator Lodge in the armed forces throughout the world, and said that had he chosen to remain in the Senate he would have been fifth in rank of service in the Senate at this time.

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who spoke on dual offices held by past Majority Leaders.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who said that the position of Senator Lodge was a unique one, in that he voluntarily gave up his seat in the Senate which meant a total abandonment of his Senatorial career, and that the departure or exception made by the Committee was justified.

The Chairman recognized Senator Aiken who said that in the absence of a Chairman of a Committee it should be understood that the senior Republican member on the Committee should be appointed as Acting Chairman of the Committee.

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The Chairman recognized Senator Morse who moved that action on the report of the Committee be postponed for 24 hours, with a new session of the Conference after that time, subject to the call of the Chairman, and that the vote on his motion be by secret ballot.

Senator Knowland suggested that an amendment changing the words "secret ballot" to "roll call ballot" which amendment was accepted by Senator Morse.

The Chairman requested the Secretary to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Ayes 4:

Cain	Morse	Reed
Williams		

Nays 44:

Aiken	Baldwin	Ball
Brewster	Bricker	Bridges
Brooks	Buck	Bushfield
Butler	Capehart	Capper
Cooper	Donnell	Dworshak
Ecton	Ferguson	Flanders
Gurney	Hawkes	Hickenlooper
Ives	Jenner	Kem
Knowland	Langer	McCarthy
Malone	Millikin	Moore
Revercomb	Robertson	Saltonstall
Smith	Taft	Thye
Tobey	Vandenberg	Watkins
Wherry	White	Wiley
Wilson	Young	

Absent 3:

Cordon	Lodge	Martin
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The Chairman announced that the motion of Senator Morse was defeated.

The Chairman recognized Senator Vandenberg who said that he wished to testify that so far as the future pattern of the membership of the Foreign Relations Committee was concerned, he expressed the hope that the West Coast would be represented on the Committee.

The Chairman recognized Senator Butler who said that the Committee on Committees attempted to make a change in the membership of the Foreign Relations Committee but did not succeed, and that representation for the West Coast should be granted at the earliest time.

The Chairman recognized Senator Baldwin who said that the Eastern seaboard should have greater representation on the Committee on Agriculture.

The Chairman recognized Senator McCarthy who made inquiry as to the World War II services of Senators assigned to the Committee on Armed Services.

The Chairman recognized Senator Robertson who moved that the report of his Committee be adopted, subject to minor corrections to be made by the Committee on Committees. The motion was duly seconded, the Chairman put the question and announced that the motion of Senator Robertson was carried.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft, Chairman of the Policy Committee, who reported for his Committee as follows:

It was the recommendation of his Committee that resolutions introduced by Senators calling for the creation of Special Committees be referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, and that photographers will be told that photographs cannot be taken in the Senate on opening day, January 3rd. He said that the matter of photographs should be considered by the new Committee on Rules and Administration. Senator Taft then presented to the Conference the question of the seating of Senator Bilbo.<sup>1</sup> He presented the various points involved and read a resolution approved by the Policy Committee which would request that Senator Bilbo stand aside and let the whole matter be set down for discussion ten days later. After general discussion and inquiries by Senators Revercomb, Bushfield, Bridges, Hawkes, Vandenberg, Brewster and Wilson, Senator Taft suggested that Senator Ferguson be recognized.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ferguson who reviewed the report of the Special Committee Investigating the National Defense Program entitled "Transaction Between Senator Theodore G. Bilbo and Various War Contractors."

Senator Taft was recognized and asked Senator Hickenlooper to sum up the election case.

The Chairman recognized Senator Hickenlooper who spoke of the Minority views to be submitted by himself and Senator Bridges as Members of the Campaign Expenditures Committee and as individuals.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who moved that the Policy Committee be authorized to take such action as it deems desirable and to proceed to take any and all necessary steps in the matter. Senator Wilson moved that the Policy Committee be given full power to act. Senator Reed then suggested that the motion be worded that

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<sup>1</sup> [The election of Theodore G. Bilbo (D-MS) was challenged due to charges of unfair campaign practices and corruption. In late 1946 two Senate committees had looked into Bilbo's activities. Bilbo's opponents believed he should not be seated when Congress convened on January 3, 1947, until the Committee on Rules and Administration could review the allegations. Southern senators supporting the seating of Bilbo briefly filibustered to prevent the Senate from organizing. Before the Senate could act on the matter, Senator Bilbo became ill and returned to Mississippi, where he died a few months later.]

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the Policy Committee be given full authority as to procedure to bar Senator Bilbo at the door of the Senate. The suggested language was accepted by Senator Taft and the motion was seconded by Senator Morse.

The Chairman put the question and the motion was agreed to unanimously.

The Chairman recognized Senator Revercomb who asked if full thought had been given by the Policy Committee to the question of the organization of the Senate by the Republican Party on the first day. He said that serious thought should be given to the question of tying up the business of the Senate for days as against the question of cleaning house.

The Chairman recognized Senator Flanders who said that he was one of those to take the oath and that he would be willing to wait.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who nominated Rev. Peter Marshall of the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church as Republican nominee for Chaplain of the Senate. The nomination was seconded by Senator Wherry. Senator Bushfield expressed a word of commendation.

Nominations were closed and the Chairman announced the election of Rev. Marshall as Chaplain.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who moved that an appropriate resolution be drawn and sent by the Secretary on behalf of the Conference, expressing the sympathy of the Membership of the Conference to Senator Cordon on the death of his daughter.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wiley who moved that his report to the Conference entitled "Termination of War Controls" be accepted, and that he be authorized to prepare an appropriate resolution to carry out the recommendation contained therewith. Copy of the report is attached hereto.

The Chairman put the question and the motion was agreed to.

The Chairman recognized Senator Brooks who stated that Mr. McGinnis, the new Sergeant-at-Arms, was outside and that he wished to introduce him to the Members of the Conference. Mr. McGinnis was escorted in and introduced by Senator Brooks.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 6:20 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference



Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 7, 1947, and transmitted to the Secretary of the Conference on January 31, 1947, for incorporation in the Minutes Book.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

\* \* \*

EXHIBIT "A"

(Confidential Work Sheet No. 3)  
STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE  
Eightieth Congress  
(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

**On Agriculture and Forestry** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Capper (Chairman), Aiken, Bushfield, Wilson, Young, Thye, Kem.

**On Appropriations** (Ratio 12–9)

Messrs. Bridges (Chairman), Gurney, Brooks, Reed, Ball, Ferguson, Wherry, Cordon, Saltonstall, Young, Knowland, Dworshak.

**On Armed Services** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Gurney (Chairman), Bridges, Robertson, Wilson, Saltonstall, Morse, Baldwin.

**On Banking and Currency** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Tobey (Chairman), Buck, Capehart, Flanders, Cain, Bricker, McCarthy.

**On Civil Service** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Langer (Chairman), Buck, Flanders, Baldwin, Thye, Williams, Ecton.

**On District of Columbia** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Buck (Chairman), Capper, Ball, Flanders, Cooper, Cain, Kem.

**On Expenditures in the Executive Departments** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Aiken (Chairman), Ferguson, Hickenlooper, Bricker, Thye, \*Ives, \*McCarthy.

Note: On drawing January 4, 1947, position decided as follows: McCarthy 1, Ives 2. [signed] J. Mark Trice, Secretary for Majority

**On Finance** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Millikin (Chairman), Taft, Butler, Brewster, Bushfield, Hawkes, Martin.

**On Foreign Relations** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Vandenberg (Chairman), Capper, White, Wiley, Smith, Hickenlooper, Lodge, Jr.

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\*Priority of position on Committee subject to draw.

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**On Interstate and Foreign Commerce** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. White (Chairman), Tobey, Reed, Brewster, Hawkes, Moore, Capehart.

**On the Judiciary** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Wiley (Chairman), Langer, Ferguson, Revercomb, Moore, Donnell, Cooper.

**On Labor and Public Welfare** (Ratio 8–5)

Messrs. Taft (Chairman), Aiken, Ball, Smith, Morse, Donnell, Jenner, Ives.

**On Public Lands** (Ratio 8–5)

Messrs. Butler (Chairman), Millikin, Robertson, Cordon, Dworshak, \*Ecton, \*Malone, \*Watkins.

Note: On drawing January 4, 1947, position decided as follows: Ecton 1, Malone 2, Watkins 3. [signed] J. Mark Trice, Secretary for the Majority.

**On Public Works** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Revercomb (Chairman), Cooper, Cain, Martin, \*Malone, \*Watkins, \*Williams.

Note: On drawing January 4, 1947, position decided as follows: Watkins 1, Williams 2, Malone 3. [signed] J. Mark Trice.

**On Rules and Administration** (Ratio 8–5)

Messrs. Brooks (Chairman), Wherry, Hickenlooper, Knowland, Lodge, Jr., Jenner, Bricker, Ives.

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EXHIBIT "B"

(Confidential Work Sheet No. 3)  
COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS OF SENATORS  
Eightieth Congress  
(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

Mr. AIKEN .....	Expenditures in the Executive Departments (Chairman) Agriculture Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. BALDWIN .....	Armed Services Civil Service
Mr. BALL .....	Appropriations District of Columbia Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. BREWSTER .....	Finance Interstate and Foreign Commerce

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\*Priority of position on Committee subject to draw.

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS (1947–1949)

Mr. BRICKER .....	Banking and Currency Expenditures in the Executive Departments Rules and Administration
Mr. BRIDGES .....	Appropriations (Chairman) Armed Services
Mr. BROOKS .....	Rules and Administration (Chairman) Appropriations
Mr. BUCK .....	District of Columbia (Chairman) Banking and Currency Civil Service
Mr. BUSHFIELD .....	Agriculture and Forestry Finance
Mr. BUTLER .....	Public Lands (Chairman) Finance
Mr. CAIN .....	Banking and Currency District of Columbia Public Works
Mr. CAPEHART .....	Banking and Currency Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. CAPPER .....	Agriculture and Forestry (Chairman) District of Columbia Foreign Relations
Mr. COOPER .....	District of Columbia Judiciary Public Works
Mr. CORDON .....	Appropriations Public Lands
Mr. DONNELL .....	Judiciary Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. DWORSHAK .....	Appropriations Public Lands
Mr. ECTON .....	Civil Service Public Lands
Mr. FERGUSON .....	Appropriations Expenditures in the Executive Departments Judiciary
Mr. FLANDERS .....	Banking and Currency Civil Service District of Columbia
Mr. GURNEY .....	Armed Services (Chairman) Appropriations
Mr. HAWKES .....	Finance Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. HICKENLOOPER .....	Expenditures in the Executive Departments Foreign Relations

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	Rules and Administration
Mr. IVES .....	Expenditures in the Executive Departments Labor and Public Welfare Rules and Administration
Mr. JENNER .....	Labor and Public Welfare Rules and Administration
Mr. KEM .....	Agriculture and Forestry District of Columbia
Mr. KNOWLAND .....	Appropriations Rules and Administration
Mr. LANGER .....	Civil Service (Chairman) Judiciary
Mr. LODGE, Jr. ....	Foreign Relations Rules and Administration
Mr. MALONE .....	Public Lands Public Works
Mr. MARTIN .....	Finance Public Works
Mr. MCCARTHY .....	Banking and Currency Expenditures in the Executive Departments
Mr. MILLIKIN .....	Finance (Chairman) Public Lands
Mr. MOORE .....	Interstate and Foreign Commerce Judiciary
Mr. MORSE .....	Armed Services Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. REED .....	Appropriations Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. REVERCOMB .....	Public Works (Chairman) Judiciary
Mr. ROBERTSON .....	Armed Services of Wyoming Public Lands
Mr. SALTONSTALL .....	Appropriations Armed Services
Mr. SMITH .....	Foreign Relations Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. TAFT .....	Labor and Public Welfare (Chairman) Finance
Mr. THYE .....	Agriculture and Forestry Civil Service Expenditures in the Executive Dept.
Mr. TOBEY .....	Banking and Currency (Chairman) Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. VANDENBERG .....	Foreign Relations (Chairman)

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS (1947–1949)

Mr. WATKINS .....	Public Lands Public Works
Mr. WHERRY .....	Appropriations Rules and Administration
Mr. WHITE .....	Interstate and Foreign Commerce (Chairman) Foreign Relations
Mr. WILEY .....	Judiciary (Chairman) Foreign Relations
Mr. WILLIAMS .....	Civil Service Public Works
Mr. WILSON .....	Agriculture and Forestry Armed Services
Mr. YOUNG .....	Agriculture and Forestry Appropriations

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EXHIBIT "C"

REMARKS OF EDWARD V. ROBERTSON, JANUARY 2, 1947,  
BEFORE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

Mr. Chairman:

Rule No. IV of the Republican Conference Rules states that, and I quote:

"A Committee on Committees shall be appointed at the beginning of each Congress to prepare and recommend to the Conference the complete assignment of Republican Senators to Committees and shall recommend the filling of vacancies occurring during the Congress. The Committee shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference immediately after his election, subject to confirmation by the Conference."

At the first meeting of the Republican Conference of the 80th Congress on Monday last, December 30, 1946, you, Senator Millikin, were unanimously elected Chairman of the Conference and appointed the following Senators on the Committee on Committees:

Robertson (Chairman)	Bushfield
Taft	Capehart
Brooks	Knowland
Butler	Donnell

The Committee recognized—with you Mr. Chairman—the importance of prompt and immediate attention to the difficult task before it and started work with the intention of presenting a complete committee assignment slate to the Conference today.

The Country has expressed confidence in the Republican Party by placing it in control of the Legislative branch of the Government. I am sure it is the wish and the intention of the 51 Senators of the Conference that we go to the Floor of the United States Senate—not only ready to take up the burdens and responsibilities of the office—but fully prepared to start in to-

JANUARY 2, 1947

morrow with a completely organized majority that can function efficiently in its task of carrying out the mandate of the people with the least possible delay.

With that end in view, Mr. Chairman, I am ready to report the recommendations of your Committee on Committees.

In the first place, Mr. Chairman, I wish to express to our predecessors—the Committee on Committees of the 79th Congress our appreciation of the valuable “spade” work they passed on to this Committee. I am not exaggerating when I say that but for that spade work, the report which I am now able to present would have been delayed two weeks and maybe longer.

This is understandable when you realize—as I know you do—that this Committee was faced with a more difficult and complex problem of assignment than has confronted any previous Committee on Committees.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I will take a few minutes to enlarge on that situation for the benefit of the new Senators here today, and may I say to those new Senators—and I will do so by paraphrasing a well-known remark by a very well-known foreign statesman—“Never have so few brought greater joy to the hearts of so many.”

Public Law 601—79th Congress—that is the “Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946”—calls for great changes in the Legislative setup in both the Senate and the House.

Today in the Senate there are 33 Standing Committees. Of these twelve are known as Major Committees and twenty-one as Minor Committees. Under the Reorganization Act the thirty-three Standing Committees in the Senate have been reduced to fifteen, and the number of Committees a Senator may serve on is clearly specified in subparagraph 4 on Page 10 of the Act, which I will read to you:

*Each Senator shall serve on two Standing Committees and no more; except that Senators of the Majority Party who are members of the Committee on the District of Columbia or of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments may serve on three Standing Committees and no more.*

This is a very cleverly drawn provision for it not only takes care of the number of committees each Senator can serve on, but it also automatically takes care of the general ratio of Minority Party assignments to those of the Majority Party.

The initial approach to the question of party proportion on the Committees is decided by this paragraph. That definitely restricts the Democratic Party to two assignments to each Democratic Senator. By their 45 Senators the Democratic Party can claim ninety committee seats. On a 7 to 6 ratio for fourteen committees the Democrats would have eighty-four seats, but this would leave them only six seats out of the twenty-one seats on the Appropriations Committee.

This is not a fair proportion of representation on that important Committee so this Committee recommends to this Conference that the ratio of 7 to 6 be changed to a ratio of 8 to 5 on three Committees, and the ratio on the Appropriations Committee be 12 to 9.

This will give the Democratic Minority their lawful ninety Committee assignments, made up as follows:

11 Committees with 6 Democratic seats .....	66
3 Committees with 5 Democratic seats .....	15
1 Committee with 9 Democratic seats .....	9
	<hr/>
	90

The next question for the Committee to decide was which three of the fourteen Committees would have the 8 to 5 ratio. I may say that the Committee feels that it is entirely within the province of the Republican Majority to decide this question.

The three Committees selected, subject to your approval, were:

The Committee on Labor and Public Welfare  
 The Committee on Public Lands  
 The Committee on Rules and Administration

The position, therefore, as far as the Republican Majority is concerned is as follows:

11 Committees with 7 seats .....	77
3 Committees with 8 seats .....	24
1 Committees with 12 seats .....	12
	<hr/>
	113

Fifty-one Republican Senators with two assignments each is one hundred and two. This leaves eleven seats to be taken care of under the second part of Clause 4 on Page 10 of the Act, which means that eleven Republican Senators will have three Committee assignments instead of two and that extra assignments must be on either the Committee on the District of Columbia or on the Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments.

There are a number of factors which complicate the allotting of Committee assignments for this 80th Congress which did not exist in any previous Congress. As I have said, the number of Standing Committees is reduced from thirty-three to fifteen, and with it the consequent reduction of a Senator's present assignments of five and six Committees to two.

I can assure the new Senators that it is an extremely difficult task for a Senator to select two Committees out of five or six that he has given so much time and thought to. However, the co-operation on the part of the Senators has been most encouraging.

This choice has been rendered more difficult by the composition of some of the new Committees under the Reorganization Act.

Some Committees, such as

Agriculture and Forestry  
 Appropriations  
 Banking and Currency  
 Foreign Relations  
 Education and Labor

remain much as they are at present.

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Other Committees combine the functions of two major Committees or two major Committees and several minor Committees. Again a Committee will combine the functions of one major and one minor—or the combination of five minor Committees. Some are almost entirely new in that they combine functions of many of the old Committees. There is an example of nearly half the functions of one of the old major Committees being combined in one new Committee and the rest in another new Committee.

The Committee realizes the impossibility of satisfying every Senator on his assignments. This is particularly true of new Senators and we of the Committee are painfully aware of the fact that with only two assignments, many have what appears to be “slim pickings.” Were it possible we would have gladly recommended all of you as you stated preferences. There is no question that you deserve what you asked for and I feel sure that one day, in the not very distant future, you will get what you want and you will find that in the meantime your time has not been wasted. I would like to advise the new Senators that as Senators you have the privilege of a seat in any Committee meeting that might be considering legislation you are interested in, and I can assure you that as far as my experience goes, you will find a welcome and a desire to have you cooperate, but you cannot participate in the voting in any Committee that you are not a member of.

In arriving at our recommendations we have been guided largely by seniority on existing standing committees—by the Senators’ preferences—by the relative importance of existing Committee memberships—by a Senator’s background and experience which is generally evident in his preferences—and by geographic location.

There has been a rule, or maybe just an understanding, that no two Senators of the same party from the same State shall be members of the same Committee. In our recommendations we have broken this rule, or understanding, in one case. That is in the new Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. This Committee is a combination of two old Major Committees—viz., the Interstate Commerce Committee and the Commerce Committee, and two minors—the Interoceanic Canals and Manufactures. Senator White of Maine is the ranking member of Interstate Commerce and Senator Brewster is ranking member of Commerce. However, the main reason for our decision in this case is based on Senator Brewster’s very special knowledge of civil aeronautics and of domestic and foreign aviation, acquired during his membership on the Commerce Committee. The consideration of this important means of transportation is now passed on to the new Interstate and Commerce Committee and we feel it is very necessary that this Committee should have available Senator Brewster’s very special knowledge of civil aeronautics.

Mr. Chairman, I will now read the Committees for the fifteen Standing Committees of the Senate and name the recommendations for Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the Committee’s report.



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EXHIBIT “D”

RESOLUTION OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE OF THE  
UNITED STATES SENATE, ADOPTED JANUARY 2, 1947

*WHEREAS* Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from our colleague, the Honorable Guy Cordon, his beloved daughter, Mrs. Donald E. Crouch, and

*BE IT RESOLVED*, That we, the Republican Colleagues in The United States Senate of the Honorable Guy Cordon, express our sense of loss at the passing of his daughter, and

*FURTHER*, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Honorable Guy Cordon, that he may be assured of our deep respect for him and of our condolences to him in this hour of his bereavement.

\* \* \*  
EXHIBIT “E”

Please Do Not Release

*Until Monday, December 30, 2:30 p.m.*

OUTLINE OF REPORT ON “TERMINATION OF WAR CONTROLS”  
BY SEN. ALEXANDER WILEY OF WISCONSIN TO REPUBLICAN  
CONFERENCE DECEMBER 30, 1946

A. INTRODUCTION	PAGE
1. Purpose of This Report .....	1
2. History of Termination of World War I .....	1
3. Problems in Terminating War and Emergency Controls by General Resolution .....	3
4. Fundamental Republican Position .....	3
B. RECOMMENDATIONS	
1. Basic Recommendation .....	4
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3. Suggestions for Republican Action .....	8
C. EXHIBIT (On Original Copy of Report Only)	9
Provisions of Federal Statutes Affected by the Termination of the War and/or Emergency.	

\* \* \* \* \*

A. INTRODUCTION

1. PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT:

It is a pleasure to present to my colleagues this report in fulfillment of the assignment to me by the Republican Steering Committee. The assignment requested my study into the subject of “*Possible Termination of War Controls by General Resolution.*”

I have prepared the following analysis, based upon research covering as many phases of the problem as I could touch upon. In the course of my inquiry I utilized data from private and Governmental sources including

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the resources of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. In addition, I consulted the report on this same subject made by Representative Lewis, Republican, of Ohio to Representative Martin of Mass., and the report of the House Post-War Planning Committee. Finally, I consulted every member of the President's Cabinet, together with the Veterans' Administration. I requested of the Cabinet Secretaries and the Veterans' Administration a statement as to which emergency and war powers lay within their jurisdiction, which war powers they regarded as feasible of termination now and why, and which they regarded as preferably not terminated now and when might they be so terminated.

Most of these eleven officers have replied to me. In each case, the official listed the emergency and wartime powers within his jurisdiction but stated that his *recommendations* as to which should be terminated and when—had been submitted to the President for the Chief Executive's review. Thereafter, I wrote to the President on December 17th, asking for his recommendations.

Under date of December 27th, the President replied that the situation is "very complicated." It "requires a complete analysis before a conclusion can be reached, and it cannot be done on a departmental basis—it must be done on an overhaul basis," he stated. Moreover, "when the information is accumulated and analyzed," the President stated, he "would make suggestions to the Congress on the subject."

I may emphasize at this point that I personally believe this subject is so important that it must be considered and handled *in as non-partisan a manner as possible*.

## 2. HISTORY OF TERMINATION OF WORLD WAR I:

I should like to present now a very brief history of the termination of the statutes of the first world conflict, as prepared for me by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. I quote from this Division's report:

Considerable confusion was created by the armistice of November 11, 1918 and the message to Congress on that day, in which the President, after outlining the terms of the armistice, stated: 'The war thus comes to an end; for having accepted these terms of armistice, it will be impossible for the German command to renew it' (Cong. Rec. Vol. 56 Pt. 11 p. 11538). As evidence of this confusion we call attention to the court litigation which commenced (See for example *U.S. v. Hicks*, 1919, 256 F. 707 and *Commercial Cable Co. v. Burleson*, 1919, 255 F. 99).

On April 1, 1920 there was introduced a joint resolution (H.R. Res. 327—66th Congress) declaring the state of war at an end. After favorable legislative consideration, this bill was vetoed on May 27, 1920 (H. Doc. 799—66th Congress) by President Wilson because he objected, among other things, to terminating the war merely by repealing the joint resolutions of war of April 6, 1917 (Germany, 40 Stat. 1) and December 7, 1917 (Austria, 40 Stat. 429). This resolution was one of approximately thirty bills introduced in the 65th, 66th, and 67th Congresses providing for the study of wartime legislation (S.J. Res. 119—65th Congress), the repeal of specific wartime laws, or the repeal of the joint resolutions of April 6 and December 7, 1917.

A study prepared in February, 1920 by the Legislative Reference Service, which was printed as a Senate committee print by the Committee on the Judiciary, indicates that the problem at that time was far less complex than the present one confronting Congress.

On December 6, 1920 Representative Volstead introduced H.J. Res. 382 which declared that certain acts, joint resolutions and proclamations should be construed as if the war had ended and the emergency had expired (Cong. Rec. Vol. 60 Pt. 1 p. 11). After prolonged consideration, this joint resolution was passed and approved March 3, 1921 (41 Stat. 1359). In the meantime the President had been active in terminating war programs by executive order.

The joint resolution of July 2, 1921 (42 Stat. 105) declared the state of war with Germany and Austria at an end. This was followed by the proclamation of the Treaty of Peace with Germany on November 14, 1921 (42 Stat. 1939).

### 3. PROBLEMS IN TERMINATING WAR AND EMERGENCY CONTROLS BY GENERAL RESOLUTION:

The basic problem in terminating war and emergency controls by general resolution is that *it would affect several hundreds of laws of varying complexity and importance*. They may be divided broadly into five categories as follows:

1. Legislation limited to definite termination dates;
2. Legislation predicated upon the limited emergency proclaimed by the President September 8, 1939 (54 Stat. 2643);
3. Legislation predicated upon the unlimited emergency proclaimed by the President May 27, 1941 (55 Stat. 1647);
4. Legislation predicated upon the cessation of hostilities; and
5. Legislation predicated upon the end of the war.

Many of these statutes have already been terminated. We may expect that others will be ended rapidly in the normal course of events by the Chief Executive. However, *there is a large body of laws which lie within the field of policy differences* as to when they should be terminated and it is these which provide the fundamental basis of our problem.

### 4. FUNDAMENTAL REPUBLICAN POSITION:

As a last note before I submit my recommendations, may I state what I construe to be the Republican position on the matter of terminating war controls, especially those which affect the health of our domestic economy. It has been the position of our Party, as I see it, that all emergency and wartime controls be terminated at the earliest possible date, that all powers delegated to the Chief Executive during the emergency and war conditions, which are normally inherent within the Legislative Branch, should be returned to the Legislative Branch, that the unrestrained tendency to multiply a bureaucratic empire through emergency and war powers should be vigorously curbed, and that the bureaucracy should itself be cut.

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This, as I interpret it, is the Republican position and it is a position which, as you so well know, has been endorsed by the overwhelming mandate of the American people expressed at the polls on November 5, 1946.

But the Republican Party is also pledged to terminate war controls in an orderly manner, one which will not create chaos, and, moreover, to terminate them in such a way that they will not render our nation helpless in the event of any domestic or foreign emergency.

These, then, are the general bases of the Republican position in my opinion.

## B. RECOMMENDATIONS

### 1. BASIC RECOMMENDATION

*My basic recommendation is that we do NOT terminate war and emergency controls by general resolution at this time.*

### 2. REASONS FOR BASIC RECOMMENDATION

The following are my reasons for opposing a general resolution at this time terminating all emergency and wartime statutes:

#### (A) THE FIRST REASON—CONTINUED NATIONAL EMERGENCY:

I need hardly point out to my colleagues that, although the “shooting war” is over, war emergencies remain. In the international sphere, *we are still fighting a war of ideas*. The world continues in a turbulent state, economically as well as politically. On the home front, we are still in a domestic crisis. We have shortages that should have been avoided. There has been widespread lack of production due to strikes and restrictive government regulations. If we were to close our eyes to these international and domestic emergencies and deprive our government of such tenuous powers as it already has, for example, in the domestic field relating to strike control, we might find that we are losing the kind of enduring peace, for which three hundred thousand of our heroic men gave their lives.

*It is still easier to get into a war than to get out of a war.* War does NOT make for peace. It leaves a bitter legacy of problems which exist for years and years. It is foolhardy to deny these problems and dangerous to assume that the mere end of shooting returns us to the peaceful world of pre-1939. *We are living in a different age today.* With the advent of the Atomic Age, many of the emergency and wartime statutes continue to be essential, at least in some degree. We must be adequate to our responsibilities in the Atomic Age.

#### (B) THE SECOND REASON—VARIED AND COMPLEX NATURE OF WARTIME STATUTES:

If we were, by general resolution, at this time to terminate all of the statutes, we would in one sweep wipe out legislation of a great complexity and touching every conceivable subject handled by Congress—the Armed Forces, international trade, agriculture, public lands and natural resources, labor controls, and so on. Each of these fields *can only be handled by the appropriate Congressional Committee*, looking separately and exhaustively into the problems unique to each field.

If we were to act upon a general resolution terminating hostilities and all war and emergency controls without exception, and if that resolution were referred simply to a single committee, for example, the Judiciary Committee, its members would find themselves hopelessly inadequate to the task of reviewing all of the varied pieces of legislation, and finding whether or not they continued to be necessary.

(C) *THE THIRD REASON—CHAOTIC EFFECTS RESULTING FROM OVER-ALL REPEAL:*

I have stated there are many important pieces of legislation which must be thoroughly studied, and only after the most exhaustive study, should it be determined whether to retain, amend or repeal them.

It should be borne in mind that the greatest number of wartime control statutes, which have a direct impact on business operations, *are those which have a specific termination date fixed in the statute itself* and such laws will expire on the date fixed unless re-enacted or earlier terminated by the Congress, or in some instances, by the President. *They are, in no way, dependent upon the declaration of the end of the war, of hostilities, or other condition of emergency*, except to the extent that the existence of a state of war lends validity to the exercise of such controls.

I call to your attention a few instances of the chaotic effect of abrupt termination of hostilities and of war and emergency statutes:

1. *Specific termination Dates*

The Emergency Price Control Act would terminate on *June 30, 1947*. Likewise, the Stabilization Act would terminate on the same date unless earlier terminated by Congress or the President. The Second War Powers Act would terminate on *March 31, 1947*. They contain authority for:

- (a) Rationing,
- (b) Priorities on delivery of materials,
- (c) Allocation of materials,
- (d) Motor carriers transportation preference,
- (e) Inventory controls,
- (f) Allocation of the use of rubber borne equipment,
- (g) Allocation of food and food facilities, and
- (h) Acquisition of real property.

The Selective Service and Training Act would terminate on *March 31, 1947*. Section 9 of the Selective Service Act, as amended by Section 3 of the War Labor Disputes Act, authorizes the Government to seize and operate plants, mines or facilities where there is an interruption or a threatened interruption to work as a result of a labor dispute.

The Act of July 2, 1940 granting authority to regulate exports of articles, technical data, materials or supplies, has the fixed termination date of *June 30, 1947*.

The War Mobilization and Reconversion Act terminates *June 30, 1947*.

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## *2. End of the War or Within a Fixed Time Thereafter*

Over 125 statutes would terminate with the official end of the war or within a fixed period thereafter of anywhere from three months to six years.

Titles 1 and 2 of the First War Powers Act which, generally speaking, have to do with the internal operation of the Government during wartime, and do not impose controls upon our civilian economy—remain in force during the present war and for six months thereafter. Under Title 1, the President is authorized to reorganize and consolidate the functions of the Executive Bureaus and Agencies, including the Army and Navy. Under Title 2, the President is empowered to authorize any Department of Government to enter into contracts without regard to provisions of law regulating the making, performance, amendment, etc. of such contracts. Army officials have stated that a declaration ending the war would mean that the Army would have but six months to return to the United States all troops now abroad in occupied countries and elsewhere, except those in the Regular Army.

## *3. End of Hostilities or Within a Fixed Time thereafter*

Within this category are found the War Labor Disputes Act, and the Surplus Property Act. The latter Act provides for the disposal of all Government surplus property three years after the date of cessation of hostilities. Here, we also find the Act of July 12, 1943, which provides that leases of silver entered into by the Secretary of the Treasury must be terminated within six months after hostilities cease. Much of this silver is being used by the War Department in the Atomic Energy Plant at Oak Ridge.

## *4. Emergency Statutes and Permanent Law*

There are permanent laws, like Trading with the Enemy Act of October 6, 1917, the Interstate Commerce Commission Act, giving the Commission authority to establish railroad transportation priorities, and the Act of June 3, 1916, empowering the President to seize plants, and others which are permanent law, but they only go into operation during wartime or periods of emergency.

## *5. Tax Statutes*

There are 25 or 30 provisions of the Internal Revenue Code which are effective during the war, hostilities or the emergencies, and usually have a fixed period following the termination thereof. These statutes have close relationship to the Government's tax program and require the consideration of technical and specialized subjects.

## *6. Agriculture*

The legislation on the books relating to American agriculture requires earnest consideration. Were we arbitrarily to wipe out price supports, we might well find before long the farmers having the same experience that they had during the 20's and 30's. This must not happen. We are all aware of the illustrious war performance of the American farmers, the vast amount of foodstuffs produced to feed our country and the world, despite

the lack of machinery, of farm labor and of adequate Government encouragement. The farmers are one class who have never struck. They are the backbone of America. A prosperous America depends upon their continued prosperity.

### 3. SUGGESTIONS FOR REPUBLICAN ACTION:

What then are my specific recommendations? I recommend the following:

(a) That immediately upon the opening of the 80th Congress, there be enacted a Senate Resolution stating it to be the sense of the Senate (1) *that there be a review of all existing temporary and permanent emergency and wartime legislation* by each subject matter committee of the Senate including the Senate Appropriations Committee as to matters coming within their respective jurisdictions, and (2) *that such committees*, not later than February 15, 1947, *send to the Senate Judiciary Committee* a report based on their review, presenting their recommendations for amendment, repeal, consolidation and other revision of permanent and temporary emergency and wartime laws within their respective jurisdictions. (This matter, both as to policy and mechanics of operation, might be handled similarly in the House.)

(b) *That the policy of each of the committees in reviewing these statutes and making their recommendations, should be as follows:*

(1) To recommend the repeal of all temporary and permanent emergency and wartime statutes which are found to be obsolete, the continuance of which is inadvisable or unnecessary at present or in the foreseeable future. Particular stress should be placed on eliminating from the statute books laws whose repeal might result in:

(a) *savings to the Federal Government*, (b) *resumption by Congress of its former power delegated to the Chief Executive*, (c) *reassumption by private enterprise of its initiative rather than reliance on the Federal Government*, (d) *reassumption by State Governments of powers and controls normally within their jurisdictions*.

(2) *To recommend such new permanent legislation as may be necessary to cope with any foreseeable emergency or war, domestic or foreign.* Such new permanent legislation should provide appropriate checks and limitations to forestall the possibility of arbitrary and despotic acts by a dictator-minded Chief Executive.

(c) That upon receipt of the recommendations submitted to it by the respective committees above referred to, the *Senate Judiciary Committee shall proceed to review and correlate them in the light of the over-all national welfare; and that, not later than March 5, 1947, the Judiciary Committee shall prepare an appropriate resolution to be submitted for Senate action.*

It should be noted again that major statutes such as the Selective Service and Training Act and the Second War Powers Act expire automatically on March 31, 1947 unless renewed. The wisdom of Congress may therefore require relatively prompt consideration of these statutes.

### C. EXHIBIT

At my request, the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress has prepared a booklet listing the provisions of federal statutes affected by the termination of the war and/or emergency. *This listing has been*

JANUARY 2, 1947

*made to correspond with the subject-matter assignments of the standing Committees of Congress established by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.* Thus, if my recommendation is followed and the statutes are siphoned into the respective Committees, this booklet should facilitate the Committees' review by outlining the specific laws before each of them.

The following are the numbers of provisions before each of the Committees, 540 in all:

<i>Committee</i>	<i>Subject Breakdown</i>	<i>Individual Provisions</i>	<i>Total Provisions</i>
1. Agriculture .....			24
	Agriculture-General .....	3	
	Meat Inspection .....	1	
	Forests .....	1	
	Agricultural Extension Service .....	3	
	Farm Credit and Farm Security .....	5	
	Agricultural Production and Marketing and Stabilization of Prices of Agricultural Products. ....	11	
2. Appropriations .....			5
3. Armed Services .....			201
	Nat'l Defense in General .....	31	
	Military Establishment .....	49	
	Naval Establishment .....	62	
	Pay, Promotion, Retirement and Other Benefits, etc.. ....	35	
	Selective Service .....	3	
	Size and Composition of the Army and Navy .....	12	
	Forts, Military Reservations, etc. ....	6	
	Panama Canal .....	2	
	Strategic and Critical Materials .....	1	
4. Banking and Currency .....			25
	Banking and Currency Generally .....	2	
	Financial Aid to Commerce and Industry .....	5	
	Deposit Insurance .....	1	
	Public and Private Housing .....	10	
	Federal Reserve System .....	1	
	Control of Prices of Commodities, Rents or Services. ....	6	
5. Civil Service .....			38
	The Federal Civil Service Generally .....	24	
	Status of Officers and Employees, including Compensation, Classification and Retirement. ....	6	
	Postal Service .....	6	
	Collection of Statistics .....	1	
	National Archives .....	1	
6. District of Columbia .....			14
	Municipal Affairs in General .....	11	
	Public Health .....	2	
	Taxes .....	1	
7. Expenditures in Executive Departments .....			7
8. Finance .....			46
	Revenue Measures Generally .....	29	
	Deposit of Public Moneys .....	1	



EIGHTIETH CONGRESS (1947-1949)

<i>Committee</i>	<i>Subject Breakdown</i>	<i>Individual Provisions</i>	<i>Total Provisions</i>
	Customs .....	4	
	Reciprocal Trade Agreements .....	1	
	Revenue Measures Relating to Insular Possessions.	3	
	Tariffs .....	3	
	Nat'l Social Security .....	5	
9. Foreign Relations .....			24
	In General .....	14	
	Treaties .....	2	
	Protection of American Citizens Abroad and Expatriation.	2	
	Neutrality .....	2	
	American National Red Cross .....	1	
	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation .....	2	
	Foreign Loans .....	1	
10. Interstate and Foreign Commerce .....			60
	Interstate and Foreign Commerce Generally	7	
	Pipe Lines .....	2	
	Communications .....	6	
	Civil Aeronautics .....	3	
	Merchant Marine Generally .....	19	
	Merchant Marine Officers and Men .....	6	
	Water Carriers, Inspection of Merchant Vessels, etc..	5	
	Coast and Geodetic Survey .....	1	
	Coast Guard .....	10	
	Weather Bureau .....	1	
11. Judiciary .....			32
	Judicial Proceedings, Civil and Criminal, Generally.	9	
	Federal Courts .....	1	
	Protection of Trade and Commerce Against Unlawful Restraints and Monopolies.	2	
	Bankruptcy .....	1	
	Patents, Copyrights and Trade-Marks .....	3	
	Patent Office .....	5	
	Immigration and Naturalization .....	7	
	Claims against the U.S. ....	4	
12. Labor and Public Welfare .....			18
	Measures Relating to Education, Labor and Public Welfare Generally.	4	
	Mediation and Arbitration of Labor Disputes	1	
	Wages and Hours of Labor .....	4	
	School-Lunch Program .....	1	
	St. Elizabeths Hospital .....	3	
	Public Health .....	5	
13. Public Lands .....			13
	Public Lands Generally .....	3	
	Measures relating to Hawaii, Alaska and the Insular Possessions.	4	
	Irrigation and Reclamation .....	2	
	Mining Interests Generally .....	1	
	Mineral Land Laws and Claims .....	3	
14. Public Works .....			14

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<i>Committee</i>	<i>Subject Breakdown</i>	<i>Individual Provisions</i>	<i>Total Provisions</i>
	Water Power .....	2	
	Public Buildings and Grounds .....	5	
	Capitol Building .....	1	
	Roads .....	6	
15. Rules and Administration .....			2
16. Veterans .....			17
	Finance Measures and Measures in General .....	13	
	Vocational Rehabilitation, Education, Hospitalization, and Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Measures. ....	4	

Respectfully submitted,  
[signed] Alexander Wiley

Washington, D.C.  
December 30, 1946

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[January 4, 1947]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 4, 1947, IN ROOM 335 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:30 a.m., and stated that no set agenda had been prepared. The roll call was temporarily dispensed with and the Chairman recognized Senator Ball to make a report for the Republican Steering Committee Sub-Committee on Labor Legislation. A copy of his report is attached hereto and marked "Exhibit A." A draft of the revised version of HR 4908, which the Senator explained to the Conference, is also attached hereto as "Exhibit B."

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present—48:

Aiken	Ecton	Morse
Baldwin	Ferguson	Reed
Ball	Flanders	Revercomb
Brewster	Gurney	Robertson
Bricker	Hawkes	Saltonstall
Bridges	Hickenlooper	Smith
Brooks	Ives	Taft
Buck	Jenner	Thye
Bushfield	Kem	Tobey
Butler	Knowland	Vandenberg

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS (1947–1949)

Cain	Langer	Watkins
Capehart	McCarthy	Wherry
Capper	Malone	White
Cooper	Martin	Wiley
Donnell	Millikin	Williams
Dworshak	Moore	Young
Absent—3:		
Cordon	Lodge	Wilson

The Chairman recognized Senator Morse, who stated that he had prepared a bill independently of the Sub-Committee for introduction to the Senate, and explained that he did not want it assumed that by his action he was imposing on the Committee.

The Chairman recognized Senator Smith, who asked whether or not the recommendations of the Committee and the Conference did not leave open to individual Senators independent decisions by them on different phases of the legislation.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who moved that the report be received and that no objection be made to the introduction of the bill submitted by Messrs. Ball, Smith and Taft as the basis for legislative study by the Labor Committee in connection with the Labor questions dealt with in the bill. The motion was seconded by Senator Ball.

The Chairman recognized Senator Morse who questioned the use of the words “no objection” in the motion of Senator Taft.

The Chairman recognized Senator Vandenberg who asked if any consideration had been given or taken by the Committee concerning Portal to Portal Pay.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who said that he believed several bills would be introduced on the subject, that it was a matter for the Labor and Judiciary Committee to study, and that there would be no object to the Conference making a statement that something should be done.

The Chairman put the question and the motion was agreed to. Senator Morse requested to be reported as voting “no.”

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft, who made the motion “Whereas the Conference recognizes the urgent importance to the people of the United States of the immediate settlement of the Portal to Portal Pay question, be it resolved that the Republican Members of the Committee on Labor and the Republican Members of the Committee on the Judiciary be authorized to study and prepare a report on the subject of Portal to Portal Pay, and submit their report to the Conference at the earliest possible time.” The motion was seconded by Senator Ball.

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The Chairman recognized Senator Cooper who asked if the action taken by the Conference would bind individual members and the reply made by the Chairman was "no."

A general discussion ensued, with the Chairman recognizing Senators Tobey, Saltonstall and Wiley, Capehart, Ferguson and Vandenberg, each discussing various phases of the motion. The Chairman put the question and the motion was passed.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who made a report as Chairman of the Committee on Personnel. The Senator reported the decision of his Committee that, persons appointed to key positions should be selected on the basis of efficiency and placed outside of patronage and that he had appointed Senator Martin, a member of the Committee, to recommend the selection of a Captain of the Capitol Police to the Committee; Senator Bushfield a member of the Committee to recommend the selection of a Postmaster to the Committee; Senator Robertson a member of the Committee to recommend the selection of a Librarian to the Committee; and Senator Cain a member of the Committee to draft a policy program for action by the Committee. The Senator spoke of various other places available and said that each Senator would have the right to sponsor three individuals for appointment.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ball, who moved that all matters relating to the assignment of various places be left to the judgment of the Personnel Committee. The motion was seconded by Senator Hickenlooper.

The Chairman put the question and the motion was agreed to.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who reported on the present situation concerning the seating of Senator Bilbo. He said that there had been no change in the situation, and that Senator [John H.] Overton [Democrat of Louisiana] had informed him that the present tactics of the opposition would continue. He said that he had called a hurried meeting of the Steering Committee at 4:00 p.m. on yesterday and that it was decided by the Committee to recess until Saturday and make an effort to break the filibuster on Monday. He informed the Conference on the difficulties involved in breaking a filibuster. As to the question of procedure, he requested all Senators to follow and back up the motions made by the Floor Leader. He said that a proposed unanimous consent agreement submitted to him by Senator Barkley was not agreeable to the Republican Leadership. It called for the taking of the oath by Bilbo, with a reference of the matter to the Committee on Rules and Administration, the case to be taken up by the Senate on January 20, 1947, and a final decision made in the matter by a majority vote of the Senate. He said that so far as the President's message is concerned, the attitude should be taken that the Senate was not organized and that the

delivery of the message should be postponed until the Senate was organized.

The Chairman recognized Senator Buck who said that he had been informed by several Democrats that if Bilbo were seated now, they would join with the Republicans at a later date and vote to unseat him.

The Chairman recognized Senator Revercomb who expressed the opinion that the Senate should hear the President. Senator Revercomb moved that whether or not the Senate was organized by the Republicans, the Senate meet with the House to hear the message of the President on the state of the Union. The motion was seconded by Senator Saltonstall.

The Chairman put the question and the motion was lost.

A general discussion ensued with the Chairman recognizing Senators Vandenberg, Knowland, Taft, Hickenlooper and Ferguson, all of whom expressed themselves as to the position that should be taken in the matter.

Due to the convening of the Senate at 12:00 o'clock, the Chairman asked if it was not the general sentiment of the Conference that, beginning with the convening of the Senate today, the Bilbo matter be constantly kept before the Senate until the final disposition of the matter, leaving some possible leeways as the situation developed. There being no objection raised to the statement of the Chairman, it is concluded that the Chairman correctly stated the sentiment of the Conference.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 13, 1947, and transmitted to the Secretary of the Conference on January 31, 1947, for incorporation in the Minutes Book.

[signed] J. Mark Trice,  
Secretary for the Majority

\* \* \*

#### Exhibit A

#### Report of Republican Steering Committee Subcommittee on Labor Legislation

The first session of the 80th Congress faces two major tasks in the field of labor relations legislation. The first is to achieve a better balance between legal rights and responsibilities of employers and employees and unions in labor relations and by other means to try to lessen the number of strikes which interfere with commerce. The second is to provide a practical and sound solution for the industry-wide shutdowns which have a paralyzing effect on our economy. A very wide range of legislative proposals will be

JANUARY 4, 1947

made, including creation of new federal mediation machinery, overhauling of the National Labor Relations Act, some amendments to the Norris-LaGuardia Act, outlawing of compulsory membership in unions, establishment of federal standards for unions as regards finances, election of officers, strike votes, etcetera, compulsory adjudication of major disputes, application of the Sherman Act to collective bargaining in certain cases, and writing of a new anti-monopoly statute to apply to labor relations.

The subcommittee is of the opinion that an overall investigation prior to any legislation, as proposed in some quarters, would not be wise. Such an investigation would take many months, even years, to produce legislative results, and there is not time for that, since the subcommittee is strongly of the view that prompt action should be taken in the present emergency on all those subjects which have been adequately considered or can be adequately considered in the first session. Also, there has been wide public discussion and many congressional studies and hearings covering much of the field in the past year and a half. Therefore, the subcommittee recommends that such additional studies as need to be made, be made in the form of hearings on specific legislative proposals.

The subcommittee also canvassed the question of whether all labor legislation should be combined in one bill or separated into two or more measures. Even though realizing the practical difficulties in enacting into law more than one major bill in this field in a single session, the subcommittee is not prepared at this time to rule out the possibility of several bills. Because of the varying degree of information available and crystallization of opinion on various phases of the problem, the subcommittee believes it would be wise at this time to proceed tentatively on the basis of two or at the most three bills. It may be possible if committee work progresses rapidly enough to later on combine all proposals in one measure.

The subcommittee has drafted a revised version of HR 4908, which Congress passed and the President vetoed in 1946, and recommends that brief hearings be held on this measure with a view to prompt action. A separate bill to outlaw all contracts making union membership a condition of employment will be introduced at the same time, and a decision can be made later on this issue and when and how it should be presented. Another bill proposing a number of amendments to the National Labor Relations Act has been drafted and will be introduced soon after January 3, as will several alternative legislative proposals to meet the problem of industry-wide bargaining and shutdowns, it being the subcommittee's view that these specific proposals should form the basis for the Labor and Public Welfare Committee's study of these two subjects. Clearly, these hearings will have to be somewhat more extended and it is not possible now to estimate whether the legislative committee will be prepared to report out a bill or bills in time to confine Senate action to one overall measure. A draft of the revised version of HR 4908 is attached hereto as part of this report.

(Note: This report was drafted by Senators Taft, Ball and Smith. Senator Morse, who was named to the subcommittee, was in Europe while its work was done and did not participate.)

\* \* \*

Exhibit "B"  
(COMMITTEE PRINT)  
December 31, 1946

80th Congress  
1st Session

S.  
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
January , 1947

Mr. Ball (for himself, Mr. Taft, and Mr. Smith) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on

**A BILL**

To provide additional facilities for the mediation of labor disputes affecting commerce, to improve the procedures of collective bargaining, to equalize legal responsibilities of labor organizations and employers, and for other purposes.

[The 25-page draft of the revised bill appears as pages 51496-520 of Vol. 3 of the original minutes.]

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MINUTES OF AN INFORMAL MEETING OF THE VARIOUS  
CHAIRMEN OF THE FIFTEEN STANDING COMMITTEES OF  
THE SENATE, CALLED BY SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT,  
CHAIRMAN OF THE MAJORITY POLICY COMMITTEE

January 11, 1947

The following Senators were present:

Aiken	Millikin	Wherry
Bridges	Revercomb	White
Brooks	Taft	Wiley
Buck	Tobey	
Capper	Vandenberg	

The following Senators were absent:

Butler  
Langer

On motion of Senator Taft which was duly seconded and passed, Senator Styles Bridges was named Chairman of the group.

Senator Bridges informed the group of the provisions in the Reorganization Act concerning the various staffs of the old Committees, which under terms of the Law would carry through March 1, and the Appropriations Committee through June 30. He recommended that all old Committee employees be carried only on the roll through January 31.

The Chairman stated that Mr. Smith had been asked to make a study of the situation and interview persons who might be inter-

JANUARY 4, 1947

ested in obtaining positions as experts to the various Committees, with an idea that the various Chairmen might have that information at their disposal.

After a general discussion concerning Committee experts and Committee employees, Senator Taft moved that each Committee be limited to a professional staff totaling \$25,000.00 and a secretarial staff totaling \$25,000.00, with the exception of the Appropriations Committee. Senator Taft's motion was not seconded.

Various opinions were expressed that the entire matter should be left to the various Chairmen; that the Chairmen did not have the authority to make appointments, but that it was a Committee matter, and that the judgment of the Chairmen should be followed by the Members of the various Committees.

After this discussion, Senator Taft agreed to amend his motion by striking therefrom professional employees.

On motion of the Chairman three Members were appointed to make a study of the compensation to be paid secretarial employees of the Committees, and report back to the group. The Chairman appointed Senators Butler, Buck and Brooks.

Mr. Rice, the Legislative Counsel, appeared and spoke concerning the provisions in the Reorganization Act.

The opinion was that the experts of the various Committees would be subject to appointment by the Committees, and the suggestion was made that one place be given to the Minority.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

Approved:

[signed] Styles Bridges  
Chairman

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[January 13, 1947]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 13, 1947, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:40 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present—34:



EIGHTIETH CONGRESS (1947–1949)

Aiken	Flanders	Smith
Brewster	Hickenlooper	Taft
Brooks	Ives	Thye
Buck	Jenner	Tobey
Bushfield	Kem	Vandenberg
Butler	Knowland	Watkins
Cain	Lodge	Wherry
Capper	Malone	White
Cordon	Martin	Williams
Dworshak	McCarthy	Young
Ecton	Millikin	
Ferguson	Revercomb	
Absent—17:		
Baldwin	Donnell	Reed
Ball	Gurney	Robertson
Bricker	Hawkes	Saltonstall
Bridges	Langer	Wiley
Capehart	Moore	Wilson
Cooper	Morse	

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft, who announced that the Majority Policy Committee had approved the extension of the War Investigating Committee for a period of twelve months. The Senator raised the question as to whether the resolution should be brought up before the Senate for consideration today, but said that it certainly should be on Wednesday. He informed the Conference of the action previously taken by the Congress relating to Special Committees, namely, that the Senate had first approved the version in the La Follette-Monroney Bill, eliminating them; that the House had refused to accept that version and had eliminated the matter; and that the Senate had finally agreed with the House by adopting the Conference Report. He said that the policy of continuing Special Committees was an open question and debatable. He spoke of a conference held by Senator Brewster with the Committee on Armed Services to avoid any possible conflict between the two Committees, and said it was agreed that the Special Committee would consider only past actions with the Committee on Armed Services, considering current questions and matters arising in the future. Another reason for the continuance of the Special Committees was that the Standing Committees were not yet organized and staffed; that the Policy Committee had considered only two of the existing Special Committees, namely the War Investigating Committee and the Small Business Committee and had recommended, so far as the latter was concerned, an extension of eight months.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ferguson who informed the Conference that he had reached an understanding with Senator Gurney to the effect that the Special Committee would investigate solely war contracts, with particular emphasis laid on corruption and profit-

JANUARY 13, 1947

earing growing out of those contracts; that a final report would be made by that Committee which no other Committee could do, for if a new committee were to take over, many months would be consumed in covering the ground already surveyed.

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland, who stated that the problem of a jurisdictional dispute, if any, had been ironed out and that the Special Committee was the only committee authorized to obtain income tax information.

The Chairman recognized Senator Lodge, who asked Senator Taft to clarify the La Follette-Monroney Act. Senator Taft again stated that the provision in the bill eliminating Special Committees had passed the Senate; the House had disagreed to it and that the Senate had agreed to the elimination by the House of Representatives. He said that Senator La Follette saw no reason why there should not be Special Committees. Senator Taft said he thought all Special Committees should be continued for eight months.

The Chairman recognized Senator Vandenberg who spoke of a colloquy on the Senate Floor with Senator La Follette about the creation of Special Committees and suggested that the Congressional Record be read in that respect. He expressed the opinion that there would be no violation of the spirit of the law by the creation of Special Committees.

The Chairman recognized Senator Tobey who said that he had received the Conference notice only an hour previously and that a previous engagement would prevent him from remaining and expressing his views on the matter.

The Chairman recognized Senator Aiken, who asked that action on the Resolution go over until Wednesday. He expressed the hope that Standing Committees would take over the work of Special Committees, and that the Congress, as far as possible, should keep within the structure of the Reorganization Act. He said that he regretted that the Conference had been called on such short notice.

The Chairman informed Senator Aiken that the Conference had been called on Saturday and regretted that more notice could not have been given but that a Conference had to be called in order to arrive at a party policy.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dworshak who asked Senator Taft concerning a proposed investigation of the occupation forces in Germany. Senator Taft replied that such an investigation was within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Armed Services.

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who stated that the matter should be decided immediately by the Senate.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who recommended that the Small Business Committee be continued or reconstituted for a pe-

riod of eight months, as well as all other Special Committees. He said that unless the Committee was reconstituted there would be a Democratic Majority under the terms of the existing resolution. He spoke of the work done and the results accomplished by the old Committee, and said that it would be very wise for that Committee to be continued.

The Chairman recognized Senator Aiken who said that the scope of Special Committees should be definitely defined in the resolutions so that there would be no conflict with the existing Standing Committees. Senator Taft responded that the Small Business Committee had prepared several bills which were referred to the Banking and Currency Committee for study and action and that method would be followed by the new Committee.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wherry who spoke of the purposes of the old Committee, and said that there should be some place where small business could address its grievances. He agreed that eight months would be a sufficient time for the Committee to conclude its work and called attention to the fact that two hearings had been scheduled for January.

The Chairman recognized Senator Buck who stated that he had served as a member of the Committee and that the staff employed by the Committee was far too expensive and should be conducted for far less.

The Chairman recognized Senator Lodge who asked if the action of the Conference would bind individual members and he was informed by the Chairman that it would not.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wherry who stated that on Party policy and on organization matters the Republican Members should follow the Party policy adopted.

The Chairman stated that he believed it to be the consensus of the Conference that no action should be taken today on the recommendations made and that he would call another conference at 3 p.m. on Tuesday, January 14, 1947, for a further discussion of the matter. He requested the members to notify the Republican Whip of their absence from the City as it was essential for him to know where they could be reached as quick action was often needed.

There being no further discussion, the Conference adjourned at 11:20 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

JANUARY 13, 1947

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 15, 1947, and transmitted to the Secretary of the Conference on January 31, 1947, for incorporation in the Minutes Book.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

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[January 14, 1947]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN  
CONFERENCE  
CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D.  
MILLIKIN,  
FOR JANUARY 14, 1947, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE  
BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 3:05 p.m., stating that the Conference had been called for the purpose of giving all Senators an opportunity to be heard on the question of the continuation of Special Committees.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 43:

Aiken	Ferguson	Reed
Brewster	Gurney	Revercomb
Bricker	Hickenlooper	Robertson
Brooks	Ives	Smith
Buck	Jenner	Taft
Bushfield	Kem	Thye
Butler	Knowland	Tobey
Capehart	Langer	Vandenberg
Capper	Lodge	Watkins
Cooper	Malone	Wherry
Cordon	Martin	White
Donnell	McCarthy	Wiley
Dworshak	Millikin	Williams
Ecton	Moore	Young
	Morse	

Absent 8:

Baldwin	Cain	Wilson
Ball	Hawkes	Flanders
Bridges	Saltonstall	

The Chairman recognized Senator Robertson, Chairman of the Committee on Committees who informed the new Senators as to how his Committee had selected them for their relative positions on the various Committees. A list of new Senators compiled by Senator

Robertson is attached hereto as Exhibit “A.” There were no comments on Senator Robertson’s presentation.

The Chairman, for the benefit of new Senators, gave a resume of the various Senate services at their disposal.

The Chairman asked Senator Tobey if he wished to be recognized, and the Senator replied that he appreciated the deferring of the Conference, but that he had nothing to add to what he already had said in his speech on the Senate Floor.

The Chairman asked Senator Aiken if he cared to say anything further. The Senator stated that he did not approve of Special Committees, and he spoke of the amount of money expended by them in comparison with the Standing Committees of the Senate. He again said that their scope should definitely be defined, and that there should be no conflict between them and the Standing Committees. He expressed doubt as to whether the fifteen Standing Committees might be ample in number for future purposes, and that usually Special Committees had overshadowed the Standing Committees. He said that the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments and the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee should be able to look after the needs of small business. He further stated that with a Party issue being raised it made it difficult for him to arrive at a decision in the matter.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ferguson who stated that he had been a Member of the War Investigating Committee for four years. He said that the Democratic Party had controlled the Committee since its inception and that, had the Republicans lost the election there would be no question about both Committees continuing. He said that it was the job of the Republican Party to look into war expenditures and ascertain how the money was spent, and that he felt that the Republican Party owed it to the people back home to have an accounting and let them know what had happened to their dollars.

The Chairman recognized Senator Brewster who said that there had been very little criticism of the work of the Special Committees, and that the investigation should be continued to see how the four hundred billion dollars spent in the war effort had been expended. He said that many thousands of complaints had been received and that since the election more complaints had been received from substantial sources. He said that there were left two fields for further committee investigation, (1) complaints involving irregularities of war contracts, and (2) overall contracts and renegotiations. He agreed that the payroll of the Committee was entirely too large and that money could be saved.

The Chairman recognized Senator Brooks who stated that the Committee on Rules and Administration had acted promptly in the matter, believing that a delay would only encourage those opposing the

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continuation, and that it was important to act promptly in order that the experienced personnel of the Committee could be retained. He said that he considered it a mandate of the people to get an accounting of the unprecedented spending of public money.

The Chairman recognized Senator Gurney who spoke of a preliminary meeting of the Republican Members of the Committee on Armed Services with Senators Ferguson and Brewster. He said that there had been a complete understanding to the effect that anything relating to overseas would be left to the Armed Services Committee, together with court martials, and current investigations or anything which might happen in the future, and that the War Investigating Committee would investigate only the past. He stated that there was no conflict between the two Committees.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who stated that he had fully discussed the matter on yesterday, and that Special Committees served useful purposes. He cited the fact that the La Follette-Monroney Committee was a Special Committee. He stated that he opposed the continuation of all Special Committees for more than eight months. It was his opinion that there should be a rule whereby all Resolutions for the creation of all Special Committees would first be sent to the Committee on Rules and Administration for its decision as to policy and then sent to the proper Standing Committee for its approval. He stated that a permanent change in the rules should be made to discourage the creation of Special Committees.

The Chairman recognized Senator Moore who spoke on the necessity and importance of continuing the Special Committee to Investigate Petroleum Resources, and that its continuance was as important as the War Investigating Committee or the Special Committee on Atomic Energy.

The Chairman recognized Senator Robertson who spoke on the continuation of the Special Committee to Investigate Production, Transportation and Marketing of Wool, which was organized many years ago, and said that the intent of the La Follette-Monroney Bill was not to eliminate those Special Committees already formed, but to eliminate the forming of new ones.

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who said that the War Investigating Committee had done and will continue to do constructive jobs. He said that it was a question of public policy involved, and that corruption and profiteering should be investigated. He stated that if the Resolution were defeated the Democrats would claim that they had driven a wedge into the Republican Party, and he expressed the hope of unanimous support.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who named the other Special Committees now operating, and he said that no particular decision had been reached as to the continuance of the others.

The Chairman commented in regard to the continuation of the Special Silver Committee, to the effect that when the time came his action would either be one of reticence or vociferousness.

The Chairman recognized Senator Hickenlooper who stated that he had found it to be the attitude of the people throughout the Country that graft and corruption was prevalent and that something must be done about it to bring those guilty to justice; that there was at the present time no Standing Committee available to set up the structure or which would have the will to do the job. He spoke of the action taken by the Committee on Rules and Administration which he said was governed by need, and that the action taken by that Committee could not be considered as a precedent for the continuance of other Special Committees. He spoke of the many investigations which had been started by the Committee in the past and suddenly called off, with the result that the people were wondering what had happened.

The Chairman recognized Senator Cooper who said that he favored investigation of the war effort but that in his opinion the Act discouraged the continuation of Special Committees, and that the burden of proof was upon those trying to establish them.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dworshak who referred to testimony by Lindsey Warren that, fifty billion dollars had been wasted. He said that the Republican Party had received a mandate from the people to investigate, and that they should accept the responsibility of that burden.

The Chairman recognized Senator Donnell who spoke of the duties of the Standing Committees, namely, dealing with current and future legislative problems, as compared to that of the Special Committee dealing with a certain specific task, namely, one of investigation.

The Chairman recognized Senator Brewster who remarked that a special type of investigation was needed, and that until the new Standing Committees had organized there remained ample fields for investigation.

The Senator from Michigan, Mr. Ferguson, agreed that a specialized staff was necessary.

The Chairman recognized Senator Malone who said that "team play" was necessary, that there should be Party action, and that it was necessary to follow the Leadership.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who made the following motion which was duly seconded that, "the Republican Conference go on record as favoring the continuance of the War Investigating Committee for a period of one year."

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The Chairman recognized Senator Wherry who thanked Senator Malone for his remarks, and expressed the hope that all Members would notify the Whip as to how they would vote.

The Chairman recognized Senator Langer who stated that he would vote against all Special Committees.

The Chairman recognized Senator Robertson who said that when the time came for extension of the Special Committee to Investigate Production, Transportation and Marketing of Wool, he would ask that the Resolution be voted upon in the Senate so that the Record would show that the Democrats by their votes had beaten the Resolution to extend that Committee and not the Republicans.

The Chairman put the question and the motion of Senator Taft was agreed to.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wherry who gave a justification for the continuance of the Small Business Committee and stated that he would fully discuss the matter on the Senate Floor. He said that there were dozens of complaints pending before the Committee and that it could not fold up unless the gap were bridged until the time when the Standing Committees take over. He said that the Republicans owe it to the businessmen of the Country to give to them a place where they could come. He stated that the House of Representatives planned to have a Small Business Committee, and that the two Committees would act jointly as they had in the past. He closed his remarks with a hope for Party solidarity.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who made the following motion which was seconded that, "the Conference go on record as favoring the extension of the Small Business Committee for eight (8) months."

The Chairman put the question and the motion was agreed to.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 4:55 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference Jan. 20, 1947 and transmitted to the Sec. of the Conference on January 31, 1947, for incorporation in the minutes book.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority



\* \* \*  
EXHIBIT “A”

SENIORITY LIST OF NEW SENATORS

1. Flanders .... Appointed by Governor Nov. 1; elected regular term, beginning January 3.

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2. Cooper ..... Elected interim term beginning Nov. 6 and ending January 3, 1949.  
Dworshak.

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3. Cain ..... Appointed Dec. 26 by Governor and elected regular term beginning January 3.
4. Baldwin .... Elected interim and regular terms.

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5. Lodge ..... Ex-Senator—longer term of the two  
Jenner ..... Ex-Senator

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- Bricker ..... Ex-Governor  
Martin ..... Ex-Governor  
Thye ..... Ex-Governor

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- Ecton .....
- Ives ..... Where two or more were placed on the same committee  
Kem seniority on it was determined by letting them draw.  
Malone  
McCarthy  
Watkins  
Williams

MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE CHAIRMEN OF THE VARIOUS STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR STYLES BRIDGES

January 24, 1947

The following Senators were present:

Aiken	Langer	White
Brooks	Millikin	Wiley
Buck	Tobey	
Butler	Vandenberg	

The following Senators were absent:

Bridges	Revercomb
Capper	Taft
Gurney	

Also present was Senator Robertson who represented the Armed Services Committee.

The meeting was called to order on January 24, 1947, at 10:00 a.m. in room 335 of the Senate Office Building.

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The meeting was presided over by Senator Millikin in the absence of the Chairman, Senator Styles Bridges. The Chairman stated that the purpose of the meeting was to arrive at the fixed regular meeting days for the various Standing Committees. He presented a tentative summary and asked for individual comments from the various Chairmen as to conflicts. After discussion and some rearrangements, the matter was left with George Smith to receive further information and work out a final schedule of meetings.

Senator Vandenberg stated that the Committee on Appropriations would have to be eliminated from a definite schedule because of the nature of the meetings.

Proxy voting was discussed generally but no action was taken.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 11:15 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

Approved:

[signed] Styles Bridges  
Chairman

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[February 18, 1947]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR FEBRUARY 18, 1947, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 2:30 p.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 39:

Aiken	Dworshak	Moore
Baldwin	Ferguson	Revercomb
Ball	Flanders	Saltonstall
Brewster	Gurney	Taft
Bricker	Hawkes	Thye
Bridges	Ives	Tobey
Brooks	Jenner	Vandenberg
Bushfield	Kem	Watkins
Cain	Knowland	Wherry
Capehart	Langer	White
Capper	Lodge	Wiley
Cooper	McCarthy	Williams
Donnell	Millikin	Young

Absent 12:

Buck	Hickenlooper	Reed
Butler	Malone	Robertson
Cordon	Martin	Smith
Ecton	Morse	Wilson

The Chairman announced that Senator Styles Bridges had resigned as the Chairman of the Committee on Personnel and that he had appointed Senator Harlan J. Bushfield to succeed him as Chairman.

The Chairman stated that the purpose of the meeting was to consider S. Con. Res. 7, relating to revenues and expenditures of the Federal Government, the said Resolution placing a limit on expenditures at \$31,500,000,000.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges. Senator Bridges spoke in behalf of the 6-billion dollar cut as recommended by the Joint Committee on the Legislative Budget; gave a historical analysis of the creation of that Committee; stated that the Committee had approached the problem in a realistic way; they had used good faith, and that an honest attempt was made to do a good job. He stated that the cut recommended would not damage vital services and endanger national security; that the Reorganization Act did not intend to have the Committee enumerate or specify the cuts which would have to be made, and that if no substantial cuts were made now, 2½ years after the war, then they never would be made. To arrive at the 6-billion dollar reduction, the Armed Services would be subject to a 2-billion dollar cut. He requested that whatever action was taken that it be backed up, for it was better to take no position, than to take one and back down.

The Chairman recognized Senator Vandenberg who questioned the lack of detailed figures; he said that the important thing was not the actual figure, but to cut those things that could be cut, and do it. He stated that the contemplated cut of the Armed Services would produce a shocking result; and that the most that should be done would be to cut 4½ billion dollars.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who stated that the contemplated cut represented a saving of 13½ billion dollars by reason of a 45-billion dollar budget for the fiscal year ending June, 1947; that the President had stated that his budget could not be cut, and that whatever sum was cut therefrom would be a gain. He said that the 6-billion dollar cut represented a possible 3½-billion dollar tax cut and a 2½-billion dollar payment on the debt; that the Committee had estimated the national income high, and that it may fall short of the figure. There was a moral obligation to go through with the cuts, he said; that the Committee was not in a position to accurately tell the exact amount that should be cut, and therefore, they took "a shot" at 6-billion dollars. He further said that the Republicans should take a figure that can be maintained, and then sustain

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it; and that he would rather try at 4½ billion dollars and stand by it.

The Chairman recognized Senator Gurney who referred to a press release issued by him, dated February 14, 1947, a copy of which is attached hereto as Exhibit "A." He stated that our Foreign Policy had not been decided; that our defense forces had been reduced 85% over two years ago, and that by a budget cut the Armed Services must be cut with the result that the hands of the Secretary of State would be tied at Moscow. He stated that he would go along with any economy program, and that the job had to be left to the Joint Budget Committee.

Senator Young, the Secretary, was requested to take the Chair and Senator Millikin was recognized.

Senator Millikin said that on tomorrow he would offer an amendment fixing the cut at 4½ billion dollars. He said that there was no agency of Congress now available for expert study of the matter, and that while rough judgment was used it was merely guessing. That the road program cannot stand a drastic cut, and that severe cuts in the Reclamation Service would wipe out every Republican gain in the West if intemperate action is taken. He said that there should be no cheap budget cuts at the expense of other States; that the people expect us to cut expenses to the bone, but that it should be a 4½ billion dollars this time, and then get our experts to work and find out the real facts so that by next year everybody will know the true picture.

Senator Millikin resumed the Chair and recognized the following Senators who asked questions and spoke pro and con on the matter at hand: Senators Revercomb, Lodge, Aiken, Brewster, Flanders, Young, Saltonstall, Williams, Kem, Brooks, White, Thye, Baldwin, Knowland, Dworshak, Capehart, Wherry, Hawkes, Cain and Moore.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ball who asked for a show of hands in order that there might be an expression as to either a 6 or 4½-billion dollar cut.

Senator Revercomb having suggested a budget cut of 5 billion dollars, the Chairman asked for a showing of hands as to the three figures submitted. The following result was announced:

For 4½ billion dollars—22 hands

For 5 billion dollars—1 hand

For 6 billion dollars—19 hands

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who spoke of the necessity of longer sessions of the Senate because of legislation, within two or three weeks. He said that the matter had been considered by the Policy Committee and that it was recommended to the Conference that evening sessions be held on Monday and Wednesday after a

recess around 5:00 o'clock. He requested a showing of hands as to evening sessions on Monday and Wednesday as against sessions on Tuesday and Thursday. He stated that at least two weeks notice would be given before they were started.

The Chairman asked for a showing of hands, and all present except one were in favor of evening sessions on Monday and Wednesday. There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 5:20 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, March 21, 1947.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

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EXHIBIT "A"

PRESS RELEASE

Chan Gurney, (R. S.D.), Chairman  
Committee on Armed Services  
United States Senate

February 14, 1947

During the past several weeks I have made it my duty to study and analyze the War and Navy Departments' budget estimates as submitted to Congress by the President. I say "duty" advisedly for in the troubled state of the world today, it is incumbent on every member of this body and of the House of Representatives to assure himself beyond the shadow of a doubt that adequate funds will be provided for our national security in the coming fiscal year.

I realize that in the few weeks since we have had a chance to make even a casual first study of the President's budget, only outstanding facts and general over-all consideration could be given.

It is most unfortunate and very dangerous, in my opinion, that the requirement in the Reorganization Act compels a policy decision on over-all expenditures for the 1948 fiscal year before the several committees of Congress have had every opportunity to go into the requests of all departments carefully and in detail. Still, serious and timely consideration is necessary right now and failure of the representatives of the people of the United States to assure themselves of the adequacy of appropriations to our Armed Forces right now is an invitation to national disaster. Certainly if we do not give serious consideration now, Congress must accept responsibility for repudiating the advice of those men who have been responsible for the winning of the war and are now responsible—for we have given them that job—of winning for us a just and lasting peace.

Today the Full Committee appointed under the Reorganization Act is sitting in the Ways and Means Committee room of the House—102 members from

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both bodies of Congress. This body has for its consideration the recommendation of its subcommittee which met last Tuesday and at that time voted its recommendation to the Full Committee sitting today that the President's budget recommendation should be reduced by 6 billion dollars. That 6 billion dollars includes reductions for all Executive branches but primarily, it includes a reduction of one billion dollars in Army appropriations;  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a billion dollars in Navy appropriations; and a half billion dollars in Civil Functions of the War Department.

In explanation of the Civil Functions appropriation, let me say that 725 million was recommended by the budget for relief of starving people overseas in and around occupied areas. Also included in the Civil Functions is 280 million dollars—or thereabouts—for Rivers and Harbors work and other public works projects generally undertaken by the Army Engineers.

Therefore, the over-all cut to the Armed Services because of the recommendation of the Subcommittee is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  billion dollars.

As Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, I have been unable to reconcile the advice of the Subcommittee with the necessity for expenditures for our own national security. I felt, therefore, that it was my duty to make an analysis of the effect of any reduction in the amount submitted in the President's budget.

After such careful study in the brief time available for such study I am convinced that the War and Navy Department estimates were conscientiously prepared with all possible attention to considerations of economy; and that it represents the minimum amount required to enable the Army and Navy to perform missions vital to the well being of the United States. I wanted to know the effects of any such reduction in the terms of Naval strength in 1948; in terms of the needs of Gen. MacArthur in the Pacific and Generals Clay and McNarney in the occupied areas of Europe and, more so, the effects in the critical years immediately ahead.

In the course of making this analysis, I discovered that great reductions were made inside the Army and inside the Navy even before the Secretaries presented their requests to the Budget. I found also that even after these great reductions inside the Army and Navy, a further cut was made at the President's request by the Budget and we now have before us the final greatly reduced request, after two drastic cuts have already been made.

Now along comes the request of the Subcommittee that the Full Budget Committee of Congress made a further cut of more than 20% in the monies allocated in the 1948 fiscal year for our own national security. Personally, I cannot see how members of Congress could vote for such a cut if they realized—and I think they do—that in the President's budget, 46 cents out of each dollar is there to pay for prior wars. In other words, if we had stayed out of World War II and those prior thereto we could right now be rolling along on easy street with a budget only  $\frac{1}{2}$  as big as it presently is and still appropriate the 11-odd billion dollars presently requested by the Armed Forces.

Do you think 11 billion dollars is too much to put out now on the chance that it will save us from World War III (God forbid it may never come)—and do you think retention of the  $2\frac{1}{4}$  billion dollars for our national security is too much of an insurance premium to pay at this time? Certainly I for

one am convinced that to make any such cut as is now proposed and may be adopted this afternoon in the Full Budget Committee will impair the efficiency of the Army and Navy to the extent that they could not carry out the tasks which have been assigned not to themselves by the Army and Navy, but assigned to them by the Congress of the United States representing the whole people.

Now let's take the Navy Department first and see what we find:

The Navy Department, with the President's approval, last year placed before the Congress a plan of operation for fiscal year 1947 which provided for the maintenance of certain naval forces. Roughly, these forces included 662,000 Navy and Marine personnel; 1232 ships, and 6,190 operational aircraft. The Congress, in carrying out its constitutional responsibility, approved this proposal. This force was considerably smaller than the one the Navy Department would have requested had not our national economy been so drastically hit during the war years.

In drawing up its plans for the Fiscal Year 1948 the Navy proposed to maintain a force of the general strength and character I have just described. A moderate program of material improvement throughout the Fleet and Air Arm was contemplated. It was proposed to undertake a shipbuilding program comprised of a small number of auxiliaries and minor combatant prototypes. Included also was an amount representing the first increment for construction of permanent facilities to replace temporary wartime structures. Extensive plans for research and development were included. A companion Naval Reserve was provided for. These programs would have assured the naval mastery which the United States gained during World War II. They would have strengthened the hand of our diplomats at the International Conference Tables, and would undoubtedly contribute greatly to peace and stability in world affairs.

After these programs were first translated into dollars, weeks of exhaustive study and consultations followed involving all of the responsible officers and officials of the Navy Department. The results of these studies were submitted to the Secretary of the Navy. He considered the Navy's responsibility for national security. He attempted to achieve a reasonable compromise between the requirements of national security and the known and desirable objective of "true" economy. As a result, before submission to the Bureau of the Budget, the original estimates were reduced 33 percent.

The revised program provided for maintaining the same force as originally contemplated, but deferring until later years some of the development, most of the material improvement and practically all of the public works. That is the kind of recommendation which the Navy Department submitted.

Now let me tell you what happened next.

Extensive hearings began in the Bureau of the Budget on September 15 and continued for the following three months. It is my understanding that based on the strength and the modified material program outlined, the Bureau of the Budget felt that the Navy's estimates were fundamentally sound. Nevertheless, within the confines of the Federal Budget for 1948 the Bureau of the Budget determined that no more than \$3,654,000.000 could be allocated for naval purposes—and this sum included a transfer of

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\$150,000,000 previously appropriated. This allocation was a reduction of 33 percent of the revised estimates submitted by the Secretary of the Navy.

It is obvious that the Navy budget now before us is not the result of poorly conceived plans, carelessly evaluated. All areas of possible reduction and deferment have been so thoroughly explored that the responsibility for the effect of further curtailment must now rest squarely upon the Congress.

We must remember that the Navy and Marine personnel have already been reduced 85%, from a wartime strength of almost 4,000,000. In comparison with this, at the close of World War I the demobilization of a force  $\frac{1}{8}$  as large took twice as long. There has been a reduction of over 50% in civilian personnel, from 753,000 to approximately 360,000, and of these only about 30% are in the so-called white collar group—notwithstanding the fact that in many naval activities civilians now occupy positions which could only be filled with uniformed personnel during the war.

As a part of the demobilization program, almost 4,000 shore stations and activities have been inactivated and all remaining activities have been reduced in size and scope of operations. There has been drastic curtailment of procurement. Both shipbuilding and aircraft production have been curtailed to a point where doubt exists as to the ability of important segments of these industries to survive.

Before we can operate on a normal peacetime basis, the Navy has to divert thousands of its personnel, both military and civilian, to the task of inactivating ships and stations. This diversion is at the expense of the operating forces which must be accepted. Once this work is completed, the diverted strength can be returned to the active fleet. During this period fleet operations are necessarily curtailed through lack of crews, and repairs are being deferred because much of the civilian force is occupied with inactivation.

I want to emphasize that the Navy had an orderly plan for demobilization and an operating force plan which it had expected to employ until changes were justified by world conditions. As I said before this plan was accepted and approved by the Congress for the fiscal year 1947. I am convinced that the Navy believed that the force of the size described to us would be required until conditions changed. Against this background the Navy Budget for 1948 was submitted to the Bureau of the Budget.

In comparison with the force of the size approved by Congress for Fiscal 1947, the Budget now before us will provide for 91,000 fewer naval and Marine Corps personnel; 12 less combatant ships; 398 fewer supporting ships; 60 less operating aircraft; and an average reduction of 70,000 in civilian employment. The Budget also imposes a further cut in naval research and development, almost completely eliminates material improvement, and provides only a token allocation for public works. That broadly speaking is what can be provided by the \$3,654,000,000 appropriation.

Frankly, I feel that the Congress in discharging its responsibility for common defense should be making careful inquiry as to the wisdom of the reductions already made. Instead of this inquiry, I find that there is a considerable body in the Congress who are going in the other direction. They talk about still further reductions.

On Tuesday, February 11, the Subcommittee on the Legislative Budget adopted a motion to reduce the President's expenditure estimate by 6.0 bil-



lion dollars. I opposed this action. My opposition was based on the knowledge that this large reduction could not be obtained without a sizable reduction in the amount allocated to the Navy and the Army.

In my search for information I tried to find out just what effect a further cut of 750 million dollars would have on the strength of the Navy. I found that it is impossible on short notice to secure any quantitative data on the effect of a reduction of this magnitude. It was clear to me that the Navy could not make a hasty evaluation on a matter which has so many implications both domestic and international. Any substantial change in the amounts available for Navy expenditure requires a comprehensive study to assure a balance between operating forces and supporting establishments.

Although the specific details are lacking, investigation discloses that further reduction in the 1948 budget estimates, as furnished to the Congress by the President, would seriously impair the effectiveness of the naval arm of national security not only during fiscal year 1948 but also for several years to follow. A reduction in the amount of \$750,000,000 would raise grave doubt as to the effectiveness of the Navy as an instrument of national policy and would thereby remove a very potent factor in the peace and stability of the world.

A further reduction of \$750,000,000 from the President's budget would require reductions in the following areas and more.

A sizable reduction of Navy and Marine personnel strength would be necessary. The effect of the reduction of regular service personnel will be:

1. Immobilization of a considerable portion of the Atlantic and Pacific Fleets.
2. Reduction in the effectiveness of the Marine Corps to support United States policy overseas and of Amphibious training and development of techniques for Amphibious Operations.
3. Abandonment of Material Salvage Program, resulting in considerable loss in logistic efficiency.
4. Inability properly to administer and train the Naval Reserve.
5. Further inactivation of advance and continental air and operating bases.
6. Serious curtailment of essential training of pilots; air, and general service ratings of all branches.
7. Curtailment of educational commitments to officers transferred from Naval Reserve and enlisted categories to the regular service.
8. Breaching the contract with enlisted personnel by forced separation from the service.

There must be a reduction in Naval Reserve personnel. There is a large body of supporters for the Reserve Program in the Congress. Yet we cannot lose sight of the fact that reserve training will not be effective if limited to assembling reservists in armories for school work. If they are not given an opportunity to fly or to go to sea, they cannot develop effectiveness nor will they long keep their interest. Yet with the active fleet and air squadrons drastically reduced how can we expect the men to receive proper training? The Reserves are an integral part of the Navy. Their training, to be

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effective, depends entirely on the regular Navy and its operating establishment. Without facilities to accommodate Reserve training we might well question the wisdom of investing money in the Reserve Program.

There would be a crippling reduction in classified civil service personnel. The effect would be a further reduction of personnel for planning, design, research, contract termination settlement, industrial mobilization planning, and surplus property disposal which is inadequately provided for under personnel present ceilings. Backlogs of work already exist throughout the many activities of the Navy. This would lead to virtual inability to handle veterans' matters such as hospitalization information, and requests for information essential to veterans under the GI Bill of Rights. It would lead to the separation of many civilian employees of long service and possessing special skills peculiar and valuable to the Navy.

A similar reduction in industrial forces would be required. The effect would be a further reduction in the personnel available for repair and alterations to ships of the active fleet, inactivation of ships, overhaul of aircraft and aircraft engines, care and handling of supplies, materials and other government property. The cost of this property to the taxpayers was 46 billion dollars. The present force is barely adequate to prevent abnormal loss and deterioration.

I want to call attention to a tendency to compare pre-war with post-war civilian employment. This thought apparently disregards the increased size of the naval establishment. As a matter of fact the present ratio between naval civilian and military personnel is less than in 1939.

Not only will curtailment of programs be required in the areas just mentioned but research and development of vital concern to all of us will be necessarily retarded; intelligence activities, so important when other factors of national security are shrinking, must be curtailed. Naval communications, including communication intelligence which played a vital role in the recent conflict, will suffer.

Now we come to the naval shore establishment. The Navy has already planned an orderly reduction in major shore activities such as naval shipyards, air stations, ammunition depots, ordnance plants, supply depots, and hospitals. A further reduction would require a downward revision which may well be adverse to the public interest because it will involve the abandonment of government property and weakening of logistic support of the active forces.

This brief summary outlines in a general way the basic and desperately important problems which will be created for the Navy Department by this threatened appropriations reduction.

Now let us turn our attention to the other great arm of defense—the Army, which presently has the tremendous occupation job.

It is my understanding that the Army accepted a sizeable cut in the overall strength it originally presented to the President as a requirement for the fiscal year 1948. In so doing, General Eisenhower displayed a soldierly spirit of cheerful obedience to his Commander-in-Chief which does him credit. Even further, it appears to me that General Eisenhower took a calculated risk, in order to attempt to accomplish the Army's multitudinous missions, which only a most courageous man would assume.

*THE OCCUPATION TASK*

In occupied areas for which the United States has responsibility, there are approximately 125,000,000 persons whose conduct is being regulated by an Army force of not more than 350,000 men. This is a stupendous task and a grave responsibility. The imminent danger of unrest and disease resulting from the privations of war-torn countries, the hard winter now being experienced, shortages of food, and the fact that there has been little or no opportunity for rehabilitation, all complicate the Army's task of bringing to the conquered peoples domestic tranquility and a realistic concept of democracy, so that the victory of World War II may be made secure. Failure to clinch the victory will squander the efforts made by our people through four years of the bitterest war the world has ever known. Yet it is the immediate prospects of such failure which we must face, and face squarely, if further cuts are made in the already dangerously cut military manpower available for the task.

*NON-EFFECTIVES*

We talk of planned strength of 1,070,000. Actually this strength is not available to the Chief of Staff in carrying out his mission. Drains of strength over which he has no control reduce this figure by possibly as much as 200,000 men. Public Law 704, 79th Congress, provides that the Army must carry on its roll all personnel on terminal leave. In the fiscal year 1948, some 40,000 or 50,000 will be on terminal leave at all times. There will be a large number sick in hospitals who will never return to Army duty. Many will be taking care of surplus property, and there will be thousands in various other categories not of direct value in the tasks of most immediate urgency—the occupation, and the provision of national security.

*CIVILIANS OVERSEAS*

There are about 190,000 civilians presently overseas paid from appropriated funds for the Military Establishment. The War Department proposes to reduce this number in FY 1948 to 110,000. Surely, this indicates a full awareness on the part of the Army of the needs for economy. Out of this number must come the skilled professional and administrative personnel charged with the implementation of U.S. Political, social and economic policies among the 125,000,000 people who populate the occupied areas. The multiplicity and complexity of problems involved in the guidance and surveillance of the governmental organizations of Germany, Japan and Korea which deal with finance, industry, trade, labor, political structure, demilitarization, rationing and price control, information and education, restitution, reparations and other miscellaneous phases of a national economy indicate that, quantitatively, the number employed are capable only of directing affairs on broad policy and governmental levels.

Native labor and professional skill are being utilized to the extent that about 500,000 enemy nationals are employed by the U.S. Army in occupied areas and paid with their occupied area currencies. There is a limit to the degree in which foreign nationals can be employed in positions of trust and responsibility while still maintaining the integrity and security of the occupation and military government organizations. I am convinced we have now reached this limit. Any further steps at this time to replace American civil-

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ians with foreign nationals in the interest of economy would be completely incompatible with the interests of National Safety.

#### *FORCES IN THE UNITED STATES*

Backing up our overseas forces in their vital mission is a pitifully small force in the continental United States which, in addition to its mission of supporting the occupation, must be prepared to meet any emergency—anywhere, any time. The ground combat elements of this force have been slashed to a point where they are virtually nonexistent. The service elements are strained to their utmost capacity in training the replacements, procuring and handling the supplies, and operating the ports without which our troops overseas would cease to function. So it is on the air defenses of the United States that any further reductions would have to fall. I am reliably informed that after we have provided the minimum air needs of the overseas commanders, our budget, with the slash so lightheartedly proposed, would provide for only three air groups in the continental U.S. Think of it, gentlemen—three air groups for the defense of the richest and once the most powerful nation in the world!

#### *RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT*

An adequate program of military research and development is vitally necessary to the national defense. To exceed an adequate program of research and development might mean unnecessary expense to the people of the United States; to fall short of an adequate program will inevitably breed disaster. The War Department's program of \$235,000,000 as reflected in the estimates before you, represents, in my opinion, another calculated risk which we dare not increase. The estimates provide for a minimum of continued progress along lines of research to which we have already committed considerable money. This is sound. Abandonment of these projects prior to fruition would certainly be inconsistent with the investment already made. We could profitably devote twice as much money to research and development. It paid big dividends in World War II. It will also pay big dividends in the future.

Everyone here can well take to heart the lesson provided by the fall of France. France had what was supposed to be "the world's finest Army." But it was equipped with materiel which had become hopelessly obsolete in the twenty years of peace following World War I. The Wehrmacht and the Luftwaffe, equipped with the finest products which German science and industry could produce, brought about in a few short weeks the ruin of France's Army, and of France herself. Neglect of our research program will render our materiel and techniques just as hopelessly obsolete in the next five or ten years.

#### *MORALE*

You gentlemen saw the sorry state which Army morale reached shortly after V-J Day. The Army and the Congress, together—and I think the Congress can claim its fair share of the credit, by providing decent pay and initiating a program of housing—have now brought Army morale back to where it again reflects credit on a great country and a great institution. Yet, even with this housing program, there now exist permanent housing facilities

for only about 200,000 men. The Army needs family quarters, bachelor quarters, and barracks. The most urgent of these needs is for family quarters, of which only 11,500 sets are now available. A total of 6,700 sets of family quarters are under construction now. Thus, the Army expects to have 18,200 sets of family quarters on 1 July 1947, leaving a possible deficit of 100,000 units. After full authorization has been obtained, the War Department intends to submit a supplemental estimate of \$225,000,000 for construction. Over half of this amount will be applied to the construction of about 4,500 sets of family quarters during fiscal year 1948, a very insignificant number which cannot in fairness be denied. If we do deny them, we will not only deal a telling blow to morale, but I predict we will see a significant slump in voluntary recruiting. We have a solemn obligation to provide the American soldier with living standards befitting an American citizen.

The distribution of grades within the Army permitted by funds in their estimate, appears to me to offer fewer career opportunities than our other services. Yet the success the Army will experience in the postwar years, is also directly dependent upon the opportunities for a career which the Army can offer the youth of America. A distribution of grades offering opportunities just as attractive as the other services, is essential to the Army's success. Any further cut will result in a failure to obtain the type of soldier without which the Army will inevitably deteriorate.

#### *CIVILIAN COMPONENTS*

Our civilian components—the National Guard and Organized Reserves—made a contribution to victory in World War II without which that victory could not have been attained. In 1940, however, our Allies provided the time which was essential to the mobilization and further training of our civilian components. But in any future emergency, this time will not be available. The initial blow will be directed at us; and our National Guard and Organized Reserves must be prepared to take their places immediately, shoulder to shoulder with our Regular Army. The proposed cut will render them incapable of so doing. Not only would their strengths be reduced by 50% from the already low figures provided for in the War Department estimates, but their training would inevitably fail to reach the standard which would enable them to take their places in the Mobilization Day Force. The President of the Reserve Officers' Association, representing that group of patriotic and responsible citizen-soldiers, has already found it necessary to bring to the attention of the President the serious consequence of failure to provide adequately for that vital component of our National Security.

#### *RATIO OF OFFICERS TO ENLISTED MEN*

Criticism has been expressed in some circles concerning the number of officers in our interim Army. I am convinced, however, that the number is in no way excessive. In the first place, the highly technical duties of the Air Corps require a ratio of officers greatly in excess of that experienced prior to World War II. Further, the greatly expanded administrative overhead due to world-war deployment; the occupation and military government missions; a greatly expanded military intelligence and military attache systems, including military advisory groups to China, Brazil, and the Philippines; an expanded program of research and development; requirements for the care and custody of surplus property; the settlement of claims and

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contracts; and a greatly expanded program for the civilian components of the Army, impose a personnel requirement upon the Army which fully justifies the need for more officers.

#### *POSTS, CAMPS AND STATIONS*

Prior to presenting its estimates for the coming fiscal year, the War Department has been forced by considerations of economy to close many stations whose retention would be essential to rapid expansion should another emergency arise. It will have only about 450 posts, camps and stations in the United States during fiscal year 1948, a reduction of about 1,350 from the wartime peak of 1,800. A further reduction in the number of small posts is in immediate prospect. In the matter of depots, a comprehensive plan for consolidation in the minimum number of installations has recently been placed in operation.

Any further reduction in the planned number, however, such as would be brought about by the proposed additional cut, cannot fail to damage our defense potential.

#### *RATIO OF BUDGET ESTIMATE TO MILITARY STRENGTH*

The military strength of the Army is one, but not the only important factor in measuring the cost of budget for the Military Establishment. One can so easily be misled in computing the cost of a soldier. It is deceptively simple to divide the number of man-years of military personnel into the total budget estimate, but the resulting figure does not represent the cost of a soldier. It represents only a misleading and erroneous approach to the problem. To analyze correctly the estimate in terms of cost as related to military strength, one must separate "direct" costs—pay, travel, subsistence, clothing, medical care and the maintenance of quarters from those for intelligence, research and development, mobilization planning, disposal of surplus property, and procurement of "capital assets"—airplanes, gliders, guns, and other equipment. The first group of costs do have a direct relationship to the strength of the Army. A comparative analysis so computed shows that pay, travel, subsistence, clothing, transportation, medical care and maintenance of quarters costs approximately \$2,800 during fiscal year 1946 and will cost approximately \$3,150 during fiscal year 1947 and fiscal year 1948. This increase in costs is entirely due to increases in the pay of military personnel as authorized by the 79th Congress and to the increase in prices which have taken place—in some cases 100% during the last six years. The costs directly related to the strength of the Army equals about 55% of the 1948 estimate.

The other 45% is for intelligence, research and development, mobilization planning and the capital assets I have mentioned. You know as well as I do how very important and indispensable are the latter items. The weapons of today and tomorrow cost infinitely more than those of yesterday. Nevertheless, we must adequately support these costs of capital investment to provide the crucial protection which may be needed at once in the next emergency.

*ARMY AIR FORCES*

Let us return again to the effects of the proposed cut on the Army Air Forces. If I appear to dwell excessively on this subject, I ask you to bear with me, for I am convinced that today our Air Force is our first line of defense.

The estimate for the Air Corps has already been reduced by the Bureau of the Budget by approximately 30%; from an estimated requirement of \$1,600,000,000 to \$1,130,000,000, a reduction of \$470,000,000. This reduced estimate will not provide the number of airplanes required to initiate effectively the modernization of a minimum peacetime Air Corps. I am informed that it was the considered opinion of the greatest airmen in the world, who, I am proud to say, can be found in the ranks of the U.S. Air Forces, that a minimum of 1,800 planes of the latest type should be provided. The estimate now before the Congress provides only about 900 airplanes, with necessary emphasis on bombers and jet fighters. And now a further budget cut is advanced which would halve this pitiful number of new planes!

The War Department's own estimate will not provide the minimum number of flying hours accepted as a requirement to maintain the efficiency of the Air Corps personnel. It will permit the Air Corps only to maintain and operate a substantially reduced number of aircraft and provide a minimum of training through reduced flying hours. The end product of this must be decreased safety and increased casualties. Yet certain gentlemen propose even further economies, at the expense of the lives of our sons tomorrow, and at the risk of the lives and liberties of us all in five or ten years.

*CONCLUSION*

No thinking man can question the wisdom, patriotism and sincerity of the Americans who directed our victory in World War II; and who now has accepted the far graver responsibility of leading our country to lasting peace. Secretary of State George Marshall, in the last few days, has warned of the danger of premature disarmament in a world in which peace is only a devout wish rather than an assured reality. Yet it is disarmament which the advocates of further reductions in the Army's budget are proposing. And it is not a planned and orderly disarmament, but a disarmament by an insidious deterioration. I use the word "insidious" advisedly, gentlemen, for it would be accomplished by giving the country a sense of false security—a security which could not possibly exist with the drastic cuts in our forces which would inevitably follow the reduction of \$2,250,000,000 which is now proposed. I am proud to state to this body that I can never be a party to such a proposal.

The United States has given practical proof of its desire to rely on law, reason and justice to resolve international disputes. Until, however, the United Nations is a going concern, able to handle successfully the complex problems of world security, and until the United Nations has sufficient and usable power to compel the acceptance of its decisions this nation cannot accept disarmament. While I believe that the future holds promise of suc-

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cessful limitations of armaments, I believe that it is unwise and definitely untimely to effect *unilateral disarmament through appropriation action*.

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[March 10, 1947]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR MARCH 10, 1947, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BLDG.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 8:00 p.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 45:

Aiken	Ecton	Morse
Baldwin	Ferguson	Revercomb
Ball	Flanders	Saltonstall
Brewster	Gurney	Smith
Bricker	Hawkes	Taft
Brooks	Hickenlooper	Thye
Buck	Ives	Tobey
Bushfield	Jenner	Vandenberg
Cain	Kem	Watkins
Capehart	Knowland	Wherry
Capper	Langer	White
Cooper	Lodge	Wiley
Cordon	McCarthy	Williams
Donnell	Millikin	Wilson
Dworshak	Moore	Young

Absent 6:

Bridges	Malone	Reed
Butler	Martin	Robertson

The Chairman recognized Senator White who announced that Senator Malone was necessarily absent on State business.

The Chairman recognized Senator Baldwin who spoke as follows: That the recent letter addressed to the Chairman by the newly elected Senators constituted in no sense a revolt on their part; that the Republicans now find themselves as a Party in a unique situation with two Republican Houses of Congress and a Democratic President; that much responsibility had been passed along by the Democrats to the Republicans, which responsibility was not all theirs; that the purpose of the letter was an endeavor to make greater contributions in order to achieve a common goal. The Senator spoke of the recent Party policy decision concerning the recent debt reduction resolution, as well as statements concerning a 20% income tax



reduction which had placed several Senators on the spot. He made a suggestion for frequent Conferences and the hope of finding a common ground in the hope to carry forward an agreed upon program; that in his opinion difficulties should be ironed out in a Conference in order to eliminate wedges driven into the Republicans by the Democrats on the Senate floor; that the differences should be ironed out by the Republicans themselves in the hope of getting better teamwork and for all to know what the signals are. His suggestions were (1) that Conferences should be held once a week and (2) that the newly elected Senators should have some representation on the Policy Committee. He closed in stating that there should be a greater degree of unity, purpose and cohesion than ever before.

The Chairman stated that he welcomed the request for more frequent Conferences and that he could foresee difficulties in having Conferences weekly. He made the suggestion that two of the new Senators sit in on the Policy Committee meetings, as the Members of that Committee had been previously named; that it had always been the rule that Policy Committee meetings were open and that all Senators had been invited to appear at any time to discuss legislative policy and to make suggestions.

Senator Baldwin replied that he believed the attendance of new Senators at Policy Committee meetings was desirable.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who said that bills must be worked out by the various Committees and that it would be a mistake for the Policy Committee to interfere with this work; that it was the duty of the Policy Committee to act only where Party policy was concerned. He spoke of matters coming up on the floor without notice which would always continue to come up and present immediate problems and decisions. He said that if a greater percentage of things were made Party policy there was a possibility that there would be more differences. He cited the differences existing after the Conference on debt reduction. He said that Conferences should be held only when the matter of Party policy is to be decided and said one was needed on rent as well as labor. He expressed the opinion that weekly Conferences would be a mistake and said that there is no "secret stuff" going on. The Senator stated that when we have four Senators on our side against us, we are beaten on any proposition when the other side votes as a unit and that the Conference was not an effective method of running Congress.

The Chairman recognized Senator Smith who said that Conferences would keep the Members up to date as to what the Committees are doing and that he found himself handicapped by lack of general information.

The Chairman recognized Senator Brewster who said that he was disturbed by the steps taken by the new Senators to air their grievances.

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Senator Baldwin responded that when the Gallup Poll showed 51% against the Republicans he felt as though the tide was going out and that something should be done to change it and after the floor differences had arisen when the Deficiency Bill was up he had decided to write the letter; that he had released the letter to a reporter of a Republican newspaper and that the embellishments which were added were not his but those of the reporter. He said that he did not know what was going on and would like to pitch in and do what he could to help.

In response to a statement that the matter might have been handled in a quiet manner, Senator Baldwin said that he regretted the publicity and apparently it turned out to be a mistake.

The Chairman commented that he had welcomed the letter of Senator Baldwin. He also said that a Conference could be called upon the request of five Senators and that to his knowledge a Conference had never been refused when a request had been made for one.

The Chairman recognized Senator Flanders who said that the following two matters should have been previously raised in Conference. One was the Knowland Amendment and the other the amendment of Senator Wherry.

The Chairman recognized Senator Watkins who said that he had been somewhat disturbed and that he would much rather have a preview than a post-mortem. He spoke of press statements concerning a bi-partisan foreign policy and said that he would like to know in advance what was going on; that if it was important for the President to tell fifteen Members of the Congress something, then all should know; also that while all might not agree on policy he would like to be informed as to events and that he thought Conferences should be held more often.

The Chairman stated that he was of the opinion that one Conference a week would be impractical and that it would perhaps be better to hold them every two weeks. He said that if they did need more Conferences, the Policy Committee could declare when one was necessary; that he himself could call one, and that five Senators could ask that one be called.

The opinion was expressed that attendance would fall off by having a weekly Conference. He stated that if there was no objection he will call a Conference every two weeks, and that he would discuss with the Policy Committee the matter concerning the selection of and the attendance by the new Members at those meetings.

The Chairman recognized Senator Thye who said that he was of the humble opinion that Conferences would help. He spoke of the confusion created in his own mind by the position taken by the leaders on the Lilienthal nomination and expressed the opinion that per-

haps the nomination should have been made the subject matter of a Conference.

The Chairman replied that the Committee was faced with the situation of judging a man and that if the matter had been made a Party matter the action of the Committee would have been stultified.

The Chairman recognized Senator White who said that he believed the new Members had been unduly sensitive; that five of the new men could have requested the call of a Conference and that they could have presented their views to the Policy Committee at any time. He called attention to the fact that now there are twenty-eight of the older Members with seniority who are not members of the Policy Committee as against sixteen new ones. He spoke of each Senator as having two Committee assignments and that when legislation came to the floor every member of that Committee could be contacted for detailed information concerning legislation at hand. He stated that he did not believe the new Members had been neglected and he hoped that they would take an active part in all matters.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wherry who stated that he had offered his amendment because no Party action had been taken on the matter of debt reduction and that he had spoken during the last campaign for surplus property funds being applied to debt reduction. On Foreign Policy he said that he could not understand why money should be given to Greece to drive out Communism and money having been refused China.

The Chairman recognized Senator Baldwin who said there was absolutely nothing personal in what he had said or done and that if there was no foreign policy at this time it was about time we had one.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who said that there may be a real split with the House in trying to put a debt-reduction feature into the Resolution; that when Conferences were held not much was gained when there was a meeting and disagreement.

The Chairman recognized Senator Revercomb who stated that an attempt should have been made to reach an agreement before the matter came out, to which Senator Hawkes replied that he did not ever think the Senate could get together on the debt subject.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ferguson who said that he believed the 6-billion dollar figure was the result of Party policy.

The Chairman stated that the membership of the Senate on the Joint Committee was outnumbered by the House membership thereon and that there was no way to protect the Senate view.

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who stated that the Senate membership on the Committee was outnumbered two to one and that action taken by the Joint Committee was not binding on the Senate. He said that his amendment had been offered because

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there had been no set policy by the Conference and that he thought the Republicans could operate better as a team if properly advised.

The Chairman recognized Senator Vandenberg who said that the matter under discussion was reminiscent of 18 years ago when he initiated the "Young Turks." He said that he felt sure that the net result of the meeting would be wholesome and beneficial.

The Chairman recognized Senator Lodge who raised the question as to why rent control should be a Party matter and expressed the opinion that there would be more votes if it was not made so.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who stated that rent control had an effect on 30 million renters and that it had been made a political matter by the President. He said that it was therefore up to the Conference to decide the matter.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ball who stated that it was his opinion that the last campaign was waged on the grounds of removing all controls, to which Senator Taft responded that every declaration which had been made by the Republicans had been to remove them, including such a statement in the 1944 Platform.

The Chairman recognized Senator Tobey who presented to the Conference the rent control situation. Senator Tobey stated that the whole matter of rent control was extremely complicated and detailed all steps which had been taken by the Banking and Currency Committee and he gave a history and analysis of the proposed bill which is now pending before that Committee. He praised Senator Buck for his work in the matter.

The Chairman recognized Senator Buck who said that rent control was extremely controversial and a politically potent bill. He said the disagreement had arisen concerning two features, namely an across-the-board 10% increase and the question of how to administer the Act. He said that he was opposed to letting them stay under OPA and he was afraid that by transfer to another agency that it would mean administration by the same old OPA staff. He asked the advice of the group as to how it could be administered.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ball who asked about eviction under the terms of the legislation to which Senator Buck replied that the matter would be left to the Courts.

Senator Brewster asked why it could not be left to the States for administration to which Senator Buck replied the States could assume jurisdiction but few of them now have laws on the subject.

The Chairman expressed the opinion that the subject of rent controls could be set up in three separate propositions. (1) Shall we continue rent control and if so to what date? (2) Whether it should be a flat 10% increase or no increase? (3) Whether it should be administered by the OPA or some other agency. He then asked the question

as to whether there was any objection to the continuation of rent control.

The Chairman recognized Senator Baldwin who said that he was for complete abandonment of rent control and that it should be left up to the State. He said that he would go along with the 10% increase provided that it was taken out of OPA. He stated that there was a political angle to it and that if we are to bring back reconstruction now is the year to do it because prices would be bound to rise and by next year they would adjust themselves.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ives who explained the rent control law of New York State and said that he thought it a dubious question when it came to abolishing it as a Party throughout the Country. He said that it was no pleasant problem to wish it on the State Legislatures and Governors, particularly where there was no law. He said based on his New York experience there should be no 10% increase because in many cases it is not needed. It is difficult to determine the correct amount of an equitable increase and that it would be a "mess" if left in the Courts. He stated that a brand new agency should be created and that the extension should be for a year and he did not see how it could be eliminated at this time.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wiley who joined in what had been said by Senator Ives. The Senator stated that equity was needed and a little horse sense, and spoke of the 10% across-the-board increase of being no good in thousands of cases whereas in other situations it would be too great.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bricker who said that he was opposed to another Republican OPA and that the facts should be considered in each case and equity done in all cases.

The Chairman recognized Senator Hawkes who said he did not think the Conference could pass judgment on the question of rent control. He said that if it is not politically expedient how can we let this injustice prevail.

The Chairman recognized Senator Williams who stated that the sooner we get rid of controls the better off we will all be and that he would vote against any legislation. He expressed the opinion that we were not helping veterans by loading them up with high priced houses.

The Chairman recognized Senator Flanders who said that he had advised his Governor to pass a bill on the subject to be used if Congress passed a bad bill.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who stated that if the Conference was not unanimous for 10% then it could not be passed. He stated he believed that a Commission of four or five members might be created with authority to apply a percentage basis of increase for different areas in the Country. He said that NHA might take

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it over but that they did not want the job as well as the Commerce Department. He said he thought the matter might be determined by an answer to the question of how many wanted a flat increase, and how many wanted OPA abolished.

The Chairman recognized Senator McCarthy who said that all new rentals should be decontrolled; that there should be an ease-up on evictions and that an across-the-board increase was necessary as OPA cannot take care of the hardship cases.

The Chairman recognized Senator Langer who said that he would never vote to take off controls and never increase rentals. He said that he had given a pledge to the people of his State as had Senator Young.

Senator Young nodded in agreement.

The Chairman recognized Senator Cain who stated that he thought the elimination of rent controls would result in more houses and that the builders should be told that they could build and get whatever they could for their houses. He stated that 176 areas had been added since V-J Day and that he was for decontrolling of all new units of construction.

The Chairman recognized Senator Watkins who said that if it was possible to relieve the hardship cases he would vote for the legislation.

The Chairman recognized Senator Capehart who said that the present OPA bill gives the desired leeways. He expressed the opinion that both OPA and rent control are good things provided a little horse sense is used.

The Chairman recognized Senator Hickenlooper who stated that the Republicans vote their conscience while the Democrats vote their politics; that rent control was not needed in the Middle West and that he did not believe it could be made a strictly Party matter. He said that the responsibility for the administration of the law would be in the hands of our enemies and stressed the fact that we can only legislate. He said that the legislation must be spelled out so clearly that no discretion must be left in the law.

The Chairman stated that a Senator who was absent had asked him if it would be possible for his assistant to attend the Conference meetings in his absence. He stated that he had ruled against it and said that if there was no serious objection he would adhere to that ruling. There was no objection.

The Chairman recognized Senator Vandenberg who spoke on Foreign Policy as follows: He said that he would present a snapshot of what we as a nation will shortly have to confront; that he had never spoken for the Republican Party and never shall; that no commitments had been made by him either directly or indirectly or by

implication. He said that the people think the Democrats and the Republicans are handling the foreign situation but that bi-partisan action is limited to two things (1) United Nations and (2) the preliminary peace treaties. He said that the only commitment as far as the Republican Party is concerned to date has been the United Nations and that there was one Republican vote against that. He spoke of our policy in China and said that the present policy cannot survive when there is a different policy for people in one part of the world and another policy in a different section of the world, and that we are entitled to demand consistency around the world; that there is no bi-partisan Foreign Policy in South America and that we are on the verge of losing at home infinite prestige; that Pan American unity was at an all-time high in San Francisco but has now greatly deteriorated; that the United States must cease to be the Dictator of the North and join with South America on the partnership basis. As to the European situation he said he recognized the differences of opinion and that five minor treaties had been written to date which deal with the "fringe." He stated that there would be no stability until the German and Austrian Treaties had been written. He stated that the Russians had violated the Potsdam agreement to operate Germany as an economic unit; that there had been no comity between the various sectors established by the Americans, British, French and Russians; that through American and British cooperation in joining their sectors a civil reorganization had been established and it had been successful. He stated that the great problem today was the lack of a four-way treaty by the United States, Britain, France and Russia against any German aggression. He said that this would remove from Russia its last excuse for expansion. As to the Greek situation he said that nothing could be revealed until the President spoke on Wednesday at the Joint Session of Congress. He stated that Greece was sinking into the Russian orbit and if that goes so will Turkey. He said that intelligent American self-interest was his desire and policy. He said that the ruling Greek Government control was a farce on democracy; that Britain was withdrawing March 31 and that the Greek Government had requested help of the United States. What those demands are and how they can be fulfilled will only be known on Wednesday. He said that the participation by the Republicans in White House conferences did not entail Party commitments; that if a new policy were to be announced in defense of democracy abroad he would insist that the whole facts be laid before the American people and the Conference. He said that so far, we had been in collision with Russia on every point and that the Greek situation presented a basic challenge of Western Democracy vs. Eastern Communism; that the question at hand presented the most far reaching decision since the Monroe Doctrine; that he had asked that the President lay it on the "line" and give all of the facts. He stated that he was not speaking as a Republican spokesman or committing the Party. He said we

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should say what it means and do what it says so far as Moscow is concerned. He said that shortly the Committee on Foreign Relations will report the I.R.O. Treaty for consideration by the Senate.

The Chairman expressed his appreciation for the remarks made by Senator Vandenberg.

The Chairman recognized Senator Revercomb who questioned the wording in the Treaty relating to the immigration laws to which Senator Vandenberg replied that it was not their intention either remotely or indirectly to invade them and that Senator Wiley had been given complete authority to perfect any language necessary to protect the situation.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who suggested a Conference at the end of the week because of the Greek address to be made by the President.

The Chairman said that a Conference would be called at a time to be decided later and after the Conference announced that one had been called for Friday, March 14, at 10:00 a.m.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wiley who said that he had prepared a memorandum which had been previously placed before the Senators which was entitled "Restriction of War Controls," a copy of which is attached hereto as Exhibit "A." He said that he would make a statement on the matter before the Policy Committee on Saturday next.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 10:53 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference March 14, 1947.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

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Exhibit "A"

OUTLINE OF STATEMENT BEFORE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

By Hon. Alexander Wiley  
U.S. Senator from Wis.  
Monday, March 10, 1947

*RESTRICTION OF WAR CONTROLS*

*PART I—INTRODUCTION*

- (A) PURPOSES OF THIS STATEMENT
- (B) TWO-FOLD NATURE OF PROBLEM
- (C) REPUBLICAN PARTY POLICY



(D) REPUBLICAN PARTY SUCCESS TO DATE

*PART II—SECOND WAR POWERS ACT*

(A) HEARINGS BEING HELD

(B) RECOMMENDATION OF PRESIDENT

(C) COOPERATION OF EXECUTIVE BRANCH

(D) NEED FOR CONTINUATION OF SOME CONTROLS

(1) The World Situation

(2) The Situation in the United States

(E) NEED FOR ELIMINATION OF NUMEROUS CONTROLS

*PART III—ALL OTHER WARTIME AND EMERGENCY POWERS*

*RESTRICTION OF WAR CONTROLS*

*PART I—INTRODUCTION*

(A) *PURPOSE OF THIS STATEMENT:*

I should like to present to my colleagues certain observations on the subject of war controls. My purpose in doing so is two-fold:

(a) To report on the activities of the Senate Judiciary Committee in this important sphere, and

(b) To continue, as I have in the past, to secure the judgment of the Senate Majority Conference on this subject of terminating war controls, and, in so doing, to help promote the unity of our Party on this subject.

(B) *TWO-FOLD NATURE OF PROBLEM:*

The subject of war controls may be divided for present purposes into two categories:

(1) *The most immediate problem* regarding the Second War Powers Act which automatically expires unless it is renewed on March 31, 1947.

(2) *The much broader and only slightly less immediate problem*, relating to all other emergency and wartime controls which (in addition to Second War Powers controls), come within the purview of Senate Resolution 35. My colleagues will recall that under this Resolution, as enacted, all Standing Committees of the Senate were directed to evaluate all wartime and emergency laws lying within their jurisdiction.

These matters will be considered in the above order.

(C) *REPUBLICAN PARTY POLICY:*

As I have repeatedly asserted, the policy of the Republican Party is, as I interpret it, to remove *all* controls immediately, except those controls which are found absolutely necessary, in order that we may as soon as possible return to a free economy and full production.

The Republican Party, I am sure, recognizes the fact that, unfortunately, *all* wartime controls cannot be abruptly terminated as of any one given date because of their complexity, because of differences in their legal time limits, and because of the fact that the postwar situation in the United States and

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throughout the world is such that chaos might result in some fields if all controls were arbitrarily eliminated at one time. *The American people are, I believe, very rightfully hungry for freedom from controls, but they are not hungry for chaos.*

It is Republican policy I believe to accomplish these objectives:

(1) To extend such controls, as must be extended, *for the shortest possible time limit*, consistent with administrative necessity, in order that the extension may be reviewed at an early date and then terminated, if at all feasible.

(2) *To correct the conditions* which necessitate the extension in the first place rather than to allow those conditions to continue and thus make for need for indefinite extension. I may say at this point that in my observation, I have found that mal-administration has resulted in the need for continuance of many wartime controls, which might otherwise have been ended long before now. When this mal-administration is corrected, the need for controls will vanish.

The American people are aware, too, that there are influences in the Administration which seek indefinite perpetuation of wartime controls through planned shortages. These influences must be vigorously counteracted.

(3) *To oversee the administration of controls* in such a manner that

(a) funds required in administering them will be conserved, and

(b) the objectives of Congress in extending the controls will be achieved rather than violated.

(D) *REPUBLICAN PARTY SUCCESS TO DATE:*

I firmly believe that Republican policy along these lines has already borne much fruit. Thus,

(1) Controls which have been eliminated thus far have been largely at the Republican insistence.

(2) Recommendations by various agencies of the Executive Branch for the *future* elimination of other controls also indicate the success of unceasing pressure from our Party for the dropping of unneeded controls.

(3) Constructive changes in administration of many continuing controls also indicate the favorable effects of Republican pressure.

By no means, I believe, can the Party claim complete success, thus far, in the objectives listed in Part C. Nevertheless, I believe that the splendid role played by the Party thus far should not be obscured by:

(1) *Impatience with the complex nature of the problem before us and the fact the progress in decontrol cannot move with the speed of light.*

(2) *Shifty tactics by the Administration* designed to convey the phoney impression that it would remove controls just as fast *without* Republican pressure as *with* it. The history of power-hungry New Dealism belies such an impression.

*PART II—SECOND WAR POWERS ACT*

(A) *HEARINGS BEING HELD:*

Pursuant to the provisions of S. Res. 35, a sub-Committee, consisting of Senator Kilgore and myself, has been conducting Hearings of government witnesses and will commence Hearings of public witnesses tomorrow on Titles I, III and V of the Second War Powers Act. The purpose of these Hearings is to elicit facts upon which to base a recommendation respecting

- (1) which controls under these titles can safely be eliminated, and
- (2) which controls are necessary to be extended.

(B) *RECOMMENDATION OF PRESIDENT:*

In his message of February 3, 1947, the President recommended the extension for one year of Titles I and V, and in addition, Title III for limited purposes. Title I vests emergency powers in the Interstate Commerce Commission over transportation facilities. Title III vests in the President powers of allocation and priority over materials and supplies. Title V permits the waiver of certain navigation and inspection laws.

(C) *COOPERATION OF EXECUTIVE BRANCH:*

Although until a relatively short time ago, there was manifested a complete lack of cooperation by the Executive Branch in furnishing the Committee information respecting the use of war controls, notwithstanding repeated requests for such information, I am happy to report that it now appears that such information is forthcoming and that the Committee will shortly report its recommendations to the Senate.

(D) *NEED FOR CONTINUATION OF SOME CONTROLS:*

(1) *The World Situation:*

To the extent that our nation is participating and will continue to participate in the alleviation of the hunger of war stricken countries, it is essential that certain allocation powers be retained in order to assure an adequate flow of needed foodstuffs to these countries, consistent with the maintenance of proper standards in our own nation. It is quite apparent that the solution of this problem involves our over-all policy respecting relief and rehabilitation of these war stricken countries. From the testimony presented to the Judiciary sub-Committee, it is essential that to the extent that this nation is to participate in the rehabilitation of war stricken countries, controls are needed to channel into export a justifiable share of certain commodities vital to the European economy.

The world situation also has a direct bearing on the short supply of foodstuff and other commodities on our own economy. For example, there is a world short supply of sugar. Sugar will be allocated among the nations by international agreement. If we are to avoid an international scramble for sugar and similar commodities, which would spiral the prices to prohibitive levels, it is essential that all nations participating in the international agreement limit their own consumption, which means that power must be continued to allocate equitably our share of the world supply.

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(2) *The Situation in the United States:*

The short supply of commodities vital to our economy is, as I have just pointed out, in some instances due to the world situation. Although I do not presume here to enumerate or assign all of our domestic ills which contribute to shortages in the United States, many of them are due to the impact of the war which imposed a tremendous drain on our natural resources and production equipment. The transportation facilities of the nation are, in particular, overburdened, due in large part to the fact that during the war years, repairs and replacements were not sufficiently available. This situation appears to temporarily necessitate at least a degree of allocation power so as to assure fair distribution of our production.

(E) *NEED FOR ELIMINATION OF NUMEROUS CONTROLS:*

From the information thus far available, it appears that many of the activities which stem from the Second War Powers Act are either no longer utilized or should be prohibited as not absolutely essential. An illustration of an activity which stems from the Act but which should be prohibited, is the power vested to waive certain navigation and inspection laws. The testimony before the sub-Committee has disclosed that this power is no longer essential with reference to privately owned or operated vessels.

Many other instances were presented to the sub-Committee of controls which, in my opinion, are not justified and should be prohibited in any extension of the Second War Powers Act. In other words, it is my opinion that any extension of the Second War Powers Act *be carefully circumscribed* so as to encompass only power to allocate on an equitable basis among our people and between our nation and the world, essential items in which there is short supply, and that this power be retained only so long as there is substantial disparity between supply and need. All other controls, with very limited exception, should be immediately removed.

Let me make it perfectly clear, however, gentlemen, that all of the foregoing is concerned solely with Titles I, III and V of the Second War Powers Act which expires the 31st of this month.

*PART III—ALL OTHER WARTIME AND EMERGENCY POWERS*

As I have stated before, the Judiciary Committee is also, pursuant to S. Res. 35, engaged in a survey of the over-all picture with respect to wartime emergency controls and regulations. This survey is not as urgent as the survey on the Second War Powers Act because it does not involve the termination date of March 31st. Consequently the broad survey of war controls - involving as it does - a tremendous mass of detail and literally hundreds of laws, has not yet been completed, though the standing Committees of the Senate are diligently at work and their Chairmen are certainly to be complimented for their work thus far.

Since the survey is not complete, I am unable to make any definite conclusion. I do, however, believe we may safely say that the elimination of controls in this broader field will be much more comprehensive and much more

extensive than in the field of Titles, I, III and V of the Second War Powers Act.

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[March 14, 1947]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR MARCH 14, 1947, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BLDG.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement.

Present 45:

Aiken	Dworshak	Millikin
Baldwin	Ecton	Moore
Ball	Ferguson	Morse
Brewster	Flanders	Revercomb
Bricker	Gurney	Saltonstall
Bridges	Hawkes	Smith
Brooks	Hickenlooper	Taft
Buck	Ives	Thye
Bushfield	Jenner	Vandenberg
Cain	Kem	Watkins
Capehart	Knowland	Wherry
Capper	Langer	White
Cooper	Lodge	Wiley
Cordon	Martin	Williams
Donnell	McCarthy	Young

Absent 6:

Butler	Reed	Tobey
Malone	Robertson	Wilson

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft on the question of legislative procedure for the coming sessions of the Senate. Senator Taft said that there were five matters of legislation which it was desired to have passed before March 31. They were, Portal-to-Portal Pay legislation, Lilienthal nomination,<sup>2</sup> sugar, I.R.O. Treaty and the Greek Loan. He stated that it would be necessary to meet every day and perhaps hold evening sessions, and requested all Senators to bear in mind the dead line and to be as reasonably brief as they possibly could; that he would talk with Senator Barkley about getting the cooperation of the other side. Senator Taft moved and it was duly

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<sup>2</sup>[President Truman had nominated David E. Lilienthal, the chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, as chairman of the new Atomic Energy Commission. A number of Republican senators opposed the nomination, which was nevertheless eventually confirmed.]

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seconded and agreed to that the Senate proceed first with the Portal-to-Portal Pay legislation.

Senator Taft said he desired to know how many would be absent on this Saturday in order to ascertain whether it would be wise to hold a session on that day and the Chairman asked those to stand who could not be present. The following Senators stood: McCarthy, Bricker, Buck, Flanders and Saltonstall. He stated that the Senate would not hold an evening session Monday, but he asked that Wednesday night be reserved and that on Monday and Wednesday nights of the following week, night sessions would probably be held.

The Chairman recognized Senator Donnell who asked if the question of Party policy should not be decided in regard to a provision in the Portal-to-Portal Pay bill regarding the pay of workers in mines. He stated that under the terms of the present bill it leaves no compensation except by contract or custom and therefore he wished to know whether the Conference desired to make an exception in the case of mines.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who stated that wherever custom rules we should follow, and that it should be a matter which should be left to the Committee, and not one to be decided by the Conference. He stated that the Republican membership should follow the Chairmen of the various Committees and back them up, for as a general matter the Senators cannot hope to pass on the work of the various fifteen Committees. He said that he thought the matter should go back to the Judiciary Committee and have the recommendation of that Committee; and that debate on the bill might develop certain things which might warrant Conference action later.

Senator Donnell said that the purpose of his raising the question was to acquaint the Members with the situation, and that he may bring it back for a policy decision.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wherry who said that in his opinion the business element was not satisfied with the bill and satisfactory amendments may have to be offered on the floor.

The Chairman asked if there were any comments to be made on the legislative procedure offered by Senator Taft. There were no comments.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wiley who said that he believed that Senator Pepper would seek to amend the bill by a minimum wage amendment, and that other amendments would be offered for the purpose of attempting to kill the bill.

The Chairman recognized Senator Vandenberg on the matter of the Greek-Turkish Loan. The Senator stated that he would attempt to bring the Conference up to date but that he still could not report adequately. He spoke of a meeting of the Foreign Relations Committee which resulted in a decision that the bill would be given full

public hearings and everything would be face-up without reservations. He said that he wanted to prepare a schedule of questions, and asked that all Republican Members write out any questions they might have in mind and submit them to him. He stated that nothing can remain undisclosed with respect to the new policy. He said that a bill would be introduced within 24 hours in the House, and it would contain three points. (1) Credits of 250 millions to Greece and 150 millions to Turkey. (2) Authorization to send civilian experts to supervise the expenditure of our funds. (3) The extension of existing statutes which permit military missions to visit foreign countries as military advisors. He said that in his opinion the third section was too broad. Senator Vandenberg was interrupted by questions from Senators Bridges, Taft, Bushfield, Dworshak, Capehart, Ball and Aiken. The questions asked were as follows: Whether the credits would consist of loans, gifts or grants? Is the proposal one to be later extended all over the world? How does it differ from the Roosevelt program which put us into war? The Palestine question? The question of Russia's veto power? Would Britain keep her forces in Greece? When the time comes for an appropriation, could the merits of the case still be gone into? Will the United States do the job or will Britain? To most of the questions asked, the Senator said that he wished they would be submitted to him in writing. Senator Vandenberg said there was no element of intervention, it being a response to a request on the part of the Greek Government. He read a statement which he had given to the newspapers, a copy of which is attached hereto as Exhibit "A."

He interrupted the reading of his statement to say that it is not a problem to be handed over to the United Nations because (1) it is not so well organized and (2) it has neither machinery or funds. Also that the United Nations Organization is based on the use of pacific means as the genesis of its origin, and that it has at this time no military force. He stated that efforts had been made to reach an agreement relating to a military force, but that Russia had held it up. He said that he had insisted that the American delegation raise this question to force an agreement. He said that in his opinion and belief whenever the United States has drawn a dead line for action in earnest, it would be respected by Russia, and that it was his feeling that all matters should be laid on the table with Russia.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who stated that even though the legislation would present many considerations he was inclined to go along with the President's policy. He said that it makes us a protector of Greece; that he believed Britain would pull out; that Britain had notified us last October that they would get out March 31, and that their military forces were down to 10,000 men; that it would involve no troops and no naval force in the Mediterranean Sea; that the matter was solely to stabilize the Government to prevent the Communists from taking over the Greek Government; that

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if we did not move in, it would mean that Russia would move in and take over just the same as we are. He expressed the opinion that Russia would not go to war but if Russia did to us in Cuba what we are doing to Russia in Greece we would go to war. He questioned whether or not we would step into France, Argentina and Brazil by reason of the Communistic elements there. He said that by our action we would give the conservative group in Greece a break, and hope that we would be able to get out when the Government gets on its feet, and that we would discourage Russia for at least a year. He stated that he believed that the same problems were worrying the leaders of the House, and that so far as he could see the alternative was worst.

Questions were then asked by Senators Hickenlooper, Dworshak, Jenner, Williams and Hawkes. The questions were as follows: Are we stepping in at the specific request of the Greek Government? If Russia goes into Asia, India and Iran what would we do? If we knew of the emergency since last October why is the great emergency now? Who will control the oil in the Far East? What happens to us in the world if we do adopt the present policy? How far has Communism gone and would we have a united front with the other 41 Nations in the United Nations Organization against Russia?

The Chairman recognized Senator Vandenberg who said "that the alternative might be worse" and that he did not like any part of the matter and would love to be able to ignore the whole situation. He said the question is if we do not confront this question how close are we to war? He said that the United States had a specific interest in keeping the Mediterranean an open sea. He said that he would never forget Munich, and that the way to get into trouble is to run away from trouble. The Senator said that the roll calls of the United Nations show a division of public opinion in the world as 49 to 6; the 6 votes representing Russia and its satellites.

The Chairman recognized Senator Hickenlooper who said that the program presents a dilemma; that if we stay out, war is at the end of the path we might reach, and that if we go in there is a possibility of war.

The Chairman recognized Senator Baldwin who expressed his appreciation for the remarks made by Senator Vandenberg, and said that he hopes that the Republicans stand behind the President and Senator Vandenberg in this policy even though he does not like it; that if we take a firm stand now the small nations will know that we mean what we say.

The Chairman called to the attention of the Conference the International Trade Organization Bill which he said tied in with the whole situation; that the Finance Committee had unanimously voted to make inquiry into it, and that hearings had been scheduled for next week. He asked that questions be submitted by the Mem-



bers to him, and he said that he hoped the matter would turn out to be a non partisan affair. The inquiry would be thorough and searching, and the sole purpose of the Committee to develop facts; that he had discussed the matter with Senator Vandenberg, and that the Senator had written him heartily approving of the inquiry. He said that action should be had on the bill prior to the Geneva Conference.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft, who said that so far as rent legislation was concerned that he and Senator McCarthy were working on an alternative measure for the 10% across-the-board increase. The proposed legislation would set up a new Board and divide the United States into areas and categories.

The Chairman stated for the information of the Conference that Senators Dworshak and Martin had been invited to be present at a meeting of the Policy Committee on yesterday; that he would abide by the will of the new Senators as to who the two Senators would be who would attend the future Policy Committee meetings.

The Chairman recognized Senator Morse who stated that we should not avoid war by a show of weakness nor by staying on this side of the Atlantic; that Russia was now carrying on a psychological and economic warfare and that if she moves in we might as well recognize that war has started. He said that he has found no evidence of Russia having conducted herself as an ally.

The Chairman recognized Senator Langer who raised the question as to the attitude of the Conference about the 700 Postmasterships now pending before his Committee.

The Chairman stated that there would be a meeting of the Policy Committee on tomorrow, and that he was invited to appear and discuss the matter there.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 12:05 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference March 18, 1947.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

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EXHIBIT "A"

STATEMENT BY SENATOR VANDENBERG

The President's message faces facts and so must Congress. The independence of Greece and Turkey must be preserved, not only for their own sakes but also in defense of peace and security for all of us. In such a critical

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moment the President's hands must be upheld. Any other course could be dangerously misunderstood. But Congress must carefully determine the methods and explore the details in so momentous a departure from our previous policies.

The immediate problem may be treated by itself. But it is vitally important also to frankly weigh it for the future. We are at odds with communism on many fronts. We should evolve a total policy. It must clearly avoid imperialism. It must primarily consult American welfare. It must keep faith with the pledges to the Charter of the United Nations which we all have taken.

We should proceed as far as possible within the United Nations. But that is not practical at the immediate moment because UN has no relief funds; and it has not yet concluded agreements with member nations for military support. We should immediately insist in the Security Council that these latter plans be consummated. We should also seek immediate report from the United Nations Commission investigating alleged external invasions of Greek sovereignty.

The plain truth is that Soviet-American relationships are at the core of this whole problem. Every effort should be made to terminate these controversies. This effort must occur in plain understanding of basic principles which we shall not surrender. I repeat my own belief that it ought to be possible for Moscow and Washington to "live and let live," since neither wants anything like war. Yet we find ourselves in constant disagreement respecting our mutually pledged objectives. There should be frank consultations between us—with all the cards face up on the table—in final search for mutual understanding. Now, if ever, we must say what we mean and mean what we say. Out persistent offer of an anti-Nazi alliance clearly proves our own good faith.

We cannot fail to back up the President at such an hour—even though many critical details remain to be settled in consultation with the Congress.

Meanwhile, we must review our own foreign policy in other directions and make it consistently effective. We must proceed with calm but determined patience to deal with practical realities as they unfold. We must either take or surrender leadership.

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[March 22, 1947]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR MARCH 22, 1947, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:30 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 37:

Aiken  
Baldwin

Flanders  
Gurney

Reed  
Revercomb

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Ball	Hawkes	Smith
Brewster	Ives	Taft
Bridges	Jenner	Thye
Brooks	Kem	Tobey
Bushfield	Knowland	Vandenberg
Butler	Langer	Watkins
Cain	Malone	Wherry
Donnell	McCarthy	White
Dworshak	Millikin	Wiley
Ecton	Moore	Young
Ferguson		
Absent 14:		
Bricker	Cordon	Robertson
Buck	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Capehart	Lodge	Williams
Capper	Morse	Wilson
Cooper	Martin	

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who said that the Conference had been called primarily at the instance of Senators McCarthy and Bricker on the question of sugar controls. He said that he felt it should be fully discussed and a policy adopted thereon. He stated that so far as the legislative program for next week was concerned, the Calendar would be called and the Lilienthal nomination presented as soon as possible. He stated that there were two or three minor matters that should be passed in a reasonable period of time and that Senators Hickenlooper and Knowland were agreeable to this policy so that the Lilienthal nomination, once taken up could be continued without interruption. He asked if there was any objection to House Joint Resolution 18, now on the Calendar relating to rubber and Senate 918 relative to Selective Service records. There being no objection he expressed the hope that they could be passed on the call of Calendar. He asked concerning the I.R.O. Resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 77, to which Senator Vandenberg responded that there was no fixed dead line for the passage of the resolution, but that the Army had to make its plans prior to July 1. He also stated that an agreement so far had not been reached concerning the language of an amendment pertaining to immigration. Senator Taft suggested that if I.R.O. was not passed on the call of the Calendar, and if Senator Revercomb wanted to make a speech thereon that Resolution would be taken up after the call of the Calendar. Senator Taft stated that legislation relating to wool had to be settled by April 15, to which Senator Aiken replied that the Agriculture Committee would start hearings on the legislation next Wednesday and that hearings would shortly be started on import controls. Senator Taft stated that he had introduced bills to continue controls on specific items; that it was his opinion that controls should only be continued where they are needed and that specific legislation

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should be introduced relating to those particular subjects. He stated that he would abide by whatever is worked out as to fats and oils, freight cars, tractors and other extension legislation.

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who asked concerning H.R. 2102, which provides for the extension of the farm labor supply program to which Senator Aiken responded that Senator Kem had asked that hearings on the subject be printed and even though the dead line was not until June 30, the legislation should be brought up as soon as possible.

The Chairman recognized Senator Flanders for the purpose of discussing S.J. Res. 58, relating to the distribution and pricing of sugar. The Senator explained the resolution in detail and stated the reasons of the Committee for recommending the legislation.

The Chairman asked if there were any other proponents to speak and Senator Tobey responded that he reserved the right to speak later if necessary.

The Chairman then recognized Senator McCarthy who spoke on behalf [of] S. 869 which was introduced by himself and Senator Bricker which decontrolled sugar immediately. The Senator spoke of the amount of sugar available from all sources together with its present distribution and allocation and answered many questions which were interposed.

The Chairman recognized Senator Butler who said that decontrol must be made at some time, and that he hopes the Senate would adopt the House Resolution on the subject.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wiley who said that it was evident that between now and March 31 there would not be an agreement reached and he spoke of his appearance before the Policy Committee recommending extension of controls for a three months period so that all difficult matters could be worked out.

The Chairman asked that he be excused in order that he might attend another meeting, and he stated that so far as he could see no policy could be reached at this meeting on the subject of sugar. He requested that Senator Young preside.

The Secretary, Senator Young, took the chair.

The Chairman recognized Senator Hawkes who said that he thought that rent control would be discussed at today's meeting, and he spoke of a news item which stated that the Policy Committee had killed his legislation on the subject relating to a flat 10% increase. He said that he had told Senator Taft how he felt about the matter, and after explaining his bill he asked that an open mind be kept.

The Chairman recognized Senator Flanders who expressed the opinion that it would be bad for the Republican Party if all controls were taken off sugar as there would be no free market.

The Chairman recognized Senator Tobey who said that he proposed to offer an amendment to the legislation which provided that any excess would be given to the housewives, to which Senator Wherry replied that he hoped the Committee would be able to increase the allocation.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ball who expressed the hope that a compromise might be worked out, and Senator Brewster expressed the same sentiments.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 12:20 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference April 9, 1947

[signed] J. Mark Trice

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[April 12, 1947]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR APRIL 12, 1947, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:15 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 31:

Aiken	Hawkes	Robertson
Baldwin	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Ball	Ives	Smith
Brooks	Jenner	Taft
Bushfield	Kem	Thye
Cain	Lodge	Vandenberg
Capehart	McCarthy	Watkins
Capper	Millikin	Wherry
Dworshak	Moore	Wiley
Ecton	Morse	Young
Flanders		

Absent 20:

Brewster	Donnell	Reed
Bricker	Ferguson	Revercomb
Bridges	Gurney	Tobey
Buck	Knowland	White
Butler	Langer	Williams

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Cooper  
Cordon

Malone  
Martin

Wilson

The Chairman announced, that in accordance with Paragraph 5, of the Republican Conference Rules the following eight members were appointed to serve as the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee: Ex-Senator Townsend, Chairman, Senators Capehart, Cain, Flanders, Kem, Martin, Watkins and Young. He stated that the previous membership of the Committee had comprised five members, but that it had been inadequate geographically, and that he thought eight would better serve the purpose. Upon motion made and duly seconded the membership of the Committee as announced by the Chairman was confirmed by the Conference.

The Chairman stated that the purpose of the Conference was to consider the Labor Bill now before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and he recognized Senator Taft.

Senator Taft stated that the theory in drafting the present legislation was to start with the Case Bill as a basis. He said that the question of the Labor issue had arisen in the last election, that there was a feeling that the New Deal was prejudiced as to labor, and that there had been somewhat of a commitment on the part of the Republicans to legislate limiting the rights and privileges of labor leaders. He said that the labor leaders had acted solely on the theory to further the welfare of union men which had led to boycotts and racketeering; that their acts had been legalized by the Clayton-LaGuardia Act, and that the Wagner Act had created further injustices. He said that it is clear that we do not want to throw the balance of power to the employer, and that two things were essential (1) to see that there is some equality of the bargaining power and (2) we do not intend to destroy the right to strike which must be preserved. He said that the purpose of the bill was to prevent specific abuses and injustices which have arisen under the law and to place some responsibility on the part of labor; that while the larger companies can handle themselves the smaller ones are subject to abuse. He analyzed the bill which he said contained approximately 150 Amendments to the Wagner Act and spoke on the six titles in the bill which are as follows:

1. Amendments to the Wagner Act.
2. Federal Mediation Service
3. Monopolistic Practices of Labor Organizations
  - (a) Restrictions on union welfare funds and on the check-off of union dues.
  - (b) Prohibition of certain types of boycotts and jurisdictional strikes.
  - (c) Providing for suability of labor organizations.

(d) Registration of labor organizations and requirement that financial statements be furnished to members.

4. Recess Study by Joint Committee of Senate and House.

5. National Emergencies Created by Labor Disputes.

6. Definitions.

He stated that seven members out of thirteen on the Labor Committee, in his opinion, wanted a milder form of bill, and that the question to be decided was whether there should be one bill or several separate bills presented to the Senate on the subject of labor. He expressed the opinion that it would be easier to handle one bill in the Senate and stated that the House decided to proceed on the one bill theory; also that the program as outlined by the Committee had been designed to accomplish four things (1) equality and labor peace (2) industry wide bargaining (3) prohibit all boycotts and jurisdictional strikes and (4) to outlaw the closed shop.

The Chairman recognized Senator Smith who expressed the opinion that in order to get some kind of constructive legislation more than one bill should be introduced, and he stated that to do otherwise would be to invite a Presidential veto.

The Chairman recognized Senator Morse who said that he thought it unwise to urge an omnibus bill. He stated that it was definite that the one bill would be vetoed, that the Congress would be unable to pass it over the veto, and that by passing separate bills the President would have to sign some legislation on the subject of labor. He stated that it would be possible to enact into the law, amendments to the Wagner Act and check off reform.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ives who expressed the opinion that labor legislation should be taken out of politics, that the President should be consulted to see how far he would go, and that the final objective should be "labor peace."

The Chairman recognized Senator Saltonstall who said that he personally would favor the divided bills as against one bill, and that the Country wants some improvement in the present labor legislation.

The Chairman recognized Senator Aiken who said that he was for a division otherwise there would be no legislation; that he would vote to divide the bill in Committee and against uniting them on the floor; that the Morse-Ives provision could be passed over a veto, and that by a series of bills something could be obtained.

The Chairman recognized Senator Vandenberg who said that if the House passed one bill and we pass a series of bills the result would be unsatisfactory. Both Houses he said should proceed on the same theory, that from a standpoint of debate a division might be pref-

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erable, but fundamentally we should agree with the House on a common procedure.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ball who stated that the House is determined to have one bill, that the Senate should start out with one bill, that in his opinion the President would veto any amendments to the Wagner Act and the Case Bill provisions, and that he would sign only a measure dealing with mediation features.

The Chairman recognized Senator Jenner who said that the House had already agreed upon one bill, and that there was no reason to see the President as he had already stated his position in his message to Congress and through his Secretary of Labor and the Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board. He said that the decision will be made by Congress passing a fair, just and equitable bill and then having the President veto it.

The Chairman recognized Senator Capehart who said that he was for one bill, and the only reason for one to oppose the presentation of the matter as a whole was because of opposition to certain provisions therein.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who expressed the opinion that it would be easy to handle the matter in one bill and that less time would be consumed; that labor is all one problem and that while he would like the situation to be outside of politics, it cannot be taken out as it is already there. He said that every New Dealer and Democrat wants a divided bill. He stated that while Senator Ives says he does not want to sabotage the bill, in every possible way he is fortified not only by the Democrats but by Senators Aiken and Morse. He said that should the Committee decide to proceed on separate bills he would have no other alternative but to offer a substitute on the Floor.

The Chairman recognized Senator Hawkes who said that there was not one thing in the bill which would injure labor and that the people expected Congress to write labor legislation and not the President.

The Chairman recognized Senator Flanders who expressed the opinion that the will of the Senate could be brought out better by passing separate bills.

The Chairman recognized Senator Baldwin who said that in order to elect a Republican President in November '48 that we must give up individual views; that the people are holding the Republican leadership responsible and that the people themselves want some kind of labor legislation.

The Chairman said that it was highly desirable to have agreement with the House, but that it was not always easy to proceed and to get a reconciliation of viewpoint. He spoke of the pending Conference on the budget legislation and the current tax bill.



The Chairman recognized Senator Morse who said that the Congress should present to the President a series of bills with a majority of Democrats represented, and that he felt certain that the Democratic Members of the Committee would sign the Majority Committee report. He said that there would not be teamwork on the part of some of the Republican Members, and that there should be a vote on the merits before one on procedure.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ball who said that if the position of Senators Morse, Aiken and Ives was sustained the Majority would be yielding to a minority position in the matter.

The Chairman recognized Senator Thye who expressed the opinion that if we hold to individual views we will be divided before we get the bill on the Floor of the Senate, and he expressed the hope that the matter would come out of the Committee with one view.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wherry who criticized the three bill procedure and said that we must foreclose our own ideas for teamwork.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who moved that the Conference recommend that the labor legislation be handled in one bill. The motion was duly seconded and the Chairman asked the Members present to raise their hands for and against. The Chairman made the following announcement: 21 hands were raised in favor of the motion, and 7 hands against it.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference May 5, 1947

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

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MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE CHAIRMEN OF THE  
VARIOUS STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE  
UNITED STATES SENATE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN,  
SENATOR STYLES BRIDGES

April 25, 1947

The meeting was called to order at 11:30 a.m. in the District of Columbia Committee room, Senate Wing of the Capitol.

Present: Senators Bridges, Buck, Capper, Wiley, Aiken, Brooks, Wherry, and Revercomb.

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Absent: Senators Gurney, Tobey, Langer, Millikin, Vandenberg, White, Taft, Butler, Brewster and Hickenlooper.

Also invited to be present as Chairmen of the Special Committees:

Senators Wherry, Brewster, and Hickenlooper.

The Chairman called the meeting to order and said that he had invited Honorable George M. Fay, United States District Attorney, to be present to inform the members of procedure relating to the process of subpoena and contempt cases.

Mr. Fay addressed the meeting in respect to the various factors involved, and said that he would submit to Senator Wiley an analysis of his talk, which the Senator said he would edit and have printed as a Public Document.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 12:10 p.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

Approved:

[signed] Styles Bridges  
Chairman

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[May 8, 1947]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR MAY 8, 1947, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 9:00 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 42:

Aiken	Gurney	Robertson
Ball	Hawkes	Saltonstall
Brewster	Hickenlooper	Smith
Bricker	Ives	Taft
Bridges	Jenner	Thye
Brooks	Kem	Vandenberg
Buck	Knowland	Watkins
Bushfield	Langer	Williams
Butler	Lodge	Wilson
Cain	Malone	Young
Cordon	Martin	

Donnell	McCarthy	
Dworshak	Millikin	
Ecton	Moore	
Ferguson	Morse	
Flanders	Revercomb	
Absent 9:		
Baldwin	Cooper	Wherry
Capehart	Reed	White
Capper	Tobey	Wiley

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who said that he wished to speak concerning the program for the rest of the session. He called attention to the recent action of the Policy Committee giving priority to certain legislation and expressed the opinion that the Congress should adjourn for the Session in conformity with the intent of the La Follette-Monroney Law. He said that while there were a number of important matters still before the Congress particular emphasis should be placed at this time on an affirmative program insofar as legislation was concerned relating to Federal assistance. He spoke of the following bills involving a Federal expansion program:

- The Scientific Foundation Bill
- The Aid to Education Bill
- The Cancer Research Bill
- The Stream Pollution Bill
- The General Health Program Legislation
- Flood Control Authorization
- Various Veterans Bills

He read from the Republican Party platform of 1944 concerning the Party stand on Social Security measures. The Senator said he did not want to bring up any measure which did not have a majority of Republican votes; that there should be a floor placed under essential services; that definite federal standards are necessary in any law to be enacted; that when setting standards there is a tendency to push them higher, and that the President is under the domination of the present Social Security Administration which is under the control of the New Deal setup therein. He spoke of the Murray-Wagner-Dingell Bill as being the wrong way to proceed, and spoke of the Republican substitute which would be limited to people who cannot pay for medical services, with the funds going to assist the states and only affecting about twenty percent of the people.

The Chairman recognized Senator Vandenberg who spoke concerning his play for coverage and benefits relating to Social Security and old age survivors, and said that the Chairman of the Finance Committee would announce an advisory group to lay the foundation at the next Session of the Congress on coverage and benefits. He also stated that a program of Republican intentions was needed.

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The Chairman stated that it was his intention as Chairman of the Finance Committee to do the very thing of which Senator Vandenberg had spoken, and that preliminary work was being done at this time on it.

The Chairman recognized Senator Vandenberg who then spoke of payroll taxes, and said that action must be taken at this Session to freeze them at the present level of one percent, and that legislation should be included in the pending Tax Bill.

The Chairman said that a resolution on the subject had been introduced in the House of Representatives, and that it was on the agenda for careful watching.

The Chairman recognized Senator Young who spoke of the Soil Conservation program as most important, and said that an affirmative statement should be made if the Republicans are the author of the original legislation.

The Chairman recognized Senator Lodge who said that it was important that we have an ample program; that while we are part of the free-enterprise system there are certain fields which are not reached, and he said that two things are uppermost in the minds of the people:

- (1) High cost of living.
- (2) Housing shortage.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who said that so far as he was concerned something must be done to get the Republican Majority on the Committee for housing legislation, and he doubted whether anything could be done this session.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ball who said that what was needed was an investigation to look into the regulations of the building industry.

The Chairman recognized Senator Donnell who said that he had been requested by Senator Wiley who was absent on official business to present to the Conference the matter of termination of emergency and wartime controls. He said that certain controls expire in June and that some extensions or changes will be necessary. He spoke of four other matters which should receive attention:

- (1) Court martials.
- (2) Legal status of women.
- (3) Labor relations of courts.
- (4) Overlapping of agencies.

He said that legislation on export and import controls must be enacted, but that the others could go over until the next session.

The Chairman recognized Senator Kem who said that it is necessary to give the Government back to the people, and that he did not be-

lieve in the philosophy of taxing and spending; that the expenses of government must be curtailed and a constructive labor program enacted; that the objections to the housing bill were very substantial, and that we should not be enacting a lot of New Deal legislation.

The Chairman recognized Senator Malone who said that the CPA had caused much trouble in his state and that it should be abolished.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who said that he did not think that the Republican party should take the stand as expressed by Senator Kem, and that the Federal government does have a place in stimulating the public welfare.

The Chairman recognized Senator Martin who expressed the opinion that the majority of the people want a good sound conservative government. He spoke of the Federal government moving into states and interfering with private business; that we must have tax relief, a curtailment of expenditures, reduction of the debt, and a fair labor law. He said that we should not imitate the New Deal, and that our interest should be to elect a Republican President in 1948 as it was the only chance for survival.

The Chairman said that the Finance Committee would very shortly report the bill on tax reduction, and that he believed the legislation would meet with the hearty support of all parties. He said that he would call a conference on the subject because complete harmony would be needed.

The Chairman recognized Senator Thye who agreed with Senator Taft that welfare and educational programs were needed, and he stated that we cannot shut ourselves off from a progressive program.

The Chairman recognized Senator Langer who expressed the viewpoint of the West insofar as REA is concerned. He said that there is a feeling that the power companies control the Republican party and that it would be offset by passage of the St. Lawrence waterway legislation which had original Republican endorsement.

The Chairman recognized Senator Flanders who said that labor legislation should be written on the statute books; that any surplus should be applied for debt reduction and taxes; that an effective tax bill should be worked on in the interim, and that a positive program should be developed in Federal and state fields and incorporated in appropriate legislation.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dworshak who spoke of the large number of Federal employees still on the payroll, and that there is a real job ahead in taking them off the roll in order that we might have economy.

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The Chairman recognized Senator Donnell who said that in his opinion the country has become committed to certain programs; that the country and the Republican party have gone so far that they cannot now retreat; that the Government does have power to go into the welfare fields but that it should not be done by deficit financing.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who presented the following motion:

That the Chairman of the Policy Committee is authorized to appoint a Committee of Senators for the purpose of informally meeting with a similar Committee of the House of Representatives; the said Committee to report to the Conference with regard to the Republican policy on proposed legislation requiring an expansion of Federal activity and expenditure.

After a discussion of the phrasing of the motion by the Chairman, Senators Saltonstall and Hawkes the motion was agreed to.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 10:55 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference June 5, 1947

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

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[May 16, 1947]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR MAY 16, 1947, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 39:

Ball	Ferguson	Morse
Brewster	Gurney	Reed
Bridges	Hawkes	Revercomb
Brooks	Hickenlooper	Robertson
Buck	Ives	Saltonstall
Bushfield	Jenner	Smith
Cain	Kem	Taft
Capper	Knowland	Thye
Cooper	Lodge	Vandenberg

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Cordon	Martin	Watkins
Donnell	McCarthy	White
Dworshak	Millikin	Wiley
Ecton	Moore	Williams
Absent 12:		
Aiken	Capehart	Tobey
Baldwin	Flanders	Wherry
Bricker	Langer	Wilson
Butler	Malone	Young

The Chairman recognized Senator Morse who requested that before any unanimous consent agreements are entered into in the future that a quorum call be had.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who stated that the Senate Rules do not require a quorum call except where a specific time is fixed for a final vote on a bill or on a joint resolution, and that the Senate should abide by the rules.

The Chairman recognized Senator White who stated that he thought the present procedure bad practice in that quorum calls should be asked for on all such votes.

The Chairman asked Senator Morse if he wished to have Conference action on the matter, and that if he was not satisfied with the present procedure he should think the matter over and request action at a subsequent meeting. Senator Morse responded that he would leave the matter up to the Party officers, but believed that quorum calls should be had on all unanimous consent agreements.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who spoke about the necessity that the Scientific Foundation Bill receive action today, and spoke about the postmasters nominations which were the subject of debate on Wednesday, and he requested that all Senators vote to reject the resolutions proposed to discharge the Civil Service Committee.

The Chairman requested Senator Vandenberg to assume the chair which he did, and Senator Millikin was recognized.

Senator Millikin said that he hoped to bring up before the Senate H.R. 1, the Tax Bill on Monday next, and stated that extensive hearings had been held thereon by the Finance Committee with business representatives, financial advisors, representatives of the CIO, and persons representing all shades of opinion testifying thereon. He stated that the bill had been drafted on a conservative basis and with the Senate's view in regard to the budget in mind. He said that the Committee had decided to base its estimate on an estimated payment of 170 billion dollars of income payments; that this was a conservative figure, and that the estimated revenues would be had even in case of some business recession. Insofar as expenditures were concerned, he said that no agreement had been reached with

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the House as to a sound reduction goal, and that there appeared to be no alternative but to take the Senate version. He said he saw no reason for departing from the 4.5 figure. He presented a tabulation from the Finance Committee which presented an approach to the problem which is attached hereto as exhibit "A." He stated that the House position of fixing the effective date as January 1, 1947 had been abandoned, and stated that the cost of the House bill had amounted to 4.8 billions whereby making it effective July 1 there would be a saving of 1.6 billions. He said that the Tax Bill presented was not an extravagant or an optimistic plan, but that it would make possible a handsome cushion for contingencies which might arise.

The Chairman recognized Senator Brewster who stated that he thought the Bill a possible remedy for offsetting any depression as it was a tendency to stimulate business. He spoke of the Treasury estimate of 1.4 surplus in 1947 when the Committee experts arrived at a surplus of 2.4 together with a Treasury estimate in 1948 of 1.4. He asserted that under any theory the budget will be balanced.

The Chairman recognized Senator Hawkes who commented upon the testimony of the Treasury officials to the fact that they saw no recession in view at the present time.

The Chairman recognized Senator Buck who asked if the present Bill gave any assistance to corporations, to which Senator Millikin replied that a saving of 3.2 billions was reflected solely in personal income taxes.

The Chairman recognized Senator Hawkes who spoke of the Democrats taking the position that no tax legislation should be enacted now, and that the same ones will take that position next January when the same factors are involved. He stated that it is impossible to figure everything that is going to happen to us.

The Chairman recognized Senator Millikin who called attention to the Democratic tax cut in 1945 when something extraordinary was necessary to meet an extraordinary occasion. He said that the tax cut worked then when we had the biggest deficit in history. He stated that all knew that the members of the Finance Committee were conservative, and that the Bill could be defended as to expenditure and receipts. He stated that the Democrats were holding a conference this morning to decide on the question of postponing action on the Bill for 30 days, the same move having been attempted without success in the Finance Committee. He stated that the move was purely political in order to get the President off the limb due to his five billion dollar mistake in estimating revenues, and in order that the Democrats might be in a position to have the ball. He warned the Republicans not to be maneuvered into a 30 day delay. He stated that never in the history of the country had we waited for appropriation bills to be enacted before enacting tax legislation and that in



the past all tax legislation had been based upon estimates. He stated that the Democrats wanted to start the Tax Bill as of January 1, 1948, and that if you cannot do it now you certainly would have no more information available for approval now of something to start in January. He said that the real battle for the bill would be on their motion to postpone or to table. By a postponement it would be a play into their hands and they would carry the ball on January 1. He said that he believed that they could practically garner a unanimous vote on their side by being able to hide under their own motion, and that therefore the Republicans could not afford to lose a vote. He asked if there was anyone present who would not stand with him on that vote.

The Chairman recognized Senator Thye who asked if the 4.5 expenditure budget figure was agreed upon what effect it would have upon the western projects, to which Senator Millikin replied that they should not be unduly cut, and that was one reason he sponsored the 4.5 agreement instead of the six billion figure.

The Chairman recognized Senator Morse who stated that he would give the matter very careful consideration but that he would not commit himself. However, he assured Senator Millikin that he would keep an open mind.

The Chairman recognized Senator Donnell who said that he could not commit himself until he had heard all of the debate and it had closed.

The Chairman recognized Senator Millikin who stated that if we cannot win this fight then it would be necessary to know beforehand so that other tactics could be developed and he desired to know whether anyone would support the delaying tactics. He expressed the opinion that he thought he was entitled to know whether or not any man had serious doubts.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who expressed the opinion that Senator Millikin was entitled to be informed, and requested Senators to advise the Senator by 3:00 o'clock today of their position.

The Chairman recognized Senator Revercomb who stated that the Conference had never bound anyone and that all Senator Millikin was requesting was a mere indication of how the Republican Senators felt about the matter.

The Chairman recognized Senator Lodge who stated that the chances were that he would vote with the Senator, but that he believed it to be wrong tactics if a procedure was started to settle issues before the debate took place on the Floor.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ives who stated that the Republican men now occupied a unique and vital position both from an economic and political standpoint. He stated that the attitude on the part of the Democrats had become strictly political and not

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moral, that serious consideration should be given to the political maneuvers involved and that the question of taxes and debt reduction were of primary importance in his state. He said that he disbelieved in political maneuvers and would vote for the bill.

The Acting Chairman, Senator Vandenberg, stated that the Senator from Colorado was not asking that Senators bind themselves by their commitments, and that there was no doubt in his mind as to the unanimous attitude of the Democrats who were now meeting, but that the sole question involved was whether or not the Republicans would face a united opposition with a united effort in presenting the Tax Bill on Monday. He stated that as a fraternal obligation the Republican membership owed it to Senator Millikin to let him know how they felt concerning the matter. He said that it is a political and not an economic assault which the Republicans are facing, and stated that the fate and welfare of the Republican party in the country is up for decision at this time. He thought that the Chairman of the Finance Committee was not asking too much in this limited approach to the question that he be informed by the members.

The Chairman recognized Senator Morse who stated that at no time would he reveal his position, that he would not presume that a political strategy was involved until it had developed, and that he considered it a mistake even within narrow brackets to ask for any binding action.

The Chairman recognized Senator Robertson who stated that the Republicans should support the party in this matter; Senator Brewster spoke of the procedure of Senator Lucas in the Finance Committee, and Senator Taft spoke of [Treasury] Secretary [John W.] Snyder's testimony before the Committee when he refused to give any estimate for 1948. The Chairman recognized Senator Millikin who again discussed the Bill, and said that 49 million individual income taxpayers would benefit under it with 3.2 billions being put into the pocketbooks of the taxpayers. He said that as to basic changes for special relief for specific groups and for other inequities in the present law, that these matters should be left for a general revenue revision bill to be taken up at the next Session of Congress. He spoke briefly presenting the picture on community property exemptions throughout the country.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 11:43 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference June 5, 1947

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS (1947–1949)

\* \* \*  
EXHIBIT “A”

FISCAL YEAR 1948

Probable revenues .....	41.4
Revenue estimated in budget .....	39.1
Expense estimated in budget .....	37.5
Senate expense limit .....	33.0
Probable surplus .....	8.4
Less Senate tax cut .....	3.2
<i>Application on debt and contingencies</i> .....	5.2
Suppose failure to meet budget cut .....	1.0
Application on debt and contingencies .....	4.2
Suppose failure in revenue .....	1.0
Application on debt and contingencies .....	3.2

[May 29, 1947]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR MAY 29, 1947, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:10 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 31:

Baldwin	Hawkes	Robertson
Ball	Hickenlooper	Taft
Bricker	Ives	Thye
Brooks	Jenner	Vandenberg
Buck	Knowland	Watkins
Bushfield	Langer	Wherry
Cain	Lodge	White
Cordon	Martin	Williams
Ecton	Millikin	Wilson
Ferguson	Moore	Young
Gurney		

Absent 20:

Aiken	Donnell	Reed
Brewster	Dworshak	Revercomb
Bridges	Flanders	Saltonstall

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Butler	Kem	Smith
Capehart	Malone	Tobey
Capper	McCarthy	Wiley
Cooper	Morse	

The Chairman thanked the Republican Membership for standing superbly by during the tax fight and said that important votes would now be coming up from day to day and that he hoped all would endeavor to be present at all times.

The Chairman recognized Senator Vandenberg who stated that he wished to chat as frankly as he knew how about the four peace treaties on the Executive Calendar. He spoke with particular emphasis on the Italian Treaty and said that it was quite necessary to conclude consideration of the Treaty by June 29. He asked that the membership not decide their votes on the Italian-American sentiment in this country and spoke of the favorable vote of the Foreign Relations Committee in reporting out the Treaties, 13 to 0, its previous approval by the Council of Foreign Ministers, of the Peace Conference, the President of the United States, the Secretary of State of the United States and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He informed the membership of all of the aspects involved, including reparations, the withdrawal of troops and the situation to be faced if there is a postponement or failure of the Treaty to pass.

Questions were asked by Senators Wherry, Taft, Hickenlooper, Watkins, Langer, Bricker and Hawkes.

Senator Vandenberg concluded with a statement that all phases of the Treaties, its various aspects and all answers would be presented in his speech to the Senate on the subject.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 11:37 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference June 5, 1947

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

[June 23, 1947]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN FOR JUNE 23, 1947, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:10 a.m.

The Chairman, Senator Millikin, requested Senator Bushfield to preside as Acting Chairman, due to his required attendance at a Committee meeting.

The Acting Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 39:

Aiken	Ferguson	McCarthy
Baldwin	Flanders	Millikin
Brewster	Gurney	Morse
Bricker	Hawkes	Revercomb
Bridges	Hickenlooper	Robertson
Brooks	Ives	Saltonstall
Bushfield	Jenner	Smith
Butler	Kem	Taft
Cain	Knowland	Thye
Capper	Langer	Vandenberg
Cordon	Lodge	Watkins
Dworshak	Malone	Wherry
Ecton	Martin	Young

Absent 12:

Ball	Donnell	White
Buck	Moore	Wiley
Capehart	Reed	Williams
Cooper	Tobey	Wilson

The Acting Chairman stated that it was his understanding that the Conference had been called for the discussion of matters generally, and he recognized Senator Taft who said that the schedule for the next few days would be, after the Labor vote is concluded, to consider the Second Deficiency Bill with a call of the Calendar to follow. The Succession Bill would continue to be the unfinished business, and that thereafter the Dooley nomination would be considered, with the Unification bill to follow.

He said that the committee of Senators appointed to meet with a similar committee from the House would again consider the legislative program for the remaining six weeks of the Session, next week.

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He also stated that by July 1, legislation on Export-Import Controls and extension of the Second War Powers Act must be passed.

The Vice-Chairman recognized Senator Gurney who said that there were three important bills before the Armed Services Committee which would be reported favorably this week.

Senator Bridges reported on the status of Appropriations Bills.

Senator Baldwin raised the question concerning the appointment of the Senators who will comprise the Joint Committee created under the terms of the Labor Act. It was stated that under the terms of the law the seven Senators would be appointed by the President Pro Tempore, and that they must be members of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

Senators Flanders, Lodge, Revercomb and Thye agreed with Senator Baldwin that great care should be exercised in choosing these men in order that an impartial Committee would be named.

A general discussion ensued by Senators Taft, Aiken, Hawkes, Ives, and Hickenlooper as to the workability of the Labor legislation.

Senator Langer requested that he be advised should any Senator not wish confirmation of any Postmaster now pending before his Committee.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 11:12 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference June 30, 1947

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

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[July 8, 1947]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JULY 8, 1947, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 41:

Aiken	Dworshak	Moore
Baldwin	Ecton	Reed
Ball	Ferguson	Revercomb

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Brewster	Flanders	Robertson
Bricker	Gurney	Saltonstall
Bridges	Hawkes	Taft
Brooks	Jenner	Thye
Bushfield	Kem	Vandenberg
Butler	Knowland	Watkins
Cain	Langer	White
Capper	Malone	Wiley
Cooper	Martin	Williams
Cordon	McCarthy	Young
Donnell	Millikin	
Absent 10:		
Buck	Lodge	Tobey
Capehart	Morse	Wherry
Hickenlooper	Smith	Wilson
Ives		

The Chairman stated that the Conference had been called primarily for Senator Brooks so that he could make some observations on the Agriculture Appropriation Bill.

The Chairman recognized Senator Brooks who explained the various items involved in the legislation and spoke on six items in particular. They are as follows: AAA, REA, School Lunch, Tenant Loans, Production and Sustenance Loans and Meat Inspection. After explaining the various items, he requested Senators to let him know how they felt concerning the various cuts and restorations. The following Senators interposed opinions and questions: Senators Thye, Aiken, Revercomb, Bridges, Williams, Donnell, Reed and Brewster.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who offered a resolution, which was adopted, expressing the sense of loss at the passing of Mrs. Elizabeth M. Ives. A copy of this resolution is attached as Exhibit "A." He also suggested that a floral offering be sent on behalf of the Republican Senators.

The Chairman recognized Senator Kem who requested that serious consideration be given to the appointment of a Special Committee to Investigate the Kansas City vote frauds, and that action be taken before the present Congress adjourns.

The following Senators expressed opinions in the matter: Senators Donnell, Ferguson, Bricker, Brewster and Watkins.

The Chairman informed the Membership that the Tax Bill would be before the Senate on Thursday next and requested all Members to be present during its consideration.

JULY 8, 1947

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 12 noon.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference July 15, 1947

[not signed] Secretary for the Majority

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EXHIBIT "A"

80th Congress  
1st Session

Senator Styles Bridges offered the following resolution in the Republican Majority Conference on Tuesday, July 8, 1947, which was adopted by unanimous action:

**Whereas** Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from our colleague, the Honorable Irving M. Ives, his beloved wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Minette Skinner Ives,

*Now, therefore,*

**Be It Resolved,** That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the Honorable Irving M. Ives, express our sense of loss at the passing of his wife, and

**Further,** That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Honorable Irving M. Ives, that he may be assured of our deep respect for him and of our condolences to him in this hour of his bereavement.

**Attest:**

**Chairman**  
**Secretary**

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MINUTES OF THE REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN  
COMMITTEE LUNCHEON MEETING HELD IN THE CAP-  
ITOL BUILDING, JULY 22, 1947

Senator Capehart presided. Senator Kem, Watkins, Young and Martin, members of the committee were present. Senator Cain, member of the committee, appeared briefly at the meeting. Also present were William Murphy, Publicity Director for the Republican National Committee and Senator Kenneth Wherry.

Following the opening of the meeting Senator Capehart, in compliance with instructions from the committee at a previous session, submitted an allocation of states to each member of the 1948 campaign. The allocation, unanimously approved, is as follows:

Senator Cain—Oregon, Montana, Idaho



Senator Flanders—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Maine, Rhode Island

Senator Kem—Kansas, Oklahoma, Iowa

Senator Martin—Delaware, New Jersey, West Virginia

Senator Young—Minnesota, South Dakota, Nebraska

Senator Watkins—Wyoming, New Mexico, Colorado

Senator Capehart—Illinois, Kentucky, Michigan

Each Senator is also supplied with a list of the states in which Senatorial elections will be held in 1948 and a list of the incumbent Republican Senators subject to election in 1948.

Following a discussion on allocation of states, Senator Capehart read a transcript from the minutes of the policy committee and Majority Conference Committee held April 26, 1947, reading in part as follows:

“On motion of Senator Millikin and without objection it was agreed that the jurisdiction of the Senate Campaign Committee be enlarged to include public information on the Republican position on pending legislation.”

Following the reading of the transcript and discussion thereon Senator Watkins made a motion which was unanimously agreed to that the Senate Republican Campaign Committee accept from the National Republican Central Committee a publicity man who will be under the direction of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee and who shall have an office in the Senate Office Building.

It was also agreed unanimously, upon motion of Senator Watkins, that each Senate member of the campaign committee name an administrative assistant or secretary from his office to act on a supplementary committee to the principal Senate campaign committee for the purpose of assisting in disseminating proper publicity for the 1948 Senatorial campaign.

It was also agreed that each member of the committee to whom states have been allocated shall contact the state chairman and national committeeman in each of the states allocated to him, advising the chairman and committeeman of the action of the Senate campaign committee and that he stands ready to assist in any way in the 1948 campaign.

Immediately following the meeting Senator Kem named Eugene G. Lewellen to the committee of secretaries and Senator Young named John O. Hjelle to the committee. Senator Watkins made the temporary appointment of Kleon Kerr to the committee and Senator Capehart named Charles L. Egenroad to the committee with instructions to Mr. Egenroad to call a meeting of that committee before adjournment of this Session of Congress.

JULY 8, 1947

Copies of these minutes were ordered sent to each member of the Senate Campaign Committee and to National Republican Chairman, Carroll Reece.

[signed] Homer E. Capehart  
Vice Chairman

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[November 21, 1947]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR NOVEMBER 21, 1947, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 37:

Aiken	Dworshak	Revercomb
Baldwin	Ferguson	Robertson
Ball	Flanders	Smith
Brooks	Hawkes	Taft
Buck	Ives	Thye
Bushfield	Kem	Tobey
Butler	Knowland	Vandenberg
Cain	Martin	Watkins
Capehart	McCarthy	Wherry
Capper	Millikin	White
Cooper	Moore	Wiley
Cordon	Reed	Young
Donnell		

Absent 14:

Brewster	Hickenlooper	Morse
Bricker	Jenner	Saltonstall
Bridges	Langer	Williams
Ecton	Lodge	Wilson
Gurney	Malone	

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who offered a resolution for Senator Bridges, expressing the sympathy and condolence of the Conference to Senator Tobey on the passing of his wife, Mrs. Francelia Lovett Tobey. A copy of the resolution, as adopted, is attached hereto as Exhibit "A."

The Chairman addressed the Conference with a plea for teamplay.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bushfield who stated that the three candidates recommended by the Republican Personnel Com-

mittee for the position of Chief Clerk and Reading Clerk were present and requested that they appear for an audition.

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who moved that a majority vote be required for the selection for the office. The motion was seconded and agreed to.

The following candidates appeared before the Conference and made a brief statement as to their background and gave a demonstration of their reading ability:

Mr. Edward E. Mansur, Jr.  
Mr. Raymond W. Bellamy  
Mr. Ray Nedrow

After a discussion concerning the availability of other candidates and the possibility of obtaining some outstanding person for the position, the Chairman then recognized Senator Watkins, who moved that a decision in the matter be postponed until the next Republican Conference. The motion was seconded and agreed to.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bushfield who stated that the Republican Personnel Committee had recommended the following changes relating to Senate Pages:

- (1) That Pages shall not be appointed younger than 14 years or remain in office after the age of 17 years; also to be eligible for appointment a Page must have completed the Eighth Grade of school.
- (2) That the knickerbocker trousers and black stockings now being worn by the Pages be discarded in favor of long pants.

The Chairman asked if there was any disagreement as to the recommendations and there was none.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wiley who asked if Proxy voting in the Conference was permissible.

The Chairman ruled that in his opinion it was not desirable and he would hold that it was not permissible but that if somebody cared to make a motion he would be pleased to entertain it.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who said that the Policy Committee had recommended that the first order of business be the Interim Aid Bill, Senate Bill 1774. He proceeded to analyze the ten points set forth in the President's recent address to the Congress. He stated that the Joint Committee on the Economic Report was already working on the several phases of the matter and that his Committee in conjunction with the other standing Committees would hold the necessary hearings on the various phases.

The Chairman recognized Senators Flanders and Baldwin who spoke of recent hearings held by a Sub-Committee to Investigate the High Price of Consumer Goods.

NOVEMBER 21, 1947

Senator Baldwin analyzed the report which the Committee had recently submitted.

The Chairman recognized Senator Vandenberg who spoke on the Interim Aid Bill and said that it was essentially a relief measure as against the long-range Marshall Plan, which would be a reconstruction bill. He asked for as prompt action as possible on the measure.

The Chairman recognized Senator Cooper who gave an analysis of the recent election result in Kentucky.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 12:50 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference November 24, 1947

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

\* \* \*

EXHIBIT "A"

80th Congress  
1st Session

Senator William F. Knowland (for Senator Styles Bridges) offered the following resolution in the Republican Majority Conference on Friday, November 21, 1947, which was adopted by unanimous action:

**Whereas** Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from our colleague, the Honorable Charles W. Tobey, his beloved wife, Mrs. Francelia Lovett Tobey,

*Now, therefore,*

**Be It Resolved,** That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the Honorable Charles W. Tobey, express our sense of loss at the passing of his wife, and

**Further,** That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Honorable Charles W. Tobey, that he may be assured of our deep respect for him and of our condolences to him.

Attest:

Chairman  
Secretary

[December 3, 1947]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR DECEMBER 3, 1947, IN THE MARBLE ROOM AND THE SENATE CHAMBER.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 34:

Aiken	Ferguson	Reed
Baldwin	Gurney	Robertson
Bricker	Hawkes	Saltonstall
Bridges	Hickenlooper	Smith
Brooks	Ives	Taft
Bushfield	Kem	Vandenberg
Cain	Lodge	Wherry
Capper	Martin	White
Cooper	McCarthy	Williams
Cordon	Millikin	Young
Donnell	Moore	
Ecton	Morse	

Absent 17:

Ball	Flanders	Thye
Brewster	Jenner	Tobey
Buck	Knowland	Watkins
Butler	Langer	Wiley
Capehart	Malone	Wilson
Dworshak	Revercomb	

The Chairman recognized Senator Bushfield, Chairman of the Republican Personnel Committee. Senator Bushfield spoke of the work of the Committee in screening the thirty-nine applicants for the position of Chief Clerk and Reading Clerk of the Senate and said that his Committee had recommended the following three candidates:

C. A. Bottolfsen  
W. Herbert Lamb  
Edward E. Mansur, Jr.

The Chairman recognized Senator Donnell who spoke in behalf of candidate Bellamy and moved that the Conference add to the list of the three names submitted by the Republican Personnel Committee the name of Mr. Bellamy.

DECEMBER 3, 1947

After a discussion of the motion the Chairman put the question and the motion was rejected.

The above mentioned candidates appeared before the Conference and gave a brief resume of their past experience after which they gave an audition in the Senate Chamber.

The Chairman announced that in accordance with the previous action of the Conference that a majority vote of the members present would be necessary to elect.

Ballots were distributed to those Senators present and the Chairman announced the following result:

Mansur—19  
Bottolfsen—11  
Lamb—0

The Chairman congratulated Mr. Mansur, Jr., on his election, and extended words of thanks to Messrs. Bottolfsen and Lamb.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:20 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference December 4, 1947

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

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[December 13, 1947]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN FOR DECEMBER 13, 1947, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 33:

Aiken	Ecton	Morse
Brewster	Ferguson	Reed
Bricker	Flanders	Robertson
Brooks	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Bushfield	Ives	Smith
Butler	Kem	Taft
Cain	Knowland	Thye
Capehart	Lodge	Watkins

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS (1947–1949)

Cooper	McCarthy	Wiley
Cordon	Millikin	Wilson
Donnell	Moore	Young
Absent 18:		
Baldwin	Gurney	Revercomb
Ball	Hawkes	Tobey
Bridges	Jenner	Vandenberg
Buck	Langer	Wherry
Capper	Malone	White
Dworshak	Martin	Williams

The Chairman recognized Senator Robertson who spoke of a printer's error in the listing of the Republican membership on the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, whereby the name of Senator Kem was placed above that of Senator Thye. Senator Robertson stated that when the Committee on Committees acted, Senator Thye had been placed on the list above Senator Kem because the former had been the Governor of his State.

The Chairman recognized Senator Kem who questioned the precedent which had been followed by the Committee on Committees whereby in the case of equal qualifications of Senators-elect for Committee service, consideration was given to their previous service in the Senate, previous service in the House of Representatives or previous service as Governor of a State.

The Chairman recognized Senator Robertson who made the following motion which was seconded and agreed to "That the error in the listing of Republican Members on the Committee of Agriculture and Forestry be corrected."

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who stated that he was presenting a draft only of a statement of Republican policy which had been previously approved by the Republican Policy Committee. He suggested that the statement be issued by the Policy Committee rather than by the Conference. He read the proposed statement and explained the various provisions and policies therein.

The proposed statement was considered line by line and many changes were mutually agreed upon.

Senator Aiken moved that the word "bureaucratic" in paragraph 2, on Page 2 be stricken. The motion was not agreed to.

Senator Brooks moved that paragraph 6, on Page 3 read as follows: "Support a voluntary program to eliminate waste in the use of grain and food." The motion was agreed to.

The Chairman stated at the conclusion of the meeting that the statement would be issued by the Republican Policy Committee with the approval of the Republican Conference.

DECEMBER 13, 1947

There is attached hereto as Exhibit "A" copy of the approved statement of Republican policy.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 1:50 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference December 15, 1947.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

\* \* \*  
EXHIBIT "A"

STATEMENT OF THE REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE OF THE  
SENATE AUTHORIZED BY REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE.

We are deeply concerned over the steadily rising prices. Already, these prices impose great hardship and suffering on many families. We are equally concerned because so many individuals and groups are seeing excessive gains. If the spiral continues the ultimate adjustment may be drastic, threatening a serious depression. We must adopt immediately policies which will stabilize prices, and encourage the raising of lower incomes up to the new price level.

Many committees of Congress under Republican leadership have been studying the causes of rising prices and the sound methods of preventing further increase. In particular, three subcommittees of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report have held hearings in the East, Midwest, and far West, and all committees have been meeting steadily since our return three weeks ago.

The present condition, while growing out of the Second World War, has assumed dangerous proportions because of the policies of the administration which has controlled this Government for the past fifteen years—the policy of first restricting production, of devaluing the dollar, of deficit spending, of exporting unnecessarily goods essential for our own economy, and now of tremendous government expense and corresponding taxation reflected in the price of every product bought by 40,000,000 families. The administration now seeks to impose controls on the effects of inflation while it continues to encourage the conditions which cause inflation.

We believe that the sound approach is to strike at the fundamental causes of inflation rather than permit these causes to go on operating and then vainly attempt to prevent the inevitable results by arbitrary bureaucratic controls. Such controls have failed in time of peace to remedy the causes of inflation wherever they have been tried. Furthermore, the primary solution is to increase production and, since this is a slow process, to curtail unnecessary spending in the meantime, particularly that brought about by credit expansion for nonproductive purposes.

The program on which our committees are now working may be stated in general terms as follows:

1. Encourage the increase of production as rapidly as feasible.



2. Eliminate nonessential Government expenses, and reduce debt and taxes.

3. Restrict exports, particularly to countries which have not suffered the devastation of war. This means an extension of the Export Control Act for another year. Legal power to restrict exports has existed for the past year, but deliberate Administration policy has permitted practically unlimited export, so that \$10,000,000,000 of goods and services have left this country without any corresponding imports. This is one of the principal causes of the rise in prices. Most of these exports have gone to countries outside of Europe.

4. Discourage further increase of bank credit for nonproductive uses. The Administration has failed to use effectively the power which it has had to restrain bank credit. The Administration's representatives are in disagreement today as to the method of carrying out the President's recommendation. We must not act without the most careful consideration, particularly since it affects the proper management of our huge national debt. Our committees are still studying this problem and will report at the regular session.

5. Discourage undue increase of consumer credit.

6. Support a voluntary program to eliminate waste in the use of grain and food.

7. Support a general program to encourage all those in a position to do so to save more.

8. Authorize the President to enter into temporary voluntary agreements with industries to limit inventories and authorize priorities, so as to remove bottlenecks in the production of vital commodities. If it appears that voluntary controls are inadequate to meet specific problems we will consider the granting of authority to meet such particular problems.

9. Extend rent control for another year, making such adjustments as are required to give just treatment to tenants and owners alike.

10. Give authority to the extent necessary to prevent improper and excessive speculation on commodity exchanges.

Under the foregoing program we shall attempt at this special session to pass the following legislation:

1. A bill (a) extending for another year the export control power;  
(b) extending for another year the control of transportation;  
(c) to permit temporary voluntary agreements on inventories and priorities.

2. An appropriation bill to provide funds where necessary to carry out recommended programs.

The definite working out of the foregoing program will be done by the committees of Congress which have initiated it under Republican leadership; and specific legislation dealing with phases of the general program which it has not been possible to study completely will be considered at the regular session.

DECEMBER 13, 1947

The present administration has failed to stimulate the initiative and other elements of individual freedom which have made our country the strongest, our people the happiest and freest on the face of the earth. We intend to do our best to give those principles of freedom another chance to operate for the greater benefit of all, with only such restraints as the Government must impose to make them operate wisely.

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF CHAIRMEN OF THE  
VARIOUS STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE  
UNITED STATES SENATE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN,  
SENATOR STYLES BRIDGES

January 9, 1948

The following Senators were present:

Aiken	Langer
Bridges	Millikin
Brooks	Revercomb
Buck	Tobey
Gurney	

The following Senators were absent:

Butler	Wiley
Vandenberg	

Also present was Senator Donnell who represented Senator Wiley.

The meeting was called to order on January 9, 1948, at 10:00 a.m. in room 335 of the Senate Office Building.

The Chairman, Senator Styles Bridges, called the meeting to order and stated that he had called it at the suggestion of Senator Taft in order that a general over-all picture might be obtained as to which important matters were now pending before the various committees, and what the committees would have in the way of general business for the next two months.

A general discussion took place concerning the postponement of the Legislative Budget, but no definite action was taken. There seemed to be general agreement that the time for the filing of the report should be postponed for six weeks or longer.

The various Chairmen were asked to give the important matters now before their respective committees and the legislation pending before those committees is as follows:

*AGRICULTURE*

1. Long Range Agriculture Program
2. Federal charter for the Commodity Credit Corporation

*APPROPRIATIONS*

1. Budget Postponement
2. Request for House to speed up consideration of appropriation bills

*ARMED SERVICES*

1. Retirement Bill
2. Universal Military Training
3. Air Force
4. Resignation of graduates of Academies
5. Construction Bill for Services

*BANKING AND CURRENCY*

1. Price Control, Rationing and Allocation
2. Rent Control
3. Housing
4. Eccles Bank Plan

*DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA*

1. Home Rule (House to get first)

*EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS*

1. Investigation of the Reorganization Act
2. New Department of Health, Education and Welfare

*FINANCE*

1. Tax Bill
2. Reciprocal Trade and ITO
3. Social Security

*FOREIGN RELATIONS*

1. Marshall Plan
2. St. Lawrence Seaway
3. Voice of America
4. China

*INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE*

1. Radio Bill

DECEMBER 13, 1947

*JUDICIARY*

1. Displaced Persons
2. Foreign Wives
3. Anti-Lynching
4. Jennings Bill—venue relating to claims
5. Tidelands—Hearings start February 23
6. Anti-monopoly
7. Changes in Patent, Trademark and Copyright Laws
8. Japanese Internees
9. Constitutional Amendments:
  - A. Uniform divorce
  - B. Improvements in Judicial Machinery
10. Codification Bills

*LABOR*

1. FEPC
2. Health
3. Minimum Wage Hour

*POST OFFICES*

1. Pay increase
2. Cafeteria hearings
3. Appointments of Postmasters—extension of filing report to March 31, 1948

*PUBLIC LANDS*

1. Statehood for Hawaii
2. Statehood for Alaska
3. 160 acre limitation bill
4. Reclamation and power projects
5. Colorado River

*PUBLIC WORKS*

1. Federal Aid to Road System
2. Rivers and Harbors
3. Senate Office Building (See House)

4. Advance Planning for Public Building
5. Investigation of TVA income return

*RULES AND ADMINISTRATION*

1. Poll Tax
2. Maryland and West Virginia Contest Cases
3. Changes in Hatch Act

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 11:10 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary of the Majority

Approved:

[signed] Styles Bridges  
Chairman

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MINUTES OF THE REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN  
COMMITTEE LUNCHEON MEETING HELD IN THE CAP-  
ITOL BUILDING, JANUARY 16, 1948

Senator Homer E. Capehart, Vice-Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, presided at a luncheon meeting in the Vandenberg Room.

Senator Capehart had as his guests for the luncheon the following members of the Committee: Senators Watkins, Young, Kem, Flanders, and Cain. Senator Martin, the remaining member of the Committee, was absent from the city.

Also guests at the luncheon were the following Senators whose positions are subject to the election this year: Ball, Bridges, Buck, Bushfield, Capper, Brooks, Dworshak, Ferguson, Hawkes, Moore, Revercomb, Robertson, Wilson, Wherry, and Saltonstall.

Also present was Mr. John Townsend, Chairman of the Committee, and Mr. Charles Ellis, Senate publicity man. The following members of the Senate Secretarial Campaign Committee were also present: Charles L. Egenroad, Chairman, Charles Kapnic, Secretary, and Arthur Burgess.

Senator Capehart opened the discussion by advising those present that the Senatorial Campaign Committee expected to do all in its power to elect Republicans to the Senate in the coming election and urged those who had ideas, which they believed would be of value, to the Committee, to feel free in voicing them.

DECEMBER 13, 1947

Mr. Ellis was introduced by Senator Capehart with the explanation that Mr. Ellis stands ready to be helpful in any way he can in the Campaign.

After explaining that the Senate Campaign Committee, nearly a year ago, had created a Secretarial Campaign Committee existing of one male staff member from each Committee Senator's office, Senator Capehart said that three of the Secretarial Committee members were asked to attend the meeting to explain a suggestion which that Committee had unanimously adopted. Senator Capehart said the suggestion would be in the form of a motion picture campaign project and asked Mr. Egenroad, who is a member of Senator Capehart's staff, to open the presentation.

Mr. Egenroad said that the Secretaries Committee had made a preliminary study of a 16 mm. motion picture program showing the record of the 80th Congress. He said the Secretaries Committee had given unanimous approval of recommending a suggested program to the Senate Campaign Committee and pointed out that distribution of the series of films might be accomplished through Young Republican Organizations in all states.

He also said that the Secretaries Committee investigation disclosed that many films are already available showing many phases of the Congressional record which would be considered highly acceptable to such a program. Mr. Egenroad advised the Senators that the cost of such a program could not be estimated until a more thorough study was made of the type of films sought and the prepared film which would be available at rental figures or without charge.

He then introduced Mr. Kapnic, who stressed the value of a visual education campaign program and pointed out that word has been received that Democrats have already embarked on such a program.

He intended that the availability of projection machines for 16 mm. films among Young Republican Organizations would greatly reduce the cost of such a program.

Mr. Burgess [cited] the numerous Congressional issues, on which background film is available or could be made available stressing the efforts of the 80th Congress. Among possible film subjects outlined by Mr. Burgess were reclamation projects, cost of government, causes of high prices and animated exhibits disclosing exceptional statistical advantages to the Republican cause.

Senator Capehart expressed his extreme interest in such a program and called upon the opinions of all those Senators present. In the informal discussion which followed, it was apparent that each Senator felt that the suggested program had merit.

Upon the entertainment by Senator Capehart, a motion was made by Senator Bushfield that the idea of a 16 mm. motion picture program be submitted immediately to the National Committee with a

recommendation that it be thoroughly studied and a reply made to the Senate Campaign Committee in two weeks.

Senator Capehart was given a vote of thanks for the luncheon and for his enthusiasm in the campaign and the meeting was adjourned.

[signed] Homer E. Capehart  
Vice Chairman

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[January 26, 1948]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 26, 1948, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 36:

Aiken	Gurney	Revercomb
Baldwin	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Brewster	Ives	Smith
Bridges	Jenner	Taft
Brooks	Kem	Thye
Bushfield	Knowland	Tobey
Butler	Langer	Watkins
Cooper	Lodge	Wherry
Cordon	McCarthy	Wiley
Donnell	Millikin	Williams
Dworshak	Morse	Young
Ecton	Reed	
Ferguson		

Absent 15:

Ball	Capper	Moore
Bricker	Flanders	Robertson
Buck	Hawkes	Vandenberg
Cain	Malone	White
Capehart	Martin	Wilson

This being the first Conference of the Session, the Chairman greeted those members present, and said that the main purpose of the meeting was to discuss the budget and tax reduction. These subjects were considered at several joint meetings attended by the members of the Majority Policy Committee and the Republican leaders of the House of Representatives. He asked that, with the permission of the Conference, the minutes show that at the request of Senator Bridges two experts were present to assist the Senator in his presentation.

JANUARY 26, 1948

The Chairman then called on Senator Bridges who informed the Conference as to all aspects pertaining to the budget. Senator Bridges recommended that the Senate agree with the House in the submission of a budget figure by February 15th, and, also, that the Reorganization Act be amended in regard to the mechanics of arriving at a budget figure.

The Chairman asked if all were in agreement that they proceed to do the best they can to work out amendatory budget legislation. There was no objection.

The Chairman asked if there would be any objection to a budget cut of not less than 2.0 billions. After discussion he re-phrased his question and asked if all were in agreement that the Senate Members of the Joint Budget Committee should proceed to meet the various views expressed on the subject with a determination to reach a budget figure which could be supported on a conservative basis. There was no objection.

The Chairman stated that last year the Republicans were in unanimous agreement that the national debt for the fiscal year 1948 should be reduced by 2.6 billions, and asked whether it might be assumed that it is the sense of the Conference that the leadership proceed on the same theory for the fiscal year 1949. There was no objection.

The Chairman stated that so far as a tax bill was concerned, he did not intend to report a bill until it could be completely defended on the Senate Floor. He asked if there was any objection to his stating to the press that no division existed between the Republican Members of the two Houses of Congress as to the need of tax reduction legislation. There was no objection.

In response to a statement by Senator Dworshak that the civilian personnel of the Executive Departments of the Government should be cut 10%, Senator Hickenlooper said that the Chairmen of the various standing Committees of the Senate should assume the responsibility of reporting to the Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations such economies which they believe can be made in the departments under the jurisdiction of those committees.

The Chairman congratulated Senator Hickenlooper for the fine job which he is doing as Chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Senator Kem made the following motion which was approved; that it is the sense of the Conference that the Chairman of each of the various standing Committees carry forward the idea expressed by Senator Hickenlooper and pass on the information to the Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations.



Senator Taft suggested that George Smith, Secretary of the Majority Policy Committee, prepare and send a letter to the various Chairmen in this respect.

Senator Taft stated that the Senate would meet on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and that the week of Lincoln's birthday the Senate would meet on Monday and Thursday; that legislation on rent control, the extension of the Second War Powers Act and the budget, would have to be completed prior to February 29.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:50 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference February 4, 1948

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

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[March 18, 1948]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR MARCH 18, 1948, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:00 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 32:

Aiken	Flanders	Smith
Ball	Hawkes	Taft
Brewster	Hickenlooper	Thye
Bricker	Ives	Tobey
Brooks	Kem	Vandenberg
Buck	Knowland	Watkins
Butler	Langer	Wherry
Capehart	Malone	Wiley
Cordon	Martin	Williams
Ecton	Millikin	Young
Ferguson	Reed	

Absent 19:

Baldwin	Dworshak	Revercomb
Bridges	Gurney	Robertson
Bushfield	Jenner	Saltonstall
Cain	Lodge	White

MARCH 18, 1948

Capper  
Cooper  
Donnell

McCarthy  
Moore  
Morse

Wilson

The Chairman stated that the primary purpose of the meeting was to consider the Tax Bill, H.R. 4790. He explained the various provisions of the bill and spoke of the political problems which confronted the Republicans during its consideration. He requested that the Republicans take a unified position on the following amendments which were likely to be presented by the Democratic minority: (1) A substitute proposal to limit tax reductions to \$4.0 billion; (2) An amendment relating to the repeal of the tax on oleomargarine, and (3) An amendment to restore the excess profits tax. The Chairman pointed out that a vote against any oleomargarine amendment would not be a vote on the merits of the subject. The Chairman also stated that if the fiscal situation permitted, a bill relating to obnoxious excise taxes might be presented later in the Session.

Questions were asked of the Chairman by various Members concerning the various provisions in the bill.

The Chairman requested that he be permitted to have a poll taken by the Secretary for the Majority on the various amendments involved. There was no objection.

The Chairman stated that he would extend to Senator Donnell, the sympathy of the Conference on the death of his mother.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:25 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference March 22, 1948

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

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[April 9, 1948]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR APRIL 9, 1948, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING.

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:00 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present: 30

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS (1947–1949)

Aiken	Ecton	Reed
Baldwin	Ferguson	Saltonstall
Ball	Hawkes	Taft
Bricker	Hickenlooper	Tobey
Bridges	Ives	Vandenberg
Brooks	Jenner	Watkins
Bushfield	Knowland	Wherry
Cordon	Langer	White
Donnell	McCarthy	Wiley
Dworschak	Millikin	Young
Absent 21:		
Brewster	Flanders	Morse
Buck	Gurney	Revercomb
Butler	Kem	Robertson
Cain	Lodge	Smith
Capehart	Malone	Thye
Capper	Martin	Williams
Cooper	Moore	Wilson

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft, who stated that the purpose of the Conference was to ascertain the position of the Republican Majority as to which one of the three Civil Rights Bills should be considered first by the Senate, and that the Policy Committee believed it to be a matter for the Conference to decide. He stated that, in his opinion, the Senate should dispose of any military legislation first before they encountered the Civil Rights bills. He said that he had received a number of individual requests to bring up FEPC [Fair Employment Practice Committee], the Poll Tax Bill, and the Anti-Lynching bill, and he suggested that the Conference decide which should come up first, with the further suggestion that after the legislation is taken up, a poll be taken as to cloture thereon. The Chairman suggested that a ballot be taken by the Members present, and asked if there was any discussion.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ives who spoke in behalf of his FEPC Bill.

Senator Brooks spoke on the Poll Tax Bill which is now before his Committee.

Senator Wiley and Senator Ferguson spoke on the Anti-Lynching Bill.

Senator Donnell was recognized and made inquiry as to the provisions in the Republican Platform of 1944, relating to these issues.

The Chairman read the statements in the Platform concerning these matters.

After discussion, the Chairman stated that there was apparently a division of opinion as to all three bills, but assumed that the Conference wished to proceed with one of them. He stated that if there

APRIL 9, 1948

was no objection to such a determination, those Senators present would be asked to so designate their choice by marking a ballot passed by the Secretary.

There was no objection, but Senator Donnell suggested that should the Poll Tax Bill receive the number one choice, a small group should first consider the question as to whether or not the legislation should take the form of a bill or by means of a Constitutional Amendment.

A secret ballot was taken and the Chairman announced the result as follows:

Anti-Lynching Bill—13  
Poll Tax Bill—7  
do—By Constitutional Amendment—2  
FEPC—2  
Blank ballots returned—4

The Chairman stated that by the decision of the Conference, the Anti-Lynching Bill would be taken up first by the Senate.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wiley who made inquiry concerning legislation relating to displaced persons, and he along with Senator Donnell asked that it be taken up as soon as possible.

Senator Taft stated that a Policy Committee meeting had been called for Thursday next, to give this legislation further study.

Senator Bricker was recognized and made inquiry concerning any Republican policy relating to Presidential appointments.

After a discussion of the matter, the Chairman stated it was his understanding that we are to have no fixed policy, but that judgment should be used in the individual cases. There was no objection.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:26 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference April 20, 1948

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

[June 10, 1948]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HON. EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JUNE 10, 1948, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:00 a.m.

The calling of the roll was dispensed with, but the following Senators were present:

Aiken	Ferguson	Reed
Baldwin	Flanders	Revercomb
Ball	Gurney	Robertson
Brewster	Hawkes	Saltonstall
Bricker	Hickenlooper	Smith
Brooks	Ives	Taft
Buck	Kem	Thye
Butler	Knowland	Tobey
Cain	Langer	Vandenberg
Capper	Malone	Wherry
Cooper	Martin	White
Cordon	Millikin	Wiley
Donnell	Moore	Williams
Dworshak	Morse	Young

The following Senators were absent:

Bridges	Ecton	McCarthy
Bushfield	Jenner	Watkins
Capehart	Lodge	Wilson

The Chairman said that he wished to talk to the Members of the Conference about the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1948. He explained the provisions of the bill as it passed the House and the changes made by the Committee amendment approved by the Senate Finance Committee. He stated that after consultation with the Members of the House he was informed that the House would not accept an unconditional extension of the present act for any period, but that they were agreeable to accepting the bill as reported by his Committee. He stated that, in his opinion, if the Committee amendment did not carry, then the Reciprocal Trade Act would expire. He also stated that while the Committee amendment did not please everybody, it was the very best legislation that could be enacted at this time.

JUNE 10, 1948

Technical questions were asked of the Chairman concerning various phases of the present act and of the suggested legislation, but no opposition was expressed to the Committee version.

After an inquiry was made as to the attendance at the Saturday session it was decided that Monday would probably be the best day for a vote on the measure.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who spoke of the legislative problems confronting the Senate and the possibility of not being able to adjourn for the Session on the 19th. He listed those important measures which are now pending on the calendar.

After a discussion of the matter, Senator Taft stated that on Monday a reappraisal would be made of the legislative situation and a decision made at that time.

The Chairman then stated that he assumed that it was agreeable with the Members present for the Policy Committee to decide on the closing date of this Session. There was no objection.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:50 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference June 10, 1948

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

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[July 28, 1948]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HON. EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JULY 28, 1948, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING.

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 9:00 a.m.

The calling of the roll was dispensed with, but the following Senators were present:

Aiken	Gurney	Reed
Baldwin	Hawkes	Revercomb
Ball	Hickenlooper	Robertson
Brewster	Ives	Saltonstall
Buck	Jenner	Smith
Butler	Kem	Taft
Cain	Knowland	Thye
Capehart	Langer	Tobey

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS (1947–1949)

Capper	Lodge	Vandenberg
Cooper	Malone	Watkins
Cordon	McCarthy	Wherry
Donnell	Millikin	Wiley
Ecton	Moore	Williams
Ferguson	Morse	Young
The following Senators were absent:		
Bricker	Bushfield	Martin
Bridges	Dworshak	White
Brooks	Flanders	Wilson

The Chairman stated that the purpose of the Conference was to discuss the question of policy to be followed at the Special Session. He stated that it was necessary for the Congressional Leaders to make some kind of a statement because the Members of the House would not have a conference until Thursday; that constant demands were made upon them by the press and radio, and that Governor [Thomas E.] Dewey [of New York] had made it clear that he did not think Congress should meet and immediately adjourn. A copy of the statement which was released late the day before for use in the morning papers is attached hereto as Exhibit "A."

The Chairman asked that Senator Taft be recognized in order to explain the contents of the statement.

Senator Taft read the statement and commented thereon as follows: That a two week limitation had been originally stated for the duration of the Session but that the Leaders of the House thought that no definite time should be stated; that so far as high prices were concerned, legislation might be considered concerning increasing deposits against Federal Reserve notes and additional legislation relating to consumer credit; that the House showed no disposition to change its views on housing legislation but that some corrective legislation might be introduced in that respect; that he regretted that no consideration had been given to civil rights legislation at the previous Session; that he felt inclined to file a cloture motion on the motion to take up the Poll Tax Bill, and that later it might be wise to shift from the Poll Tax legislation to the Saltonstall Resolution, amending Rule 22, relating to cloture and state that it would be the first order of business at the next Session.

Several Senators expressed regret that the statement had been released before approval by the Conference but after a general discussion, the consensus of opinion seemed to be that under the circumstances, it was better for the statement to have been issued prior to the Conference meeting.

Suggestions were made that something else be taken up besides the Poll Tax Bill, but after discussion, it seemed logical that the Poll Tax legislation would be more appropriate.

JULY 28, 1948

Several opinions were expressed for immediate adjournment.

The prevailing opinion was that something should be done so far as prices and housing were concerned.

After a full discussion, it was generally agreed that the legislative procedure should be left in the hands of the Leadership.

The Chairman outlined to the Conference what he would say to the press at the conclusion of the meeting which was as follows: That the Senate would start consideration of the Poll Tax Bill, and that the Republicans intend to pursue it to a final decision; that the various Committees will study every recommendation made by the President, with a view of reporting to the Senate their recommendations; that only matters of national importance and of an emergency character and which could be processed within the limited time available would be considered; that no appropriations or nominations would be considered; that the Calendar would not be considered; that all of the Republican Members were in agreement as to the general policy outlined and that an effort would be made to adjourn the Session as soon as possible.

There being no objection to the statement of the Chairman and no further business, the meeting adjourned at 12:05 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference July 29, 1948

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

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EXHIBIT "A"

THIS STATEMENT IS ISSUED BY THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS OF  
THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WITH A  
VIEW TO ITS PRESENTATION TO THEIR RESPECTIVE REPUB-  
LICAN CONFERENCES FOR CONSIDERATION

1. This session was called by the President not because this is an "extraordinary occasion" as required by the Constitution, but solely as a political maneuver in the campaign for his own reelection, and to add zest to an otherwise discouraged political convention. It was called without consultation with the leaders of Congress, after Congress had adjourned with the full acquiescence and approval of the minority leaders.
2. The call involves no reference to the critical situation in foreign policy in which no emergency action is requested of the Congress.
3. Serious legislative problems cannot be satisfactorily handled in the midst of a political campaign. Legislation should be a deliberative process, and every important measure should be debated from the viewpoint of the public interest. In the Eightieth Congress our debates have been remarkably free



of partisan argument. The Eightieth Congress enacted a tremendous program of foreign and domestic legislation and completed all routine and emergency matters generally recognized as an extraordinary record of accomplishment. Few realize that Federal legislation today covers such a wide field of subjects that only a fraction can be properly studied and handled in any one year. It would take at least 6 months to give proper consideration to the President's program. We agree with Senator Barkley's statement made in the Senate a month ago before politics entered the situation:

I have done what I could to cooperate with the majority in bringing about an adjournment because I think if we sit here until after the convention, or if we sit here between the conventions, or after the two conventions, the entire time of the Congress will be taken up with political bickering and political legislation and political oratory and I do not want that to be brought about. I want to finish what we can finish and adjourn the Congress, and I have tried my best to cooperate with the leaders on the other side to bring about an adjournment.

4. The President's quarrel with the Eightieth Congress is not its failure to enact legislation, but a fundamental difference in government philosophy between the President and Congress. The President would fix wages, fix prices, expand Government spending, increase Federal taxes, socialize and nationalize medicine and generally regiment the life of every family, as well as agriculture, labor and industry, and his proposals would create an annual budget which could not be less than \$60,000,000,000 which would make inflation inevitable and permanent. The Congress believes that progress must be made and all our problems solved within the principles of liberty, equality and justice to all men which guided this country for 150 years. This difference has resulted in a constant conflict, resulting in many vetoes by the President, and frequent action overriding his vetoes. Constructive legislation which the President did not dare to veto, has been criticized and attacked by him. It is difficult and dangerous to work out great public problems without the slightest cooperation from a hostile President. The only way this fundamental difference can be resolved is by vote of the people at the November election.

5. In the President's program there is very little of an emergency nature. Most of the social welfare legislation proposed is of a permanent character which can be considered more thoroughly next winter. The Democrats controlled Congress for 14 years, professing the greatest interest in social welfare legislation. Now they say that they failed to deal adequately with social security, education, health, and housing and blame the Republicans for not enacting the program they failed to enact during 14 years.

6. We believe, therefore, that this session should be limited to a short period as suggested by the President himself, and our efforts will be devoted to completing the session as soon as possible. We shall carefully examine all of the President's recommendations to determine whether there are any matters which can be dealt with promptly on an emergency basis. We do not intend to consider routine legislation or open the Pandora's box of the legislative calendar. The Senate does not intend to consider nominations. We do not intend to make any substantial additions to the huge appropriations already provided for the administration which already threaten the continuance of a balanced budget, and would add to the fires of inflation.

JULY 28, 1948

7. According to present intentions, the program for the first week will include Senate consideration of the anti-poll tax bill already passed by the House in order that there may be a proper opportunity for all to vote in the November election. During the first week also the committees of both Houses will give consideration to the President's anti-inflation proposals to determine whether there are any additional powers which might be helpful in dealing with high prices, and which the Executive does not already have.

The present situation has been brought about largely by the administration's policies in encouraging and failing to prevent vastly excessive exports, inflating the debt and currency before and during the war, encouraging general patterns of wage increase on the theory that they would not increase prices, failing to use their powers to restrain bank credit, and spending vast amounts of Government money for every kind of project, competing for labor and materials with private industry. It is our view that the restoration of OPA, subsidies, price control, wage control, and rationing, the police state methods decried by President Truman himself, would only make the situation worse, create black markets, and check the increase in production which is the only ultimate solution. The President already has wide powers to check inflation if he were willing to use them. He has power to cut the amount of Government spending in many fields, to limit Government purchasing in those fields where commodities are short, to limit bank credit and limit consumer credit.

During the first week also, committees of both Houses will give further consideration to the housing problem and any proposals in respect thereto. Much already has been done to solve that problem. Stimulated by the legislation adopted by the Eightieth Congress, a million new dwelling units are being constructed this year, and their construction practically exhausts the materials and labor available for the purpose. This is more than twice the number of dwelling units constructed when the Truman administration, with every emergency power and millions of subsidy funds, was fumbling with the situation. We are deeply concerned with a long-range program increasing still further the number of homes to be constructed, but such a program involves serious complications and differences of opinion which cannot be dealt with adequately at this special session.

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[August 4, 1948]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HON. EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR AUGUST 4, 1948, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:00 a.m.

The calling of the roll was dispensed with, and the following Senators were present:

Aiken	Ferguson	Moore
Baldwin	Flanders	Morse
Ball	Gurney	Reed

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS (1947–1949)

Brewster	Hawkes	Revercomb
Bricker	Hickenlooper	Robertson
Bridges	Ives	Saltonstall
Brooks	Jenner	Smith
Butler	Kem	Taft
Cain	Knowland	Thye
Capper	Langer	Tobey
Cooper	Lodge	Vandenberg
Cordon	Malone	Watkins
Donnell	Martin	Wherry
Dworshak	McCarthy	Wiley
Ecton	Millikin	Williams
		Young

The following Senators were absent:

Buck	Capehart	Wilson
Bushfield	White	

The Chairman stated that the Republican Policy Committee at a meeting on yesterday had reviewed the legislative situation and had decided that a Conference of Republican Senators should be called to decide the next legislative step as well as canvass the situation in general.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft for an analysis of the legislative situation. Senator Taft said that the Senate Committees were proceeding with their work according to schedule, and that all parliamentary moves had been made on the Poll Tax Bill. He stated that he was willing to admit that the filibuster cannot be broken within a reasonable length of time, and that we should be ready to proceed with any anti-inflationary legislation on Friday. He spoke of Senator Wherry's conversation with Senator [Richard B.] Russell [, Jr., Democrat of Georgia] concerning the constitutional amendment approach to the Poll Tax issue, and was of the opinion that we should refuse to make any deals with those engaging in the filibuster. He said that the House was going ahead with legislation on the anti-inflation program dealing with the extension of Regulation W and control of consumer credit, also including a provision increasing the gold reserve, and giving authority to the Federal Reserve Board to increase bank reserves by three percentage points. On the question of final adjournment, he said that we should aim at adjournment on Tuesday of next week rather than this Saturday in order to have the weekend to work out any details. He spoke of the possibility of action on the Equal Rights Amendment.

There was discussion pro and con as to the constitutional-amendment approach to the poll tax subject.

The Chairman recognized Senator Vandenberg who spoke of the worthlessness of the present Cloture Rule and stated that for national safety it should be changed. He asked for a special study of

AUGUST 4, 1948

the Senate Rules with a view to changing them so that the Senate can function at all times.

The Chairman recognized Senator Lodge who made the following motion which was seconded by Senator Knowland and agreed to:

That the Chairman of the Conference appoint a Committee whose duty it shall be to make a study of the Senate Rules in their bearing on cloture and recommend appropriate changes therein, and that the said changes in the rules shall be the first order of business in the January Session.

The Chairman announced the appointment of the following committee:

C. Wayland Brooks (Chairman)	William E. Jenner
Kenneth S. Wherry	John W. Bricker
Bourke B. Hickenlooper	Irving M. Ives
William F. Knowland	Homer Ferguson
Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.	Leverett Saltonstall

In answer to a question by Senator Robertson, Senator Taft stated that the way out of the present legislative situation was for the Senate to adjourn today.

The Chairman then stated that, if there was no objection, the Poll Tax Bill would be set aside and the Senate adjourned when it had completed its business for the day. There was no objection.

There was discussion pro and con as to any changes to be made in the Displaced Persons Act.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ferguson who raised the question as to whether or not his Committee should press the issue of obtaining records from the Executive Branch of the Government. The consensus of opinion was that the decision should be left to the Committee.

The Chairman asked if there would be any objection to his stating to the Press that it was the intention to adjourn as soon as possible in an orderly fashion on Saturday, but if not then early next week. There was no objection.

The Chairman recognized Senator Baldwin who asked as to what action the Republicans intended to take on Price Controls. He asked that some action be taken either by the appointment of a Special Committee or at a Special Session in November.

The Chairman stated that without objection he would state to the Press that it was the sense of the Conference that the Senate Committees having jurisdiction should give instant attention to the subject of high prices. There was no objection.

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS (1947–1949)

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 12:40 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference August 6, 1948.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority



## Eighty-first Congress (1949–1951)

[Editor's Note: Not only did President Harry S. Truman unexpectedly win reelection in 1948 but the election also returned Congress to Democratic control, with 54 Democrats to 42 Republicans in the Senate and 263 Democrats to 171 Republicans and one independent in the House.

When the new Congress convened, the Republican Conference set about revising its rules and elected Kenneth Wherry of Nebraska as its new floor leader to replace Wallace White, who had retired at the end of the Eightieth Congress. Although challenged by Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Robert Taft easily won reelection as chairman of the Republican Policy Committee.

The use of filibusters to block civil rights legislation continued to plague the Senate. A committee of the Conference considered ways to revise the cloture rule to make it easier to end a filibuster. But, as finally adopted in a compromise form after itself being filibustered, the new rule actually made it more, rather than less, difficult to achieve cloture, since it required a vote by two-thirds of **all** senators rather than the previous two-thirds of senators present and voting.

In foreign policy 1949 saw the founding of the North American Treaty Organization (NATO), with U.S. participation, to guarantee the mutual defense of its member countries. When North Korea invaded South Korea in June 1950, President Truman sent United States troops to defend the South under the aegis of the United Nations without asking Congress to declare war. Also in 1950, as the cold war deepened, Republican Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin began charging that the State Department and other government agencies had been infiltrated by Communists. His excesses led Maine Republican Senator Margaret Chase Smith to deliver her famous "Declaration of Conscience" speech in the Senate, concluding with a statement denouncing McCarthy's "selfish political exploitation of fear, bigotry, ignorance, and intolerance," in which she was joined by six other members of the Republican Conference.]

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[January 3, 1949]

### MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 3, 1949, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 9:15 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 42:

Aiken	Hendrickson	Reed
Baldwin	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall

JANUARY 3, 1949

Brewster	Ives	Schoeppel
Bricker	Jenner	Smith (Me.)
Bridges	Kem	Smith (N.J.)
Butler	Knowland	Taft
Cain	Langer	Thye
Capehart	Lodge	Tobey
Cordon	Malone	Vandenberg
Donnell	Martin	Watkins
Ecton	McCarthy	Wherry
Ferguson	Millikin	Wiley
Flanders	Morse	Williams
Gurney	Mundt	Young

There were no absences.

At the request of the Chairman, the Secretary read the Conference notice which had been previously delivered to all of the Republican Senators. A copy of the notice is attached hereto and marked Exhibit "A." There is also attached hereto a copy of the amendment proposed by Senators Brewster, Butler, and Bricker which is marked Exhibit "B," the amendment proposed by Senator Morse, marked Exhibit "C" and there is further attached as Exhibit "D" an amendment to the Republican Conference Rules proposed by Senator Knowland which had been previously distributed by him to the Republican membership.

Senator Knowland, at the Conference, proposed two amendments to the amendment offered by Senators Brewster, Bricker and Butler which are attached hereto as Exhibits "E" and "F." The amendment of Senator Knowland marked Exhibit "F" was later modified by him to read "six" in lieu of "seven" and "twelve" in lieu of "fourteen," where those words appear in the amendment.

The Chairman suggested a temporary Conference organization.

It was moved, seconded and unanimously agreed that Senator Eugene D. Millikin should act as temporary Chairman and that Senator Milton R. Young should act as temporary Secretary.

The temporary Chairman assumed the Chair.

The Chairman invited attention to copies before each Senator of the existing rules and of the amendments "B," "C" and "D" and stated that it was his understanding that Senator Knowland would propose two additional amendments, "E" and "F." He stated that each of the amendments related to Article I of the Conference Rules; that in his opinion the various amendments could be resolved into a series of simple issues which could be voted on and that then a style committee could be appointed to bring in a draft reflecting amendments which might be adopted. The Chairman stated that in his opinion it would be better to proceed in that way rather than to try to work



on each amendment by itself or to use one of them as a working nucleus.

The Chairman read Rule VII and stated that under his interpretation of this rule, the proposed amendments served as vehicles for consideration of their subject matters and that the Conference was free to do as it pleased regarding the subject matters thus brought before it. There was no objection to this interpretation of the rule.

Senators Brewster, Morse and Knowland then explained their respective amendments.

The Chairman stated that it seemed to him relevant that he advise the Conference how he would rule if question arose on certain provisions of the existing rules and of the proposed amendments. He stated that he would rule (1) that all of the proposed amendments except “E” would be construed as entirely prospective; (2) that under the existing rules the Chairman of the Policy Committee is not an ex officio member of that body; that he is appointed as a member of the Policy Committee by the Chairman of the Conference (subject to the confirmation of the Conference); that since under the present rules a member so appointed to the Policy Committee cannot serve more than four consecutive years, the term of the Chairman of the Policy Committee is necessarily limited in the same way and that under the present rules the Chairman of the Policy Committee during the 80th Congress, having served four consecutive years as a member of the Policy Committee, was no longer eligible as an appointed member of that committee and, therefore, no longer eligible as its Chairman; (3) that under the custom of the Conference secret ballots are taken only in cases where conference members are involved in a contest requiring a vote for decision.

Senator Brewster then made the following motion—“That the Chairman of the Policy Committee shall be elected by the members of the Conference.” After discussion, the motion was passed by acclamation.

The Chairman then referred to the Knowland amendment (Exhibit “E”) prescribing limitations with retroactive effect upon the term of service of the Chairman of the Policy Committee.

Senator Cain then moved that a secret ballot be taken on all issues submitted to the Conference as a result of the proposed amendments and on all elections required by the Conference in cases where there were contests between members. After discussion, a record vote was taken and the motion was lost by a vote of 16 to 25.<sup>1</sup>

The Knowland amendment (Exhibit “E”) was then brought before the Conference for action and after discussion it was defeated by a record vote of 13 to 29.

<sup>1</sup>[The minutes of this meeting contain no tallies for the record votes taken.]

JANUARY 3, 1949

Senator Brewster then moved—"that no limitation of service be applicable to the Chairman of the Policy Committee." After discussion the motion was carried by a record vote of 29 to 13.

The Chairman stated that action should be had on the size of the Policy Committee.

Senator Brewster moved that this committee shall consist of eleven members including the ex officio and other members.

Senators Morse and Knowland whose amendments ("C" and "D") contemplated a nine man committee stated that an eleven man committee was acceptable to them and without objection the motion of Senator Brewster was agreed to.

Senator Langer then moved that the 42 Republican Senators comprising the Conference Committee be the Policy Committee. The motion was defeated by voice vote.

The Chairman then stated that the next order of business was to determine who should be the ex officio members of the Policy Committee. Senator Brewster moved—"that the following list officers be ex officio of the Policy Committee:"

Chairman of Conference  
Floor Leader  
Whip  
Chairman of Policy Committee

After discussion during which it was pointed out that neither the Morse amendment "C" or the Knowland amendment "D" included the Chairman of the Policy Committee as a member ex officio and that the Knowland amendment "D" included the Secretary of the Conference as a member ex officio, Senator Morse stated that it was agreeable to him to include the Secretary of the Conference as an ex officio member of the Policy Committee and Senator Knowland asked that his amendment be modified to include the Chairman of the Policy Committee.

Senator Brewster modified his amendment to include the Secretary of the Conference as an ex officio member of the Policy Committee and his motion, as so modified, was agreed to without objection.

The Chairman then stated that the next order of business was the manner of choosing members of the Policy Committee other than those ex officio.

Senator Knowland's amendment on the subject (Exhibit "F") then came before the Conference for action. Senator Morse stated that he would withdraw that part of his amendment relating to the selection of the members of the Policy Committee other than those ex officio by the Committee on Committees, and that he would support the Knowland amendment. After discussion the Knowland amendment was defeated by voice vote.

Senator Brewster then moved—"that the Chairman of the Conference shall nominate six Republican members to constitute the Policy Committee (other than the ex officio members) with the understanding that the Conference could confirm or reject the nominations thus made in whole or in part, or substitute the names of other nominees; also that within 24 hours after the selection of a Chairman of the Conference each Senator may submit to the Chairman a list of six members suggested for nomination for members of the Policy Committee."

After discussion of the motion by Senator Brewster it was agreed to by voice vote.

Senator Cain then moved "that whenever 25% of the entire membership of the Republican Conference so desires, a secret ballot shall be had on any matter calling for a vote."

The motion was defeated by a record vote of 21 to 21.

Senator Morse then moved that whenever there is a contest in the Conference between members requiring a vote for decision, it shall be decided by secret ballot. The motion was agreed to by voice vote.

The Chairman then stated the next question to be decided was the term of office of the Policy Committee. He put the question, shall the term of office of a member of the Policy Committee be for two years. By voice vote this was decided in the affirmative.

The Chairman then put the question, shall the term of office of a member of the Policy Committee, other than ex officio, be limited to four consecutive years and that after such consecutive service, no such member shall be eligible for further service in such capacity until after the expiration of an interval of two years. By voice vote this was decided in the affirmative.

Senator Taft then moved that Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg be nominated on the floor of the Senate as the Republican candidate for President Pro Tempore of the Senate. On motion of Senator Lodge, the nomination was closed and Senator Taft's motion was unanimously agreed to, with Senator Langer on his own request being considered as absent.

Senator Bridges proposed and the Conference approved the following slate of Republican elective officers:

Carl A. Loeffler for Secretary  
Edward F. McGinnis for Sergeant-at-Arms  
Reverend Peter Marshall for Chaplain  
J. Mark Trice for Secretary to the Minority

Senator Bridges was instructed to do the necessary things to secure action on the slate at the first session of the Senate.

JANUARY 3, 1949

Senator McCarthy presented a resolution of condolence which was unanimously adopted by the Conference on the death of Mrs. May Jenkins Wiley, a copy of which is attached hereto.

At the suggestion of the Chairman, the Conference passed a resolution of condolence on the death of Senator Harlan A. Bushfield, a copy of which is attached hereto.

The Chairman appointed Senator Guy Cordon as a committee of one to draft Article I of the Republican Conference rules to reflect the amending action taken by the Conference. The Chairman requested Senator Cordon to confer on questions which might arise in the performance of his task with the sponsors of the various amendments and with Mr. George H.E. Smith, Staff Director of the Policy Committee.

There being unfinished business and because of the convening of the Senate at 12 noon, the Chairman recessed the Conference until 3 p.m.

The Conference recessed at 11:45 a.m.

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The second session of the Conference was called to order by the Chairman at 3:10 p.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary to call the roll. The Secretary announced that the entire Republican membership of 42 was present.

The Chairman recognized Senator Reed who asked for a reconsideration of the vote whereby the Knowland amendment was previously rejected. This amendment related to the selection of the members of the Policy Committee by ballot. On a record vote, the motion for reconsideration was defeated by a vote of 18 to 24.

The Chairman read a draft of Section I of the Republican Conference Rules as submitted by the Style Committee and after several minor corrections, it was moved "That the draft as read and amended be adopted." The motion was approved by a record vote of 30 to 12.

The draft as approved is as follows:

*I.*

At the beginning of each Congress, or within one week thereafter, a Republican Party Conference shall be held. At that Conference there shall be elected the following officers:

*Chairman of the Conference*  
*Secretary of the Conference*  
*Floor Leader*  
*Whip*  
*Chairman of Policy Committee*  
*A Policy Committee of eleven Senators*

The Chairman of the Conference, Secretary of the Conference, the Floor Leader, the Whip, and the Chairman of the Policy Committee shall be ex officio members of the Policy Committee. The other six members shall be nominated by the Chairman of the Conference, subject to action by the Conference. The six members so nominated and elected shall serve for two years and may be re-elected for an additional two years, but no such member may serve more than four consecutive years and then shall be eligible for further service in such capacity only after an interval of two years. Within 24 hours after the election of the Chairman of the Conference each Senator may submit a list of six members suggested for nomination as members of the Policy Committee.

In all contested elections vote shall be by written ballot.

The term of office of all party officers herein provided shall extend for not more than two years, and shall expire at the close of each Congress.

The Chairman recognized Senator Saltonstall who asked for an opinion as to how the new changes in the Rules affected the service of any present members of the Policy Committee.

The Chairman said that in his opinion all of the members of the new Policy Committee would start on the same basis and be eligible for a term of two years and an additional two years. He said that so far as past service was concerned, it did not count.

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who placed in nomination the name of Eugene D. Millikin as Chairman of the Conference. The Secretary was authorized to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Millikin and did so.

The Chairman recognized Senator Langer who nominated Senator Milton R. Young as Secretary of the Conference. The Secretary was authorized to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Young and did so.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bricker who nominated Senator Kenneth S. Wherry as Floor Leader.

The Chairman recognized Senator Baldwin who nominated Senator William Knowland as Floor Leader.

JANUARY 3, 1949

The Chairman instructed the Secretary to distribute ballots and the result of the balloting, with Senator Donnell as teller, was as follows:

Senator Wherry—28  
Senator Knowland—14

The Chairman declared the selection of Senator Wherry as Floor Leader.

The Chairman recognized Senator Butler who nominated Senator Leverett Saltonstall as Whip.

It was moved "That nominations be closed."

The Secretary was instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Saltonstall, and did so.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who nominated Senator Robert A. Taft as Chairman of the Policy Committee.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ives who nominated Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. as Chairman of the Policy Committee.

The Chairman instructed the Secretary to distribute ballots and the result of the balloting, with Senator Donnell as teller, was as follows:

Senator Taft—28  
Senator Lodge—14

The Chairman declared the election of Senator Taft as Chairman of the Policy Committee.

The Chairman announced and the Conference approved the appointment of the Committee on Personnel as follows: Senator Bridges, Chairman, Senator Martin and Senator Cain.

The Chairman welcomed Mrs. Smith as the first lady member of the Republican Conference and also welcomed Messrs. Mundt, Hendrickson and Schoeppel as new members of the Republican Conference.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who extended an invitation to all Senators to appear before the Policy Committee at any time. He stated that the principles of liberty and justice of the Republican Party must be maintained and that economic and social progress must go forward in every field, keeping in mind, however, those two paramount principles.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 4:35 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 24, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*  
EXHIBIT "A"  
UNITED STATES SENATE  
Washington, D.C.

NOTICE

December 27, 1948

There will be a meeting of Republican Senators in their Conference Room (Room 335 Senate Office Building) on Monday, January 3, 1949, at 9:00 a.m., for the election of officers and for consideration of or action on such other matters as may properly come before the meeting including those hereinafter specified.

Pursuant to Article VII of the Republican Conference Rules as amended by the Conference, December 15, 1944, notice is hereby given that action will be sought at this conference upon the subjects covered by the amendments which will be proposed and which are attached hereto as a part hereof.

For your convenience a copy of the Republican Conference Rules as amended by the Conference, December 15, 1944, is also attached hereto.

By order of the Chairman:

[not signed] Secretary of the Republican Conference

\* \* \*  
(Confidential)  
REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE RULES  
(As amended by the Conference, December 15, 1944)

I.

At the beginning of each Congress, or within 1 week thereafter, a Republican Party Conference shall be held. At that Conference there shall be selected the following officers:

*Chairman of the Conference*  
*Secretary of the Conference*  
*Floor Leader*  
*Whip*  
*\*A Steering Committee of nine Senators.*

The Chairman of the Conference, the Floor Leader, and the Whip shall be members ex officio. The other six members shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference, subject to confirmation by the Conference. Of the members so appointed and confirmed in 1945, the Chairman of the Conference shall designate three who shall be ineligible for reappointment in

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\* Designated as the Majority Policy Committee by the Conference, December 30, 1946.

JANUARY 3, 1949

1947, and three who shall be ineligible for reappointment in 1949. Thereafter, no member shall be eligible for reappointment after having served 4 years except after a 2-year interval. The Chairman of the Steering Committee shall be chosen by the members of the Committee.

The term of office of all party officers herein provided shall extend for not more than 2 years, and shall expire at the close of each Congress.

## *II.*

The Chairman may call a Conference at any time, and shall call a Conference whenever requested to do so by the Steering Committee or in writing by five or more Senators. The Steering Committee shall meet at least once in 2 weeks, on a fixed day of the week and at a fixed hour to be determined by the Committee. It may meet at any time on the call of its Chairman. The Committee shall permit any Senator to appear before it upon his request to present any matter in which he is interested.

## *III. Duty of Party Officers.*

The Chairman of the Conference shall preside at all Conference meetings, and perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by this resolution or by the Conference.

The Secretary shall keep accurate minutes of all Conference proceedings. The minutes of all meetings of committees of the Conference shall be kept by the Party Floor Clerk and shall be filed with the Secretary, which minutes shall be open to inspection by any member of the Conference. The Secretary and Floor Clerk, respectively, shall notify members of all Conference and committee meetings. In the absence of the Chairman, he shall have the same powers and duties to call meetings of the Conference as the Chairman.

The Floor Leader shall perform the customary duties of the Majority or Minority Leader, as the case may be, on the floor of the Senate, and shall have full authority to deal with all questions of procedure after consulting the Republican Senators who are concerned.

The Whip shall assist in securing attendance of members at Party Conferences and upon the floor of the Senate when their presence is considered necessary by the Chairman or the Floor Leader, and shall perform such other duties as the Chairman or Floor Leader may require.

The Steering Committee shall consider the legislative program in the Senate and the question whether any Party policy is involved, shall prepare and present recommendations for action by the Conference, and advise all Senators on legislative matters which they desire to present to the Steering Committee.

## *IV.*

A Committee on Committees shall be appointed at the beginning of each Congress to prepare and recommend to the Conference the complete assignment of Republican Senators to committees, and shall recommend the filling of vacancies occurring during the Congress. The Committee shall be ap-



pointed by the Chairman of the Conference immediately after his election subject to confirmation by the Conference.

V.

A Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee shall be appointed within 6 months after the beginning of each Congress by the Chairman of the Conference, subject to confirmation by the Conference.

VI.

No action by the Conference upon any matter pending or to be proposed in the Senate shall be binding in any way on members in casting their votes thereon.

VII.

These rules may be amended at any time by a majority vote of the Conference, providing notice of the amendment has been given at least 1 week in advance to every member of the Conference that action will be sought upon the subject covered by the amendment.

\* \* \*

EXHIBIT “B”

Proposed by Senators Brewster, Bricker and Butler:

*AMENDMENT TO REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE RULES*

Article I of the Republican Conference Rules as amended by the Conference, December 15, 1944, shall be amended to read as follows:

I.

At the beginning of each Congress or within one week thereafter, a Republican Party Conference shall be held. At that Conference there shall be selected the following officers whose terms shall extend for two years and shall expire at the close of each Congress:

*Chairman of the Conference*  
*Secretary of the Conference*  
*Chairman of the Policy Committee*  
*Floor Leader*  
*Whip*

At such Conference, or at the following Conference, a Policy Committee of eleven Senators whose terms shall extend for two years and shall expire at the close of each Congress, shall be selected, of which the Chairman of the Conference, Chairman of the Policy Committee, Floor Leader, and the Whip, shall be members ex officio. The other seven members shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference, subject to confirmation by the Conference. No one of such appointed members shall be eligible for re-appointment if he has served for four years, except after a two-year interval.

JANUARY 3, 1949

\* \* \*

EXHIBIT "C"

Proposed by Senator Morse:

It is proposed that Rule I of the Republican Conference Rules be amended by the adoption of the following substitute rule therefor:

I.

At the beginning of each Congress, or within one week thereafter, a Republican Party Conference shall be held. At that Conference there shall be selected the following officers:

*Chairman of the Conference*

*Secretary of the Conference*

*Floor Leader*

*Whip*

*Chairman of Steering Committee*

The Chairman of the Conference, the Floor Leader and the Whip shall be members ex officio of the Steering Committee. The Chairman of the Steering Committee shall be selected by the members of the Republican Conference at the first meeting of the Republican Party Conference at the beginning of each Congress. The other five members of the Steering Committee shall be nominated by the Committee on Committees subject to confirmation by the Republican Conference at a second meeting of the Conference to be held within two weeks after the first meeting of the Conference at the beginning of each Congress. The Chairman of the Steering Committee shall serve for a two-year term and no member of the Republican Party Conference shall be eligible for reelection to the Chairmanship of the Steering Committee except after a two-year interval. Of the five members of the Steering Committee nominated and confirmed in 1949, two shall be designated to serve a two-year term and three shall be designated to serve a four-year term. Thereafter no member of the Steering Committee shall be eligible for membership on the Steering Committee after having served four years except after a two-year interval.

The term of office of the Chairman of the Conference, Secretary of the Conference, Floor Leader, Whip and Chairman of the Steering Committee herein provided shall extend for not more than two years and shall expire at the close of each Congress.

The voting on the selection of all party officers and Chairman of the Steering Committee shall be by secret written ballot. A majority of the ballots cast shall be required for election to any office herein provided. In the event of nominations from the floor of any Republican Party Conference for the filling of any committee assignment or other office of the Conference the vote shall be by secret written ballot.

\* \* \*

EXHIBIT "D"

Proposed by Senator Knowland:

It is proposed that Rule I of the Republican Conference Rules be amended by the adoption of the following substitute rule therefor:

*I*

At the beginning of each Congress, or within one week thereafter, a Republican Party Conference shall be held. At that Conference there shall be selected the following officers:

*Chairman of the Conference*

*Secretary of the Conference*

*Floor Leader*

*Whip*

*A Steering Committee of nine Senators*

The Chairman of the Conference, the Secretary of the Conference, the Floor Leader, and the Whip shall be members ex officio. The other five members shall be elected by the Conference in the following manner. Each member of the Conference shall vote by ballot for five eligible Republican Senators of his choice. The votes of all members of the Conference shall be tabulated, and the five persons receiving the highest vote shall be elected for a two year term. In the event of a tie for fifth place, a run off ballot shall be had for the persons so tied. No person shall be eligible for election as one of the five elected members of the Committee after having served four consecutive years, except after a two year interval. The Chairman of the Steering Committee shall be chosen by the members of the Committee.

The term of office of all party officers herein provided shall extend for not more than 2 years, and shall expire at the close of each Congress.

\* \* \*

EXHIBIT "E"

By Senator Knowland:

AMENDMENT TO THE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY SENATORS  
BREWSTER, BRICKER AND BUTLER

(Immediately following the list of officers a new first sentence to the existing paragraph to be added):

"NONE OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED OFFICERS WHO HAVE SERVED IN ANY OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED POSITIONS FOR FOUR YEARS SHALL BE ELIGIBLE FOR RETENTION IN SUCH POSITION EXCEPT AFTER A TWO YEAR INTERVAL."

\* \* \*

EXHIBIT "F"

By Senator Knowland

AMENDMENT TO THE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY SENATORS  
BREWSTER, BRICKER AND BUTLER

(On line 6 of the existing first paragraph strike out "shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference, subject to confirmation of the conference" and insert the following:)

JANUARY 3, 1949

"Shall be selected in the following manner: each member of the Conference shall vote by ballot for six eligible Republican Senators of his choice. From among the twelve persons receiving the highest number of votes the Chairman of the Conference shall appoint six, subject to confirmation by the entire Conference."

\* \* \*

81st Congress  
1st Session

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy offered the following resolution in the Republican Minority Conference on Monday, January 3, 1949, which was adopted by unanimous action:

**Whereas** Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from our colleague, the Honorable Alexander Wiley, his beloved wife, Mrs. May Jenkins Wiley,

*Now therefore,*

**Be It Resolved**, That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the Honorable Alexander Wiley, express our sense of loss at the passing of his wife, and

**Further**, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Honorable Alexander Wiley, that he may be assured of our deep respect for him and of our condolences to him.

Attest:

Chairman  
Secretary

\* \* \*

81st Congress  
1st Session

**Harlan John Bushfield**

Senator Chan Gurney offered the following resolution in the Republican Minority Conference on Monday, January 3, 1949, which was adopted by unanimous action:

**Whereas** Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from us our beloved colleague, the Honorable Harlan John Bushfield, late junior Senator from the State of South Dakota, and

**Whereas** throughout his six years in the United States Senate he rendered to our Nation and to his State a most distinguished service, and

**Whereas** he was our affectionate friend and our esteemed colleague, ever ready to give of himself, of his efforts, and of his judgment,

*Now, therefore,*

**Be It Resolved**, That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the Honorable Harlan John Bushfield, express our sense of loss at his passing, and

**Further**, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Mrs. Vera C. Bushfield at Miller, South Dakota, that she may be assured of our deep

respect for her and of our condolences to her upon the passing of our friend, her husband.

Attest:

Chairman  
Secretary

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[January 6, 1949]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 6, 1949, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:15 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 38:

Aiken	Hendrickson	Saltonstall
Baldwin	Hickenlooper	Schoeppel
Bricker	Ives	Smith (Me.)
Bridges	Jenner	Smith (N.J.)
Butler	Kem	Taft
Cain	Knowland	Thye
Capehart	Langer	Tobey
Cordon	Lodge	Watkins
Donnell	McCarthy	Wherry
Ecton	Millikin	Wiley
Ferguson	Morse	Williams
Flanders	Mundt	Young
Gurney	Reed	

Absent 4:

Brewster	Martin	Vandenberg
Malone		

The Chairman read to the Conference Section 4 of the Republican Conference Rules relating to the appointment of members on the Committee on Committees, and he then announced the following eleven members to constitute the Republican Committee on Committees: Senator Hugh Butler of Nebraska to be Chairman, Senator Raymond E. Baldwin of Connecticut, Senator John W. Bricker of Ohio, Senator Homer E. Capehart of Indiana, Senator Forrest C. Donnell of Missouri, Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan, Senator William F. Knowland of California, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts, Senator George W. Malone of Nevada, Senator Edward Martin of Pennsylvania and Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey.

JANUARY 6, 1949

The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who moved that the recommendations of the Chairman be confirmed by the Conference. The motion was agreed to by voice vote.

The Chairman read to the Conference the provisions of Section I of the Republican Conference Rules relating to the nomination by the Chairman of six members of the Policy Committee. He announced the following six members to constitute the Policy Committee: Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, Senator Guy Cordon of Oregon, Senator Irving M. Ives of New York, Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa, Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine and Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan.

The Chairman recognized Senator Butler who moved that the nominations as announced by the Chairman be approved. The motion was adopted by voice vote.

The Chairman praised the helpfulness and good spirit shown by Senators Ferguson and Brewster in asking that any rights they might have for membership on the Policy Committee be waived in order that the senior Senator from Michigan, Mr. Vandenberg, and the junior Senator from Maine, Mrs. Smith, might be appointed thereto.

The Chairman stated that he would have liked very much to have nominated Senator Knowland for the Policy Committee, but because of geographical and other factors, it could not be done.

He stated that if he is here two years from now, he will "root and toot" to have Senator Knowland put on that Committee.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who spoke of the difficulty which the Committee on Committees will have in making committee assignments. He read a proposed amendment relating to suggested changes in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, whereby 8 committees would be increased from 13 to 15 and on certain other committees the Minority would receive 8 additional places and the Majority 19 instead of their present 11 additional ones. He stated that he had talked the matter over with Senator Barkley and suggested some decision on the part of the Conference as to the merits of his proposal. After a discussion of the matter, the Chairman asked if there was any objection to leaving the matter up to Senator Taft to have further discussions with the Democratic Members concerning the proposal. There was no objection raised and the Chairman informed Senator Taft that he should feel free to carry on further discussions with the other side. A copy of the proposed amendment is attached hereto as Exhibit "A."

The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who informed the Conference as to the difficulty to be experienced by the Personnel Committee in the allocation of Minority Patronage, and the difficulty to

be experienced by the Minority Members so far as Committee personnel is concerned.

The Chairman recognized Senator Morse who suggested that a watchdog committee be appointed for Floor purposes, as well as unity of action on the part of the Republican Minority in keeping watchful eyes on the actions of the Presiding Officer on recognitions and rulings of the chair.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:15 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 24, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*

#### EXHIBIT "A"

It is proposed to amend the Senate rules as contained in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 by increasing the number of Senators on the following Committees from 13 to 15: Agriculture, Armed Services, Finance, Foreign Relations, Interior, Interstate Commerce, Judiciary and Labor. It will then be necessary to amend (Paragraph 4) of Section 102 to read as follows:

Each Senator shall serve on two standing Committees and no more; except that no more than 20% of the Senators of the Minority Party may serve on three standing Committees, and no more, if one of such standing Committees is the Committee on the District of Columbia, the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, the Committee on Post Offices and Civil Service, the Committee on Public Works or the Committee on Rules and Administration; and except that Senators of the Majority Party who are members of any said five Committees may serve on three standing Committees and no more.

Under the Reorganization Act, it is contemplated that all of the Committees be of substantially equal importance. This has not turned out to be true. Five Committees listed in the foregoing amendment are not of interest to Senators and the result is that all the places on the first ten Committees are taken by the Senators having seniority and the Junior Senators are left with a very poor selection. The ten more important Committees have a number of subcommittees dealing with different subjects, and the Junior Senators are excluded from participation in all of these subjects, while the members of the ten best Committees are supposed to cover all of them.

JANUARY 6, 1949

The foregoing rules should be supplemented by a rule of the Republican Conference to the effect that every Senator shall be entitled to a place on one of the ten principal Committees.

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR HUGH BUTLER, JANUARY 6, 1949, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 3:10 p.m.

Members of the Committee present were: Senators Butler, Chairman, Baldwin, Bricker, Capehart, Donnell, Ferguson, Knowland, Lodge and Smith. Members of the Committee absent were: Senators Malone and Martin. Also present was J. Mark Trice.

The Chairman informed the members that this would be called a preliminary meeting and that he hoped a final decision could be reached tomorrow and he would call a meeting of the Committee at 9:00 a.m., in the morning.

The Secretary distributed to those members present confidential work sheets No. 1, entitled (1) Committee Assignments of Senators, and (2) Standing Committees of the Senate.

The Chairman spoke of the rules which had been previously followed by past Committees on Committees in making assignments to Committees, and that the first step was to take care of Senators who received practically nothing two years ago and second, to try to take care of Senators who were bumped off of Committees by reason of a change in the control of the Senate.

After a discussion of the various aspects, the following motion was made, seconded and approved:

That, where a Senator has served on a Committee, and has lost his membership thereon by a change of Committee ratio as a result in the change in control of the Senate, he shall have seniority over any and all other Senators to the first vacancy on the Committee from which he was displaced.

After discussion, the following motions were made, seconded and approved:

That Senator Hickenlooper be assigned to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

That Senator Knowland be assigned to the Committee on Armed Services.

That Senator Bricker be assigned to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.



That Senator Jenner be assigned to the Committee on Judiciary.

Senator Lodge asked that the minutes of the meeting show that he would like to be assigned to the Committee on Armed Services as soon as possible.

Senator Flanders personally appeared before the Committee and stated that while his main interest was in becoming a member of the Committee on Finance and the Committee on Foreign Relations, that due to the explanation to him by the Chairman, he would be glad to give up his desire in favor of Senator Williams.

Senator Capehart communicated with Senator Jenner who waived his right to an assignment on the Committee on Finance.

Senator Donnell talked with Senator Kem by telephone and the Chairman invited the latter to appear before the Committee.

Senator Kem personally appeared and expressed a desire to be assigned to the Committee on Finance because of his interest in such matters. He said that he was of the opinion that assignments to special committees should be considered in connection with appointments to standing Committees. He said that he would stand on his rights and let the Committee decide the issue.

There being no further business, the Committee recessed at 5:40 p.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved:

[signed] Hugh Butler  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR HUGH BUTLER, FOR JANUARY 7, 1949 IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 9:10 a.m.

Members of the Committee present were: Senators Butler, Chairman, Bricker, Capehart, Donnell, Ferguson, Knowland, Lodge and Smith. Members of the Committee absent were: Senators Baldwin, Malone and Martin. Also present was J. Mark Trice.

After a discussion of the assignments of Senators Kem and Williams to the Committee on Finance, the Committee voted in favor of the assignment of Senator Williams to the Committee on Finance.

JANUARY 6, 1949

Senator Lodge congratulated Senator Donnell on his fine argument on behalf of his colleague, Senator Kem.

Senator McCarthy was invited to appear personally before the Committee and he raised objection to the tentative assignments suggested, and expressed the opinion that all Senators should have at least one major Committee assignment. Senator McCarthy informed the Chairman that if he were assigned to the Committee on the District of Columbia that he would not wish to be placed in the ranking minority position thereon.

The Chairman called to the attention of the members of the Committee the situation where two years ago Senator Bridges had waived his seniority rights to the Chairmanship of the Committee on Armed Services and Senators Taft and Butler had waived their rights to the Chairmanship of the Committee on Finance, in order that the Chairmanships might be assumed by Senators Gurney and Millikin. He stated that the question had been raised, now that the control of the Senate had changed, whether or not in the Committee listing, the minority Senators should be listed in accordance with their seniority.

After a discussion of the matter, the following motion was made, seconded and approved:

That, where a Republican member of any committee has waived his right to the chairmanship of that committee because of his desire to serve as chairman of another committee and there is a change of majority relieving said Senator of his chairmanship, he shall be restored to his senior position on the committee wherein he had waived his rights to the chairmanship, except where such right is voluntarily relinquished.

The Committee then proceeded to make further Committee assignments and there is attached hereto as Exhibits "A" and "B," the final drafts.

It was moved, seconded and approved:

That the Committee on Committees report to the Republican Conference the final draft as approved.

The Chairman informed the Secretary of the Committee, following the meeting, that Senators Taft and Butler had waived their rights of seniority listing on the Committee on Finance for the 81st Congress only, in favor of Senator Millikin in order that his name might be carried at the top of the minority membership on the said Committee.

There being no further business, the Committee adjourned at 11:50 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved:

[signed] Hugh Butler  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

\* \* \*  
EXHIBIT "A"

(Confidential Work Sheet No. 2)

**COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS OF SENATORS**

Eighty-first Congress

(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

Mr. Aiken .....	Agriculture and Forestry Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. Baldwin .....	Armed Services Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. Brewster .....	Finance Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. Bricker .....	Banking and Currency Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. Bridges .....	Appropriations Armed Services
Mr. Butler .....	Finance Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. Cain .....	Banking and Currency Public Works
Mr. Capehart .....	Banking and Currency Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. Cordon .....	Appropriations Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. Donnell .....	Judiciary Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. Ecton .....	Interior and Insular Affairs Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. Ferguson .....	Appropriations Judiciary
Mr. Flanders .....	Banking and Currency Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. Gurney .....	Appropriations Armed Services
Mr. Hendrickson .....	District of Columbia Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. Hickenlooper .....	Agriculture and Forestry Foreign Relations
Mr. Ives .....	Expenditures in the Executive Departments

JANUARY 6, 1949

**COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS OF SENATORS—Continued**

Eighty-first Congress

(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

	Rules and Administration
Mr. Jenner .....	Judiciary
	Rules and Administration
Mr. Kem .....	Agriculture and Forestry
	Public Works
Mr. Knowland .....	Armed Services
	Rules and Administration
Mr. Langer .....	Judiciary
	Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. Lodge, Jr. ....	Foreign Relations
	Rules and Administration
Mr. Malone .....	Interior and Insular Affairs
	Public Works
Mr. Martin .....	Finance
	Public Works
Mr. McCarthy .....	District of Columbia
	Expenditures in the Executive Departments
Mr. Millikin .....	Finance
	Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. Morse .....	Armed Services
	Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. Mundt .....	District of Columbia
	Expenditures in the Executive Departments
Mr. Reed .....	Appropriations
	Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. Saltonstall .....	Appropriations
	Armed Services
Mr. Schoeppel .....	District of Columbia
	Expenditures in the Executive Departments
Mr. Smith .....	Foreign Relations
	Labor and Public Welfare
Mrs. Smith .....	District of Columbia
	Expenditures in the Executive Departments
Mr. Taft .....	Finance
	Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. Thye .....	Agriculture and Forestry
	Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. Tobey .....	Banking and Currency
	Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. Vandenberg .....	Expenditures in the Executive Departments
	Foreign Relations

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1949–1951)

**COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS OF SENATORS—Continued**

Eighty-first Congress

(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

Mr. Watkins .....	Interior and Insular Affairs Public Works
Mr. Wherry .....	Appropriations Rules and Administration
Mr. Wiley .....	Foreign Relations Judiciary
Mr. Williams .....	District of Columbia Finance
Mr. Young .....	Agriculture and Forestry Appropriations

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**EXHIBIT “B”**

(Confidential Work Sheet No. 2)

**STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE**

Eighty-first Congress

(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

On Agriculture and Forestry (Ratio 8–5)

Messrs. Aiken, Young, Thye, Kem, Hickenlooper

On Appropriations (Ratio 13–8)

Messrs. Bridges, Gurney, Reed, Ferguson, Wherry, Cordon, Saltonstall,  
Young

On Armed Services (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Bridges, Gurney, Saltonstall, Morse, Baldwin, Knowland

On Banking and Currency (Ratio 8–5)

Messrs. Tobey, Capehart, Flanders, Cain, Bricker

On District of Columbia (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Williams, McCarthy, Mundt, Mrs. Smith, Messrs. Schoeppel,  
Hendrickson

On Expenditures in the Executive Departments (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. McCarthy, Ives, Vandenberg, Mundt, Mrs. Smith, Mr.  
Schoeppel

On Finance (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Millikin, Taft, Butler, Brewster, Martin, Williams

On Foreign Relations (Ratio 8–5)

Messrs. Vandenberg, Wiley, Smith, Hickenlooper, Lodge, Jr.

On Interior and Insular Affairs (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Butler, Millikin, Cordon, Ecton, Malone, Watkins

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On Interstate and Foreign Commerce (Ratio 8-5)

Messrs. Tobey, Reed, Brewster, Capehart, Bricker

On the Judiciary (Ratio 8-5)

Messrs. Wiley, Langer, Ferguson, Donnell, Jenner

On Labor and Public Welfare (Ratio 8-5)

Messrs. Taft, Aiken, Smith, Morse, Donnell

On Post Office and Civil Service (Ratio 7-6)

Messrs. Langer, Flanders, Baldwin, Thye, Ecton, Hendrickson

On Public Works (Ratio 8-5)

Messrs. Cain, Martin, Watkins, Malone, Kem

On Rules and Administration (Ratio 8-5)

Messrs. Wherry, Knowland, Lodge, Jr., Jenner, Ives

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[January 10, 1949]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 10, 1949, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:10 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 34:

Aiken	Hickenlooper	Reed
Baldwin	Ives	Schoeppel
Brewster	Jenner	Smith, Me.
Butler	Kem	Smith, N.J.
Cain	Knowland	Taft
Cordon	Langer	Thye
Donnell	Lodge	Tobey
Ecton	Malone	Vandenberg
Ferguson	McCarthy	Watkins
Gurney	Millikin	Wherry
Hendrickson	Morse	Williams
		Young

Absent 8:

Bricker	Flanders	Saltonstall
Bridges	Martin	Wiley
Capehart	Mundt	

The Chairman read to the Conference the provisions of the Conference Rules relating to the appointment of the Committee on Committees and their duties.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Butler who presented to the Conference a written report on the action taken by the Committee on Committees of which he is Chairman. The report of the Chairman of the Committee is attached hereto as Exhibit "A."

There is also attached hereto as Exhibits "B" and "C" the Minority committee listings as approved by the Conference.

There was distributed to the members of the Conference work sheets No. 2 entitled "Committee Assignments of Senators" and "Standing Committees of the Senate."

Senator Butler requested that the following recommendation of the Committee on Committees be approved by the Conference:

Where a Senator has served on a committee, and has lost his membership thereon by a change of committee ratio as a result of a change in control of the Senate, he shall have seniority over any and all other Senators to the first vacancy on the committee from which he was removed.

The Chairman asked if there was any objection. There being none, the recommendation was unanimously approved.

Senator Butler then moved that the following recommendation of the Committee on Committees be approved:

Where a Republican member of any committee has waived his right to a chairmanship of that committee because of his desire to serve as chairman of another committee, and later there is a change in Senate control, relieving said Senator of his chairmanship, he shall be restored to his position of seniority on the committee where he had waived his rights to the chairmanship, except where such rights are voluntarily relinquished.

After a discussion of the previous resolution and a number of suggested changes, it was agreed that the following words should be added at the end thereof: "for the current Congress."

There being no further discussion, the Chairman then announced that the resolution as amended was agreed to.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Vandenberg who moved that the Senator from Michigan (Mr. Vandenberg) be listed at the bottom of the minority assignments on the Committee on the Expenditures in the Executive Departments for this Congress.

The Chairman announced that there was no objection to the motion and it was agreed to.

A discussion arose about the listings on the Committee on Armed Services, whereby Senator Bridges, due to his seniority had been

JANUARY 10, 1949

placed first on the list of minority members ahead of Senator Gurney, the ex-Chairman.

In the absence of Senator Bridges, it was deemed wise to leave the listing as it was at the present time until Senator Bridges' return.

Senator Butler then moved that the Committee assignments as recommended by the Committee on Committees, with the changes listed, be agreed to.

The Chairman announced that the assignments were agreed to without objection. There was no objection.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who presented to the Conference his suggested changes in the rules relating to additional membership on the various Committees of the Senate.

The Chairman stated that without objection Senator Taft be instructed to present the resolution to the Senate. There was no objection.

The Chairman recognized Senator Brewster who spoke in regard to the Senatorial Campaign Committee. The Chairman read from the Conference Rules, relating to the appointment by him of the Senatorial Campaign Committee and stated that he would very shortly announce the membership of that Committee.

Senator Taft announced that there would be a meeting of the Policy Committee at 3:00 p.m. today.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:15 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary for the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 24, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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#### EXHIBIT "A"

Report of the Committee on Committees, to the Republican Conference,  
January 10, 1949

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Conference:

Your Committee on Committees makes the following report:

Two meetings of the Committee were held, the first extending from 3:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. on January 6 and the second started at 9:00 a.m. the 7th and extended until about 12 o'clock. There was a splendid attendance of the members at these meetings. The Secretary of the Minority, Mr. J. Mark Trice, acted as Secretary and made and will preserve the detailed minutes of both meetings. All letters addressed to Mr. Robertson, or to me



or to others, concerning requests for Committee assignments, have been turned over to Mr. Trice to be kept for future reference should occasion require. In this connection I wish to say that I have found it necessary several times to check the minutes and records of previous committees.

At the beginning of the first session of the Committee on Committees the Chairman cancelled his request for a committee as did his junior colleague, Mr. Wherry, in order that more desirable committee assignments might be made available to others who, as yet, had not secured what they wanted. I asked that other members of the Committee follow the same plan, and am pleased to say that we had splendid cooperation in this respect. Also, I want to compliment the Senators who were called into the meeting and requested to waive seniority in order that the Committee could give each member except the four newly elected members at least one major committee assignment. The four new members of necessity had to be assigned to the District of Columbia Committee; three are on the Committee Expenditures in Executive Departments and one on Post Office and Civil Service. Due to the fact that some of the senior Senators lost positions on important committees as a result of the change in Senate control, our Committee had some very difficult problems, and except for the fine cooperation of other members it could have been far more disappointing than it is. With one or two exceptions, all senior members have been placed on at least one major committee. I have not given up hope of ultimately solving these problems, either through temporary surrender of seniority by another Senator, or by getting Senate approval of the Taft proposal, that membership on certain committees be increased from 13 to 15. The Committee, however, has been requested to file its report today, with the understanding that some changes may be submitted at a later date. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I submit the following report on Committee assignments:

On Agriculture and Forestry (Ratio 8–5)

Messrs. Aiken, Young, Thye, Kem, Hickenlooper

On Appropriations (Ratio 13–8)

Messrs. Bridges, Gurney, Reed, Ferguson, Wherry, Cordon, Saltonstall, Young

On Armed Services (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Bridges, Gurney, Saltonstall, Morse, Baldwin, Knowland

On Banking and Currency (Ratio 8–5)

Messrs. Tobey, Capehart, Flanders, Cain, Bricker

On District of Columbia (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Williams, McCarthy, Mundt, Mrs. Smith, Messrs. Schoeppel, Hendrickson

On Expenditures in the Executive Departments (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. McCarthy, Ives, Vandenberg, Mundt, Mrs. Smith, Mr. Schoeppel

On Finance (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Millikin, Taft, Butler, Brewster, Martin, Williams

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On Foreign Relations (Ratio 8–5)

Messrs. Vandenberg, Wiley, Smith, Hickenlooper, Lodge, Jr.

On Interior and Insular Affairs (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Butler, Millikin, Cordon, Ecton, Malone, Watkins

On Interstate and Foreign Commerce (Ratio 8–5)

Messrs. Tobey, Reed, Brewster, Capehart, Bricker

On the Judiciary (Ratio 8–5)

Messrs. Wiley, Langer, Ferguson, Donnell, Jenner

On Labor and Public Welfare (Ratio 8–5)

Messrs. Taft, Aiken, Smith, Morse, Donnell

On Post Office and Civil Service (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Langer, Flanders, Baldwin, Thye, Ecton, Hendrickson

On Public Works (Ratio 8–5)

Messrs. Cain, Martin, Watkins, Malone, Kem

On Rules and Administration (Ratio 8–5)

Messrs. Wherry, Knowland, Lodge, Jr., Jenner, Ives

I wish to make mention of the action taken by the Committee with reference to members who were bumped off a committee as a result of our losing control of the Senate. As an illustration—there is now a ratio of 13 to 8 on the Appropriations Committee. We had nine carry-over members. Senator Knowland as a result lost his membership on this Committee. He wants to regain his place on the Committee at any time conditions permit. To cover such situations the Committee on Committees passed the following motion:

Where a Senator has served on a Committee, and has lost his membership thereon by a change of Committee ratio as a result of a change in control of the Senate, he shall have seniority over any and all other Senators to the first vacancy on the Committee from which he was removed.

Mr. Chairman, I think this is a very fair rule and I trust it will be adopted by the Conference. There are a number of such cases other than the one I have used as an illustration.

The second resolution which was adopted by the Committee and recommended by unanimous vote to the Conference is with reference to the listing of Committee members on a seniority basis. The matter was brought to the attention of the Committee at the request of Senator Bridges, who two years ago was ranking member on two Committees, Appropriations and Armed Services. He took the chairmanship of Appropriations and Senator Gurney, second ranking member became Chairman of the Armed Services Committee. Senator Bridges wants to retain his position as first ranking member on each committee when listings are published. Then when we become the majority party again, he will have the choice of chairmanships the same as he had two years ago. The Committee, therefore, passed the following resolution and asks for its approval by the Conference:

Where a Republican member of any Committee has waived his right to a chairmanship of that Committee because of his desire to serve as Chairman of another Committee and later there is a change in Senate control relieving said Senator of his chairmanship, he shall be restored to his position of seniority on the Committee where he had waived his rights to the chairmanship, except where such rights are voluntarily relinquished.

If the resolution is passed by the Conference, Committee members on the Minority side will be listed on the basis of their seniority on said Committee, unless otherwise agreed to by the members affected. The only Committee Chairman affected that I recall is the Chairman of our Conference, Mr. Millikin, who has been Chairman of the Finance Committee during the 80th Congress. For the record I might say that Senator Taft and myself, who have seniority rank, are willing that Senator Millikin's name be listed first on the Finance Committee, but this in line with the resolution suggested does not take committee seniority from either Mr. Taft or myself. The resolution was passed by unanimous vote of the Committee.

There is ample precedent for this action. Senator Johnson of California was Chairman of Commerce Committee in 1931 but in 1932 was listed second, after Senator McNary of Oregon.

In 1931 Senator McNary was Chairman of Agriculture and Forestry, but with the change in control in 1932 he was listed following Senator Norris.

In the same year, 1931, Senator Metcalf was Chairman of Education and Labor. In 1932 the listing reverted to Senator Borah and then to Senator Metcalf.

Senator Norris was Chairman of Judiciary in 1931, but the listing after the change in control was Senator Borah and then Senator Norris.

Senator La Follette was Chairman of the Committee on Manufactures in 1931 but became the third ranking member of the Committee in 1932—Senators McNary, Metcalf, La Follette.

Senator Hebert was Chairman of the Committee on Patents in 1931 but like Senator La Follette he became the third ranking member when the lists were published in 1932—Senators Norris, Goldsborough, Hebert.

Senator Robinson of Indiana was Chairman of the Committee on Pensions in 1931, but was third in the listing after 1932—Senators Scholl, Frazier, Robinson.

Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee with this final sincere thank you to those who have labored and cooperated with the members in trying to smooth out all our problems. We desperately need one or two more major assignments for able and deserving members. On the basis of the above resolution, providing that a member does not lose his seniority, may I hope that we will have the offer from one or two Senators who are willing to temporarily yield a Committee, in order that one or two others can be given better assignments, temporarily.

Respectfully submitted,

JANUARY 10, 1949

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EXHIBIT "B"  
COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS OF SENATORS  
Eighty-first Congress  
[repeats Exhibit "A" on pp. 583-85.]

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EXHIBIT "C"  
STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE  
Eighty-first Congress  
[Repeats Exhibit "B" on pp. 585-86.]

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[January 27, 1949]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 27, 1949, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 33:

Aiken	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Baldwin	Ives	Schoeppel
Bricker	Kem	Smith, (Me.)
Bridges	Knowland	Smith, (N.J.)
Cain	Langer	Taft
Cordon	Malone	Thye
Donnell	Martin	Tobey
Ecton	Millikin	Watkins
Ferguson	Morse	Wiley
Gurney	Mundt	Williams
Hendrickson	Reed	Young

Absent 9:

Brewster	Flanders	McCarthy
Butler	Jenner	Vandenberg
Capehart	Lodge	Wherry

The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who offered on behalf of Senator Wherry a resolution of condolences to Mrs. Catherine Marshall due to the death of her husband, the Reverend Peter Marshall, Chaplain of the United States Senate. The resolution was read by the Secretary and unanimously adopted by the Conference. A copy of the resolution is attached hereto as Exhibit "A."

Senator Bridges informed the Conference as to the patronage places which had been allocated to the Republican Minority by the Democratic Majority, and asked for instructions by the Conference as to how the Committee on Personnel should allocate the 12 positions available.

The Chairman recognized Senator Cain who made the motion "That the Personnel Committee allocate the positions on the basis of seniority." The motion was agreed to by voice vote.

The Chairman then read Section 5 of the Republican Conference Rules relating to appointment by him of a Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. Before naming the committee he said that the appointment of a Chairman of the committee had caused some concern, due to the question as to whether the Chairman should be a sitting Senator or an outside individual. He expressed the opinion that the overall control of the Committee should be vested in a member of the Senate; that the committee should not have the responsibility of raising the funds needed, and that the fund raising task should be left to an outside individual.

The Chairman first appointed Ex-Senator John Townsend as Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senatorial Campaign Committee, and after a general discussion concerning the advisability of replacing Senator Townsend as Chairman of the Committee, the Chairman asked if there was any objection to having Senator Townsend appointed as Co-Chairman of the Committee.

The Chairman had previously recognized Senator Malone who moved "That the nominations be approved as read," but Senator Taft moved "That the previous motion be amended in order to make Ex-Senator John Townsend, Co-Chairman." Both motions were agreed to by voice vote, and the Chairman then reread the members of the Committee as follows: Chairman, Senator Owen Brewster of Maine, Co-Chairman, Honorable John Townsend, Members, Senator Hugh Butler of Nebraska, Senator Zales N. Ecton of Montana, Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts, Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, Senator Edward J. Thye of Minnesota and Senator John J. Williams of Delaware.

The Chairman read to the Conference a letter which he had received from Senator Morse in regard to the attendance of Senators Wherry, Butler, Brewster and Capehart at the Omaha meeting of the Republican National Committee.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who read from the minutes of the Policy Committee meeting of January 21 on the point in question. Senator Taft also said that all Senators had been invited to attend the Omaha meeting, and that no Senator had been appointed by the Policy Committee to attend. Senator Morse stated that he had no objection to the explanation as given by Senator Taft.

JANUARY 27, 1949

The Chairman then read to the Conference a letter he had received from Senator Tobey in which he suggested the holding of Republican Conferences for the purpose of developing trends and political philosophy.

The Chairman also read his reply to Senator Tobey which expressed his willingness to hold such Conferences as an experiment, but suggested that the Republican Conference itself should act on the subject.

After a discussion of the matter, the Chairman asked how many of those Senators present would be willing to make fifteen minute discussions before such a Conference. Ten Senators raised their hands.

After a motion by Senator Taft "That the Chairman be authorized to appoint a committee to arrange a series of Conferences," it was suggested by Senator Saltonstall that the details be left with the Republican Policy Committee. The Chairman stated that if there was no objection, the Policy Committee would work out the details. No objections were recorded.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 11:45 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 24, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*  
EXHIBIT "A"

81st Congress  
1st Session

Senator Styles Bridges on behalf of Senator Kenneth S. Wherry offered the following resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Republican Minority Conference, Thursday, January 27, 1949:

***Reverend Peter Marshall, D.D.***

***Whereas*** Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from the United States Senate its beloved Chaplain, the Reverend Peter Marshall, and

***Whereas*** he has rendered to the membership of the United States Senate through his daily prayers a spiritual service of great and lasting value, and

***Whereas*** he was our affectionate friend, ever ready to give of himself, of his efforts, and of his judgment for our guidance in the ways of righteousness and Christian living,

*Now, therefore,*

***Be It Resolved,*** That we, the Republican members of the United States Senate, express our sense of loss at his passing, and

***Further,*** That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Mrs. Catherine Marshall that she may be assured of our deep sympathy and condolences upon the passing of our friend, her husband.

Attest:

Chairman  
Secretary

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[March 15, 1949]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR MARCH 15, 1949 IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 3:20 p.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 37:

Aiken	Ives	Reed
Baldwin	Jenner	Schoeppel
Brewster	Kem	Smith, Maine
Bricker	Knowland	Smith, N.J.
Butler	Langer	Taft
Cain	Lodge	Thye
Capehart	Malone	Vandenberg
Cordon	Martin	Watkins
Ecton	McCarthy	Wherry
Ferguson	Millikin	Wiley
Gurney	Morse	Williams
Hendrickson	Mundt	Young
Hickenlooper		

(Senator Saltonstall could not attend because of the Conference being held while the Senate was in session. Senator Saltonstall remained on the Floor.)

Absent 4:

Bridges	Flanders	Tobey
Donnell		

The Chairman stated that as all Senators knew, negotiations were being conducted to solve the impasse in which the Senate found itself with reference to cloture rules. He stated that Senator Wherry had been conducting these negotiations and he asked him to address the Conference.

MARCH 15, 1949

Senator Wherry spoke in detail of all of the negotiations which had been conducted, including the appointment of the membership of the committee; the individual propositions proposed and of the final failure of the committee to reach a compromise agreement. He stated that the propositions boiled down to only three, namely (1) the Hayden-Wherry Resolution (2) the Hayden-Wherry Resolution with a two-third constitutional cloture vote pertaining to the Rules and (3) a two-third constitutional vote relating to both the Rules and motions to take up the Journal and other legislative procedures. He spoke of a possible compromise by circulating a petition to support a two-third constitutional cloture vote on the Rules and legislative procedures, with the understanding that those who signed would be bound to support that position to a final determination.

Senator Knowland as a member of the committee also spoke of the negotiations conducted by the group.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who stated that throughout, the Policy Committee had supported the Hayden-Wherry Resolution. He stated that the Southern Senators had insisted that the Hayden-Wherry Resolution be perfected so as not to apply to the Rules and that they insisted on a two-third constitutional cloture vote on motions and legislative procedures. He said that he was for any compromise provided all parties were in agreement and expressed the doubt as to whether we should assume responsibility in joining with the Southern Democrats. He stated that he was inclined to believe that the best action would be to have the Democrats move to adjourn the Senate.

After much discussion, the Chairman stated that if there was no objection that he would announce to the press the following positions taken by the Conference:

- (1) It was the sense of the Conference that the Republicans would resist adjournment.
- (2) It is the policy of the Republicans to stay and break the filibuster, irrespective of the turn it might take.
- (3) That as a Minority Party, we would like to see the Hayden-Wherry Resolution, to amend the Rules, passed and that it is the hope that the Hayden-Wherry approach will prevail.
- (4) That if it becomes impossible to accomplish the foregoing, then it might become necessary to compromise in which case, the matter would be left to the individual judgment of the Republican Senators.
- (5) Individual opinions were expressed by the members attending the Conference and that the suggestions relating to a petition were being explored.



There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 5:25 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 24, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[April 13, 1949]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR APRIL 13, 1949, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:10 a.m.

The Chairman requested J. Mark Trice to call the roll in the absence of the Secretary. Mr. Trice made the following announcement:

Present 33:

Aiken	Hendrickson	Morse
Baldwin	Hickenlooper	Mundt
Brewster	Ives	Reed
Bricker	Jenner	Saltonstall
Bridges	Kem	Schoeppel
Cain	Knowland	Smith, Maine
Capehart	Lodge	Taft
Donnell	Malone	Tobey
Ecton	Martin	Watkins
Ferguson	McCarthy	Wherry
Flanders	Millikin	Williams

Absent 9:

Butler	Langer	Vandenberg
Cordon	Smith, N.J.	Wiley
Gurney	Thye	Young

The Chairman stated that the Conference had been called for no special purpose but for a general discussion of the legislative matters soon to be under consideration by the Senate.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who listed the following legislative measures now on the Senate Calendar and which would be shortly under consideration:

APRIL 13, 1949

Housing Bill  
Reciprocal Trade  
Aid to Education  
School Health  
Labor Bill

He announced that Mr. George Smith was soon retiring as Staff Director of the Policy Committee and that Mr. Pillsbury would succeed him in that position May 15.

He asked that Senator Flanders present to the Conference an analysis of the Housing Bill.

The Chairman recognized Senator Flanders and he discussed the various sections of the bill.

Following the analysis of the bill by Senator Flanders, the Chairman recognized a number of Senators who expressed their particular views on the Housing legislation and the effects of that and similar social legislation on the national budget.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who moved that the Conference approve the recommendations of the Republican Policy Committee that Senators Brewster, Butler and Lodge be named as the three Republican Senators on the Coordinating Policy Committee of the Republican National Committee. The recommendations were agreed to by voice vote.

The Chairman recognized Senator Brewster who spoke briefly of the work of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee.

There being no further business, the conference adjourned at 11:55 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 24, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[May 18, 1949]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR MAY 18, 1949, IN ROOM 335, IN THE SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:10 a.m.

The Chairman requested J. Mark Trice to call the roll in the absence of the Secretary. Mr. Trice made the following announcement:

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1949–1951)

Present 30:

Baldwin	Hendrickson	Mundt
Brewster	Jenner	Schoeppel
Bricker	Kem	Smith, Maine
Butler	Knowland	Thye
Cain	Langer	Tobey
Capehart	Lodge	Vandenberg
Donnell	Malone	Watkins
Ecton	Martin	Wherry
Ferguson	McCarthy	Wiley
Gurney	Millikin	Williams

Absent 12:

Aiken	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Bridges	Ives	Smith, N.J.
Cordon	Morse	Taft
Flanders	Reed	Young

The Chairman presented Mr. John Pillsbury, newly appointed Staff Director of the Republican Policy Committee who succeeded Mr. George H.E. Smith, resigned.

Senator Wherry was recognized and he spoke of the present legislative situation. He suggested that the Republican members vote as a party for the 5 per cent economy cuts in the various appropriation bills.

A discussion ensued as to the best way by which the cut might be made, and the general consensus of opinion was that the present efforts be continued.

The Chairman stated that the pending business before the Senate being the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act (H.R. 1211) it was thought advisable to have a conference on that subject. The Chairman then gave a comprehensive analysis of the legislation which included its past history and the domestic and political implications involved. He said that there must be unanimity among the Republicans if they hoped to win, but even if they did not win an issue will have been made.

Questions were asked of the Chairman, and the consensus of opinion expressed was that the Republican membership would support a continuation of the present law which contained the "peril point" procedure.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 12:05 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

MAY 18, 1949

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 24, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[May 26, 1949]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR MAY 26, 1949, IN THE SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:15 a.m. and deferred the calling of the roll. At the conclusion of the meeting the Secretary was instructed to list those members who were present:

Present 24:

Brewster	Gurney	Millikin
Bricker	Hendrickson	Saltonstall
Butler	Ives	Schoeppel
Cain	Langer	Taft
Donnell	Lodge	Thye
Ecton	Malone	Watkins
Ferguson	Martin	Williams
Flanders	McCarthy	Young

Absent 18:

Aiken	Jenner	Smith, Maine
Baldwin	Kem	Smith, New Jersey
Bridges	Knowland	Tobey
Capehart	Morse	Vandenberg
Cordon	Mundt	Wherry
Hickenlooper	Reed	Wiley

The Chairman read a letter from Senator Malone enclosing a letter of request on the part of several Senators that a conference be called for further discussion of the bill to extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act (H.R. 1211). The letter of Senator Malone, dated May 24, 1949, together with the letter of request dated May 23, 1949, is attached hereto as Exhibit "A."

The Chairman recognized Senator Malone who presented his argument in opposition to the administration bill. He spoke in favor of the "peril point" provision contained in the present law and stated that he would offer as an amendment his flexible import fee bill.

Several Senators expressed their opinions concerning the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program and fear was expressed that a continuation of the administration's program would lead to national insecurity, unemployment, and great hardship on certain industries.

Favorable comment was expressed concerning the program instituted by the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee for better press and radio relations. This program comprised luncheon meetings to inform the press and radio of the Republican point of view on specific issues in advance.

There was no objection made to the statement by the Chairman that he would inform the press that the Republican Senators were practically unanimous in their support of the “peril point” procedure and a continuation of the 1948 act.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 12:45 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 24, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*  
EXHIBIT “A”

May 24, 1949

Honorable Eugene D. Millikin  
United States Senator  
Senate Office Building  
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Gene:

I have encouraged the enclosed request for an additional caucus of our party members due to the extreme importance of the bill to extend the “1934 Trade Agreements Act” for three years.

It is my firm opinion that the three-part “free trade” policy of the administration resulting in a division of our markets and wealth with the nations of the world is even now bringing on a severe depression which has so far been cushioned by unemployment insurance, and that the Republican party should have a clean cut policy to which the people will return when the “free trade” policy fails.

I am greatly perturbed by the assertion that the Republican party is not opposed to “reciprocal” trade as such.

It is, of course, impossible to make a *trade treaty* with any country which manipulates its currency—and they all do—also, it is of course impossible to prevent raids on the markets of this country when every other nation is given the benefit of the concessions made to an individual nation.

I, of course, favor your “peril point” idea as a step in the right direction—but it is my firm opinion that no good will result from it, since we know the firmly established “free trade” policy will be continued—and that the President will, at the proper time, merely notify Congress

MAY 26, 1949

that in the interest of increased world trade it was, of course, necessary for us to concede something.

It has been well established Republican policy for over eighty-five years to protect the American working men with a tariff or import fee making up the differential of cost of production between this nation and the competitive foreign nation, and I feel that it would be a grave mistake to fail now to establish our position—that such an import fee is in effect a floor under wages.

You are familiar with the flexible import fee bill which I introduced last year, which would name the Tariff Commission the *Foreign Trade Authority*—and give them full authority to adjust this flexible import fee, so that credit would be given to any raise in living standards of a competitive nation through a corresponding lowering of the import fee—and when these living standards approach our own—“free trade” would be the immediate and almost automatic result.

Sincerely,  
George W. Malone

\* \* \*

23 May 1949

Honorable Eugene D. Millikin  
United States Senator  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator:

Due to the importance of the proposal of the Administration to extend the 1934 Trade Agreements Act for a period of three years, to the basic economy of the United States—we respectfully request that you call a further caucus of the members of the Republican party at your earliest convenience.

Due to the imminence of the floor debate and the inadequate time devoted to the subject in our last caucus, we further suggest that a conference meeting be held before the “Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act” comes up for debate.

Thanking you in advance for this courtesy, we are

Edward Martin  
Zales N. Ecton

Sincerely yours,  
Geo. W. Malone  
Owen Brewster  
Hugh Butler  
Karl E. Mundt  
Kenneth S. Wherry

[June 7, 1949]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE, CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN FOR JUNE 7, 1949, IN ROOM 335, IN THE SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:10 a.m.

The calling of the roll was deferred, but the following Senators were present:

Present 27:

Aiken	Flanders	Millikin
Baldwin	Hickenlooper	Mundt
Brewster	Ives	Schoeppel
Bricker	Jenner	Smith, Maine
Butler	Knowland	Taft
Cordon	Langer	Thye
Donnell	Lodge	Vandenberg
Ecton	Malone	Wiley
Ferguson	Martin	Williams

Absent 15:

Bridges	Kem	Smith, N.J.
Cain	McCarthy	Tobey
Capehart	Morse	Watkins
Gurney	Reed	Wherry
Hendrickson	Saltonstall	Young

Senator Saltonstall could not be present because of attendance at a meeting of the Committee on Appropriations.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft for the purpose of discussing the issues involved in the pending legislative business before the Senate—The National Labor Relations Act of 1949.

Senator Taft gave a historical analysis of the Taft-Hartley Act, reciting the conditions which existed before its enactment and the results accomplished by its passage. He spoke of the arbitrary action taken by the Committee on Labor in refusing to consider amendments and of subsequent meetings by the Republican members of that Committee to perfect amendments which culminated in the Minority Report recommending 28 changes.

Attached hereto as Exhibit "A" is the printed statement of Senator Taft showing the list of important features retained if the minority amendments are adopted, and a list of proposed changes from the present Taft-Hartley Act.

JUNE 7, 1949

Senator Taft emphasized that the basic features of the Taft-Hartley Act had been retained, and that in arriving at a decision in the matter, the minority members had always kept in mind the following three considerations: (1) Equality and justice, (2) Union responsibility, and (3) Elimination of specific abuses.

He stated that the Democrats had agreed to modify the administration bill in four ways which pertained to the retention of certain provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act which are listed as Exhibit "A," as Nos. 2, 6, 15 and 16. This action he referred to "as an attempt to pick up votes for the Thomas bill." The procedure to be followed would be an amendment offered by him on National Emergency Strikes, and then an amendment in the nature of a substitute for the other provisions of the pending bill.

Senators Lodge, Flanders, Ives, Aiken and Wiley participated in the discussion and asked questions concerning specific issues. Senator Ives said that any new provisions must follow the pattern of the Taft-Hartley Act and that the purpose was to bring the situation back into balance. He, as well as Senator Taft, stated that many of the present difficulties had been brought about by gimmicks put in the existing law by the conference committee.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:35 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 24, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR HUGH BUTLER, FOR JULY 15, 1949, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:05 a.m.

Members of the Committee present were: Senators Butler, Chairman, Ferguson, Baldwin, Knowland, Capehart, Lodge and Bricker. Members of the Committee absent were: Senators Malone, Martin, Donnell and Smith of New Jersey. Also present was J. Mark Trice.

The Chairman stated that the reason for calling the meeting of the Committee was to present the proposition of finding two Committee places for Senator Dulles.

The Chairman stated that he had previously discussed the matter with Senator Taft, Chairman of the Policy Committee, who had dis-



cussed the matter with Senator [Scott W.] Lucas [Illinois] and who then informed the Chairman that the Policy Committee had decided that it should be a matter for the Committee on Committees to determine.

The Chairman stated that the proposition proposed by the Democratic Majority was that the membership on the Committee on Appropriations be temporarily increased by one place with the second place being the Committee on Rules by reason of moving Senator Long from the Rules Committee to the Wagner vacancy on the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Discussion ensued as to whether or not the Committee should accept the proposition as suggested by the Democratic Majority.

Senator Capehart made the following motion which was agreed to: That the Democratic Majority comply with the law under the ratio as set forth in the Reorganization Act and request immediate action.

There being no further business, the Committee adjourned at 10:40 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved by:

[signed] Hugh Butler  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR HUGH BUTLER, FOR JULY 19, 1949, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 9:40 a.m.

Members of the Committee present were: Senators Butler, Chairman, Baldwin, Bricker, Donnell, Knowland, Lodge, Malone, Martin and Smith of New Jersey. Members of the Committee absent were: Senators Capehart and Ferguson. Also present was J. Mark Trice.

The Chairman gave for the benefit of those members not present at the last meeting a synopsis of the discussion and the action then taken.

The Chairman presented for Committee action the second proposition presented by the Democratic Majority that the Committee on Appropriations be temporarily increased by one place and that the vacancy on the Banking and Currency Committee be given to the Republican Minority as the second place.

JUNE 7, 1949

After general discussion of the second proposition, it was moved, seconded and approved: That the Chairman of the Committee inform Senator Lucas that the Committee does not favor a change in the total number of Committee places from 203 to 204.

There being no further business, the Committee adjourned at 10:15 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary of the Minority

Approved by:

[signed] Hugh Butler  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR HUGH BUTLER, FOR JULY 25, 1949, IN THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY FOR THE MINORITY IN THE CAPITOL BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 5:00 p.m.

Members of the Committee present were: Senators Butler, Chairman, Knowland, Capehart, Bricker, Martin and Donnell. Members of the Committee absent were: Senators Ferguson, Baldwin, Lodge, Malone and Smith of New Jersey. Also present was J. Mark Trice.

The Chairman reported that the Democratic Majority had excused Senator [A. W.] Robertson [of Virginia] from service on the Committee on Appropriations and had assigned him to the Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments; that Senator [Russell B.] Long [of Louisiana] had been excused from further service on the Committee on Rules and Administration and the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, and assigned to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

These changes left two Committee places open to the Republican Minority, one on the Committee on Appropriations and the other on the Committee on Rules and Administration.

He said that by previous Conference action, Senator Knowland would be entitled to assignment to the Committee on Appropriations and that a conflict was involved by assigning Senator Dulles to the Committee on Rules by reason of his colleague being already on the Committee.

He said that he had contacted Senator Schoeppel who was willing to release his assignment on the Committee on the District of Columbia and be assigned to the Committee on Rules as well as Senator Hendrickson who was willing to release the Committee on Post

Office and Civil Service and also be assigned to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

This would leave open the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and the Committee on the District of Columbia for Senator Dulles.

The Chairman suggested that it might be wise to protect the seniority listing on the Committees released by Senators Knowland and Schoeppel, but after discussion, it was deemed wise to make no recommendation in this respect.

The following motions were made and agreed to:

That Mr. Knowland be excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Rules and Administration and assigned to service on the Committee on Appropriations.

That Mr. Schoeppel be excused from further service as a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia and assigned to service on the Committee on Rules and Administration.

That Mr. Hendrickson be excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and assigned to service on the Committee on Rules and Administration.

That Mr. Dulles be assigned to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

There being no further business, the Committee adjourned at 5:20 p.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved by:

[signed] Hugh Butler  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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[July 26, 1949]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JULY 26, 1949, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 9:45 a.m.

The calling of the roll was deferred, but the following Senators were present:

Present 27:

Aiken

Hendrickson

Schoeppel

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Brewster	Ives	Smith, Maine
Butler	Knowland	Taft
Cain	Langer	Thye
Donnell	Lodge	Tobey
Dulles	McCarthy	Vandenberg
Ferguson	Millikin	Watkins
Flanders	Morse	Wherry
Gurney	Mundt	Young
Absent 16:		
Baldwin	Hickenlooper	Reed
Bricker	Jenner	Saltonstall
Bridges	Kem	Smith, N.J.
Capehart	Malone	Wiley
Cordon	Martin	Williams
Ecton		

The Chairman read the provisions of the Conference Rules relating to the appointment of the Committee on Committees and their functions. He said that he interpreted the Rules to be that the only function of the Committee on Committees was to make their recommendations to the Republican Conference and, therefore, he had called the Republican Conference to act on their recommendations.

The Chairman asked Senator Butler to report the recommendations of the Committee on Committees.

Senator Butler stated that the Democratic Majority had notified the Republican Minority on yesterday that two places were available, one on the Committee on Appropriations and the other on the Committee on Rules and Administration. He stated that Senator Knowland wished to release the Committee on Rules and Administration, therefore, the Republican Minority had in reality two places on the Committee on Rules and Administration. He said that he had talked with Senator Schoeppel about releasing the Committee on the District of Columbia and with Senator Hendrickson about releasing the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service in order that they might be reassigned to the Committee on Rules and Administration, and thereby save a conflict by having two Senators from the same State serving on the same Committee. Both Senators were agreeable to the change.

Senator Butler then moved that the following recommendations of the Committee on Committees be approved:

That Mr. Knowland be excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Rules and Administration and assigned to service on the Committee on Appropriations.

That Mr. Schoeppel be excused from further service as a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia and assigned to service on the Committee on Rules and Administration.

That Mr. Hendrickson be excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and assigned to service on the Committee on Rules and Administration.

That Mr. Dulles be assigned to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The previous motions were agreed to by voice vote.

The Chairman asked Senator Lodge if he wished to discuss his Joint Resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of the President and Vice President. Senator Lodge stated that he did not wish to do so at this time.

The Chairman recognized Senator Brewster who spoke of the work of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee and said that tentative arrangements had been made for a banquet to be held on the evening of August 4, at the Mayflower Hotel by the members of the Senate and the House for the members of the National Committee. He also spoke of the various conferences that had been scheduled and reported progress in general.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 9:55 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 24, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[August 4, 1949]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR AUGUST 4, 1949, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:05 a.m.

The calling of the roll was deferred, but the following Senators were present:

Present 38:

Aiken	Gurney	Mundt
Baldwin	Hendrickson	Saltonstall
Brewster	Hickenlooper	Schoeppel
Bricker	Ives	Smith, Maine

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Bridges	Jenner	Smith, N.J.
Butler	Kem	Taft
Cain	Knowland	Thye
Capehart	Langer	Tobey
Cordon	Lodge	Vandenberg
Donnell	Martin	Wherry
Dulles	Millikin	Williams
Ecton	Morse	Young
Ferguson		
Flanders		

Absent 5:

Malone	Reed	Wiley
McCarthy	Watkins	

The Chairman stated that the main purpose in calling the Conference was to discuss the question of adjournment of this session of the Congress, the said question having been raised by Senator Morse and several other Senators.

The Chairman recognized Senator Morse who stated that it was his opinion that the Republican Minority should adopt some kind of strategy to oppose the utter lack of any policy on the part of the Democratic Majority. He advanced the following suggestions: (1) That the Majority Leadership be advised that the Republicans would cooperate in any reasonable way for adjournment not later than September 1; (2) That an attempt would be made to work out unanimous consent agreements and to hold early and late sessions and meet on Saturdays if necessary; (3) That a legislative program be agreed upon, and (4) That the Congress return to a Special Session in the Fall to complete the program.

A number of Senators spoke in favor of the Morse position, and others took the position that the responsibility of the program must be borne by the Democratic Leadership and that the Republican Minority should not assume the responsibility for a program.

Senator Wherry said that he had had several conversations with Senator Lucas at the suggestion of the Republican Policy Committee and that the Majority Leader stated that he was not willing to make any definite commitment until the Appropriation Bills had been passed.

Senator Wherry asked for a showing of hands as to whether or not there should be night sessions, 11 o'clock a.m. meetings, and Saturday sessions. Hands were shown on each question but not a majority on any one question.

Senator Millikin said that if there was no objection that he would state to the press that the Republicans had expressed much concern and shock at the demoralization of the Democratic Leadership by not setting a definite program; that when a sensible program was

announced, the Republicans would join in expediting its enactment, and that the Republican Minority was not asking for an adjournment of this session of the Congress. There was no objection.

The Chairman recognized Senator Brewster who spoke of the dinner to be given tonight by the Republicans in Congress for the members of the National Committee and asked for all Senators to be present. He stated that in his opinion it was a subtle part of the Fair Deal program to hold the Republican Members of Congress here in Washington.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 11:05 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 24, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[January 3, 1950]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 3, 1950, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 3:10 p.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 35:

Aiken	Flanders	Lodge	Taft
Brewster	Gurney	Malone	Thye
Bricker	Hendrickson	Martin	Tobey
Butler	Hickenlooper	McCarthy	Vandenberg
Cordon	Ives	Millikin	Watkins
Darby	Jenner	Morse	Wherry
Dworshak	Kem	Saltonstall	Williams
Ecton	Knowland	Schoeppel	Young
Ferguson	Langer	Smith, N.J.	

Absent 7:

Bridges	Donnell	Wiley
Cain	Mundt	
Capehart	Smith, Me.	

The Chairman recognized Senator Schoeppel who presented the following resolution which was agreed to without objection:

JANUARY 3, 1950

Whereas Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from us our beloved colleague, the Honorable Clyde Martin Reed, late Senator from the State of Kansas, and

Whereas throughout his eleven years in the United States Senate he rendered to our Nation and to his State a most distinguished service, and

Whereas he was our affectionate friend and our esteemed colleague, ever ready to give of himself, of his efforts, and of his judgment,

Now, therefore,

Be it resolved, That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the Honorable Clyde Martin Reed, express our sense of loss at his passing, and

Further, that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Mrs. Minnie E. Reed at Parsons, Kansas, that she may be assured of our deep respect for her and of our condolences to her upon the passing of our friend, her husband.

The Chairman welcomed to the Conference the new Senator from Kansas, Mr. Darby, and the return of Senator Vandenberg.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft for the purpose of informing the Conference on the subject of the appointment of a Committee of Republican Senators to formulate a statement of the aims and purposes of the Republican Members of Congress.

Senator Taft stated that Mr. Gabrielson, the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, had talked with him concerning the appointment of a committee of Senators to join with a like committee of the House of Representatives and the Republican National Committee, for the purpose of formulating a statement of the aims and purposes of the Republican party. He expressed the opinion that any statement of principles should be made by the Republicans of the Senate and House and that there was a question in his mind as to whether or not the National Committee had the authority to formulate such a statement. He stated that a Republican Conference had been requested for the purpose of considering whether the Conference would like to authorize the appointment of such a committee, and he offered the following resolution for consideration:

Resolved: That the Chairman of the Minority Conference name a Committee of the Conference to confer with a committee of the House on the formulation of a restatement of the aims and purposes of the Republican Members of Congress, supplementing the 1948 Republican platform, for the approval of the Republican Conferences of Senate and House, and to confer with a committee of the Republican National Committee and other interested Republicans.



After a discussion of the resolution, Senator Bricker made the following motion which was duly seconded:

That consideration of the resolution be postponed for a period of 90 days.

The Chairman asked the Secretary to call the roll and the Chairman announced the result of the vote of the Bricker motion, Yeas: 9; Nays: 26. The vote was as follows:

Yeas:

Aiken	Malone
Bricker	Martin
Dworshak	Morse
Flanders	Williams
Hendrickson	

Nays:

Brewster	Jenner	Smith, N.J.
Butler	Kem	Taft
Cordon	Knowland	Thye
Darby	Langer	Tobey
Ecton	Lodge	Vandenberg
Ferguson	McCarthy	Watkins
Gurney	Millikin	Wherry
Hickenlooper	Saltonstall	Young
Ives	Schoeppel	

The Chairman recognized Senator McCarthy who suggested that the word “statement” be changed to “restatement.” Senator Taft accepted the amendment of Senator McCarthy.

The Chairman recognized Senator Jenner who moved that the resolution of Senator Taft be adopted. The Chairman put the question and the resolution was adopted by voice vote.

The Chairman, during the discussion, asked for the views of Republican Senators up for reelection this fall as to whether they desired to serve as members of the committee. Senator Morse and Senator Hickenlooper announced that they did not wish to serve. It was also the general consensus of opinion that the Committee to be named by the Chairman of the Conference need not be ratified by a subsequent meeting of the Republican Conference.

The Chairman recognized Senator Brewster, who spoke of a meeting to be called next Thursday for a discussion of the use of the funds of the Republican Senatorial Committee. He also enlightened the Conference on a Lincoln Day Party to be sponsored by the Women’s Republican Club of the District of Columbia on the evening of February 6.

JANUARY 3, 1950

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 4:10 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 4, 1950

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON RE-  
STATEMENT OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES, SENATOR  
ROBERT A. TAFT, CHAIRMAN, ON MONDAY, JANUARY 9,  
1950, AT 4:00 P.M., 335 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

Present: Senator Robert A. Taft, Chairman; Aiken, Brewster,  
Butler, Cordon, Ferguson, Ives, Lodge, Taft, Watkins, Wherry,  
Young.

Absent: Knowland, Mundt, Smith, Me., Smith, N.J.

Others: J. Mark Trice, John Pillsbury.

A quorum was present.

Senator Taft stated that the object of the meeting was to agree on a method of procedure to be used in arriving at a final draft, and he spoke of a previous meeting he had attended with Messrs. Gabrielson, Kelland, and Representative Joe Martin. He suggested that the Senate and House committees work independently, but each appoint subcommittees to meet and do the actual drafting. At the time of drafting Representatives of the Republican National Committee would be requested to confer with the group, and when the drafting is completed the statement would be submitted to the individual Republican Conferences of both Houses of Congress. Prior to submission to the individual Conferences, the entire National Committee would be consulted so that their suggestions could be considered.

It was requested that no publicity be given during the drafting period. After a general discussion of various paragraphs appearing in the Platform of 1948 and the Statement of Policy issued by the Republican Members of Congress in 1946, it was agreed that the present statement should be limited to approximately 800 words.

It was then agreed that the individual members of the Committee would prepare statements of their own and submit them to the Chairman by Friday, January 13, in order that their views might be correlated and a digest made for the next meeting.

The Chairman announced that the next meeting of the Committee would be held on Tuesday, January 17, 1950, at 10:00 a.m.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 4:55 p.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved:

[signed] Robert A. Taft  
Chairman, Committee on Restatement

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR HUGH BUTLER, JANUARY 10, 1950, ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 4:00 p.m.

Members of the Committee present were: Senators Butler, Bricker, Donnell, Ferguson, Knowland, Lodge, Martin, Smith, N.J. Members of the Committee absent were: Senators Malone, Capehart. Also present was J. Mark Trice.

The Chairman stated that he had made a preliminary study and survey of the Committee situation caused by the present 54-42 political ratio of the Senate which had resulted in a change by the Democrats of the ratio from 7-6 to 8-5 of the Committee on Finance, a vacancy on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce caused by the demise of Senator Reed, a vacancy on the Committee on Armed Services caused by the resignation of Senator Baldwin, and two vacancies on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, and one on the Committee on the District of Columbia. By reason of selection by the Democratic Majority, of the Committee on Finance as an 8-5 committee, it was necessary to bump Senator Williams from that committee. He stated that in the suggested changes, a vacancy was available on the Committee on Banking and Currency and that, because Senator McCarthy had been previously bumped from that Committee, the vacancy thereon had been offered to him. Senator McCarthy, however, informed the Chairman that he did not wish at this time to return to the Committee and was satisfied with his present assignments. The Chairman recommended the adoption by the Committee, for recommendation to the Republican Conference, the following Committee assignments: Senator Cain to release Banking and Currency and be assigned to the Committee on Armed Services; Senator Ives to release the Committee on Rules and Administration and be assigned to the Committee on Banking and Currency; Senator Williams who was forced to release the Committee on Finance to be assigned to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce; Senator Mundt to release the Committee on the District of Columbia and be assigned to the Committee on Rules and Administration; Senators Dworshak and Darby to be as-

JANUARY 3, 1950

signed to the Committee on the District of Columbia and to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

After a discussion of the matter it was moved and seconded that the recommendations be adopted and submitted to the Republican Conference for approval. The Committee instructed the Chairman that they were agreeable if the trade in Committee assignments might be arranged by Senators Williams and Kem—Senator Kem to release Agriculture for Interstate and Foreign Commerce and Senator Williams to go to the Committee on Agriculture.

There being no further business, the Committee adjourned at 4:45 p.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

[signed] Hugh Butler  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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[January 12, 1950]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE SECRETARY, SENATOR MILTON R. YOUNG, FOR JANUARY 12, 1950, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

Senator Young, the Secretary, called the meeting to order at 10:05 a.m. in the temporary absence of the Chairman.

He stated that a quorum was present and the following Senators were present at the meeting:

Present 38:

Aiken	Gurney	Schoeppel
Brewster	Hendrickson	Smith, Me.
Bridges	Hickenlooper	Smith, N.J.
Butler	Ives	Taft
Cain	Jenner	Thye
Capehart	Knowland	Tobey
Cordon	Langer	Vandenberg
Darby	Lodge	Watkins
Donnell	Martin	Wherry
Dworshak	McCarthy	Williams
Ecton	Millikin	Young
Ferguson	Mundt	
Flanders	Saltonstall	

Absent 4:

Bricker	Malone
Kem	Morse

The Acting Chairman recognized Senator Butler, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, to make his report for that Committee. Senator Butler stated that his Committee had worked faithfully and diligently in making the various assignments and that everything possible was done to satisfy the Republican Senators. He then offered the following report of his Committee and moved its adoption:

Ordered, That Mr. Cain be, and he is hereby, excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency and assigned to service on the Committee on Armed Services;

That Mr. Dworshak be, and he is hereby, assigned to service on the Committee on the District of Columbia and to service on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service;

That Mr. Darby be, and he is hereby, assigned to service on the Committee on the District of Columbia and to service on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service;

That Mr. Ives be, and he is hereby, excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Rules and Administration, and assigned to service on the Committee on Banking and Currency;

That Mr. Mundt be, and he is hereby, excused from further service as a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia, and assigned to service on the Committee on Rules and Administration;

That Mr. Williams be, and he is hereby, excused from further service on the Committee on Finance, and assigned to service on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

There was no discussion and the report was adopted by voice vote.

The Acting Chairman recognized Senator Dworshak who spoke briefly on the unfairness of Committee assignments caused primarily by the passage of the Reorganization Act. Senator Taft replied to Senator Dworshak with a suggestion that the Committee on Committees attempt to draft a rule for Conference action based on the theory that each Senator should have at least one major committee assignment.

The Acting Chairman recognized Senator Wherry who questioned if there should be any policy adopted in regard to Senator Langer's three Civil Rights amendments which had been offered to the Oleomargarine Bill. After a discussion of the matter, the general consensus of opinion was that no policy should be adopted in regard to these amendments by the Conference.

The Acting Chairman presented to the Conference for incorporation in the minutes a letter addressed to him by the Chairman dated January 5, 1950, appointing a Committee of 15 Senators to serve

JANUARY 12, 1950

as members of the Committee on Restatement of Republican Principles. The letter is attached hereto as Exhibit A.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 11:03.

[signed] Milton R. Young

Acting Chairman, and Secretary of the Minority Conference

\* \* \*

EXHIBIT A

United States Senate

Conference of the Minority

January 5, 1950

Honorable Milton R. Young  
Secretary, Conference Republican Senators  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator:

Pursuant to the resolution of the Conference of Republican Senators Tuesday, January 3, 1950, I hereby appoint the following Senators as members of the Committee having to do with a restatement of aims and purposes of the Republican members of Congress:

1. Honorable George D. Aiken (Vermont)
2. Honorable Owen Brewster (Maine)
3. Honorable Hugh Butler (Nebraska)
4. Honorable Guy Cordon (Oregon)
5. Honorable Homer Ferguson (Michigan)
6. Honorable Irving M. Ives (New York)
7. Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. (Massachusetts)
8. Honorable William F. Knowland (California)
9. Honorable Karl E. Mundt (South Dakota)
10. Honorable H. Alexander Smith (New Jersey)
11. Honorable Margaret Chase Smith (Maine)
12. Honorable Robert A. Taft (Ohio)
13. Honorable Arthur V. Watkins (Utah)
14. Honorable Kenneth S. Wherry (Nebraska)
15. Honorable Milton R. Young (North Dakota)

Senator Robert A. Taft is hereby appointed as Chairman of this Committee.

Copies of this communication are being sent to the members of the Committee.

With very best regards, I am

Sincerely,  
[signed] Eugene D. Millikin  
Chairman

EDM:dmb

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON RE-  
STATEMENT OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES, SENATOR  
ROBERT A. TAFT, CHAIRMAN, ON THURSDAY, JANUARY  
19, 1950, AT 10:00 A.M., 335 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

Present: Senator Robert A. Taft, Chairman; Aiken, Brewster, But-  
ler, Cordon, Ives, Knowland, Lodge, Smith, Me., Smith, N.J., Wat-  
kins, Young.

Also present: Senator George W. Malone.

Absent: Ferguson, Mundt, Wherry.

Others: J. Mark Trice, John Pillsbury.

A quorum was present.

The Chairman stated that Senator Malone had requested to appear  
before the Committee and Senator Taft had invited him to be  
present. Senator Malone expressed the opinion that a good spear-  
head for the restatement of policy would be support of the flexible  
import fee principle and opposition to I.T.O. He furnished to the  
members of the committee, a copy of his remarks made on the Sen-  
ate floor last May on the subject.

The Chairman announced that nine statements had been submitted  
and these had been mimeographed together in one general state-  
ment for the use of the committee. He stated that he had talked  
with Representative [Joseph W.] Martin [, Jr., of Massachusetts]  
concerning the membership of sub-committees to be appointed to do  
the drafting. It was suggested that the subcommittees should com-  
prise three members of each group with the respective chairmen as  
ex-officio members.

After a general discussion of a number of specific subjects, the gen-  
eral consensus of opinion was that a statement should be made re-  
affirming the Republican Platform of 1948. There was a discussion  
of the form of an agricultural statement to include cooperatives and  
rural electrification; of foreign policy; of labor; of socialism and ex-  
cessive government power and spending.

The Chairman suggested that the members of the Committee re-  
write and shorten the paragraphs on the subjects discussed and re-  
quested that no information be given to the press on the material  
submitted.

The Chairman announced that the next meeting would be held on  
Monday, January 23, 1950, at 10:00 a.m.

JANUARY 12, 1950

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 11:40 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved:

[signed] Robert A. Taft  
Chairman, Restatement Committee

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON RE-  
STATEMENT OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES, SENATOR  
ROBERT A. TAFT, CHAIRMAN, ON MONDAY, JANUARY 23,  
1950, AT 10:00 A.M., 335 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

Present: Senator Robert A. Taft, Chairman; Aiken, Brewster, Butler, Knowland, Lodge, Mundt, Smith, Me., Wherry.

Absent: Cordon, Ferguson, Ives, Smith, N.J., Watkins, Young.

Others: J. Mark Trice, John Pillsbury.

A quorum was present.

The Chairman stated that if it was agreeable to the Committee, he would appoint as a sub-committee of the Committee for the purpose of drafting a tentative restatement of principles, the following Senators: Brewster, Lodge, and Wherry, with the Chairman Senator Taft, as an ex-officio member of the Committee. There was no objection.

The sub-committee was asked to consult with Senators Aiken and Young on the writing of a farm statement.

As a starting point on a statement of foreign policy, the committee approved the paragraph on the subject submitted by Senator Taft and amended by Senator Vandenberg, with the addition of the following words: "—and we deplore the failure of the administration in so many fields to give such cooperation or even adequate information to the Congress." In the fifth line from the end of the statement, the word "but" was eliminated and a new sentence begun. The amended paragraph then read as follows:

The primary aim of our foreign policy should be to assure peace with justice in a free world while maintaining the independence and the rights of the American people. We favor a strong policy against the spread of Communism or Fascism at home and abroad. We favor full support of the United Nations, and of the inter-American system as an integral part of the international organization, and of our treaty obligations to the North Atlantic Community; and the improvement of the United Nations Char-



ter so that it may be an effective international organization of independent states prepared to mobilize the armed forces and public opinion of the world against aggression. We favor aid to those States resisting Communism to the extent that such aid is effective and without danger to a sound American economy. We oppose secret commitments, or international obligations which lack due Constitutional process. Under our indispensable two-party system we shall exercise every vigilance in the critical exploration of foreign policy. We favor fully reciprocal cooperation between the Parties and between the Executive and Legislative branches of government in the mutual initiation and development of a united American foreign policy, and we deplore the failure of the administration in so many fields to give such cooperation or even adequate information to the Congress.

The following specified subjects were suggested for inclusion in the Restatement: farm, labor, general welfare and foreign policy.

The Committee discussed the paragraph submitted by Senator Taft on “welfare” and the following changes: the insertion of the words “—that the need is demonstrated” in lieu of “—that it is only given to communities or persons that are actually in need”; the words “—where the need is clearly demonstrated” in the first sentence to be stricken. The paragraph then read:

We favor federal assistance to States to enable them to do a better job in health, education, welfare and housing, so that there may be a reasonable equality for all and especially for all children no matter how poor the family or the district or the State into which they may be born. We recognize that such federal aid must be carefully safeguarded so that it leaves the administration and control of all such programs in the hands of the States or local communities, that the need is demonstrated, and that it does not impose too great a tax burden on the federal treasury. We favor extension of the federal old age and survivors insurance program and increase of benefits to a more realistic level, with due regard to the tax burden on those who labor.

It was suggested that the sub-committee start work on the draft, consulting with a like Committee of the House, and report back to the full Committee a tentative draft.

The Chairman called a meeting of the full Committee for 10:00 a.m. next Wednesday morning, February 1, 1950.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 11:00 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

JANUARY 12, 1950

Approved:

[signed] Robert A. Taft  
Chairman, Restatement Committee

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[February 1, 1950]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR FEBRUARY 1, 1950, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING.

A quorum not being present at 10:10, the Chairman stated that if there was no objection, he would call the meeting to order. There was no objection. Several minutes later, the following Senators appeared and were present: 32.

Aiken	Flanders	Saltonstall
Bricker	Gurney	Schoeppel
Bridges	Ives	Smith, Me.
Butler	Jenner	Smith, N.J.
Cain	Knowland	Taft
Cordon	Langer	Tobey
Darby	Lodge	Vandenberg
Donnell	Malone	Watkins
Dworshak	Martin	Wherry
Ecton	Millikin	Williams
Ferguson	Mundt	

Absent: 10

Brewster	Kem	Thye
Capehart	McCarthy	Wiley
Hendrickson	Morse	Young
Hickenlooper		

The Chairman stated that he had received a letter signed by five Republican Senators requesting him to call a conference for the purpose of discussing Senate Joint Resolution II, a resolution to amend the Constitution relative to the election of the President and Vice President. He stated that the purpose of the meeting was not to arrive at a decision of Party Policy, but for the purpose of information and instruction on the subject. The Chairman recognized Senator Lodge, who spoke at some length on the merits of his Joint Resolution.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Taft who spoke in opposition to the Joint Resolution.

The following Senators were recognized by the Chairman and spoke in favor of the Resolution: Senators Knowland, Smith, N.J., Cain, and Ives.

Those speaking against the resolution were: Senators Ferguson, Malone, Schoeppel, Jenner and Donnell.

The Chairman stated that the purpose of the meeting had been well served by the discussion that had taken place.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 11:48.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved by the Chairman February 2, 1950.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON RE-  
STATEMENT OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES, SENATOR  
ROBERT A. TAFT, CHAIRMAN, ON SATURDAY, FEBRUARY  
4, 1950, 335 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING.

Present: Senator Robert A. Taft, Chairman: Brewster, Butler, Cor-  
don, Ferguson, Knowland, Lodge, Mundt, Smith, Me., Smith, N.J.,  
Taft, Wherry, Young.

Absent: Aiken, Ives, Watkins.

Others: J. Mark Trice, John Pillsbury.

A quorum was present.

The Chairman called the meeting to order and stated that the sub-  
committee had been working diligently with a like sub-committee  
of the House of Representatives. He presented a draft to those mem-  
bers present and stated that it should not be considered as final,  
as a further meeting was scheduled for the afternoon. The Chairman  
then read the draft, paragraph by paragraph, and certain correc-  
tions and suggestions were made in the text by the various members  
of the Committee.

It was suggested that a one-page summary be prepared of the ap-  
proved text for publicity purposes.

The Chairman announced that there would be a meeting of the full  
Committee on Monday, February 6, 1950, at 9:00 a.m., for final ap-  
proval before submission of the statement to the Republican  
Conference.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at  
11:40 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

FEBRUARY 1, 1950

Approved:

[signed] Robert A. Taft  
Chairman, Restatement Committee

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON RE-  
STATEMENT OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES, SENATOR  
ROBERT A. TAFT, CHAIRMAN, ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 6,  
1950, AT 9:00 A.M., 335 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

Present: Aiken, Brewster, Ferguson, Knowland, Lodge, Mundt,  
Smith, Me., Smith, N.J., Taft, Watkins, Wherry, Young.

Absent: Butler, Cordon, Ives.

Others: John Pillsbury, J. Mark Trice

The Chairman called the meeting to order and read those paragraphs of the final draft which represented the thoughts previously expressed and the changes recommended at the Saturday meeting of the Committee.

After discussion several minor changes were made and it was moved, seconded and agreed to that the Committee recommend to the Republican Conference the approved draft of the Restatement of Party Principles.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 10:10 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved:

[signed] Robert A. Taft  
Chairman, Restatement Committee.

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[February 6, 1950]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CON-  
FERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE  
D. MILLIKIN, FOR FEBRUARY 6, 1950, AT 10:00 A.M., 335  
SENATE OFFICE BUILDING.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:15.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 29:

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1949–1951)

Aiken	Ferguson	Mundt
Brewster	Flanders	Schoeppel
Butler	Gurney	Smith, Me.
Cain	Hendrickson	Smith, N.J.
Capehart	Jenner	Taft
Darby	Knowland	Tobey
Donnell	Lodge	Watkins
Dworshak	Malone	Wherry
Ecton	Martin	Young
	McCarthy	
	Millikin	
Absent 13:		
Bricker	Kem	Thye
Bridges	Langer	Vandenberg
Cordon	Morse	Wiley
Hickenlooper	Saltonstall	Williams
Ives		

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft, the Chairman of the Committee on Restatement of Republican Principles, who explained the methods used in arriving at a final draft and then suggested that he read the statement recommended to the Conference by his Committee. There was no objection and Senator Taft proceeded to read the statement paragraph by paragraph.

Votes were taken on the following motions by count of hands:

The motion of Senator McCarthy to strike out the words “liberty against socialism.” Rejected 7 to 13.

The motion of Senator Mundt to insert the word “national” before the word “socialism.” Agreed to 18 to 8.

The motion of Senator McCarthy that language be included to the effect that the Republicans favor Farm Cooperatives. Rejected 7 to 8.

After a general discussion of the statement by those members present, and due to certain additions and deletions made in the text, Senator Taft suggested that a further meeting be held with the members of the House Committee and that another Conference be called for later in the day.

The Chairman announced that if there was no objection this procedure would be followed, and a Conference would be called for 2:30 p.m. There was no objection.

There being no further business, the Conference was adjourned at 12:20.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

FEBRUARY 6, 1950

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, February 7, 1950

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[February 6, 1950]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR FEBRUARY 6, 1950, AT 2:30 P.M., 335 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 2:30.

Present:

Aiken	Flanders	Saltonstall
Brewster	Gurney	Schoeppel
Bricker	Hendrickson	Smith, Me.
Cain	Ives	Smith, N.J.
Capehart	Jenner	Taft
Cordon	Lodge	Tobey
Darby	Martin	Watkins
Donnell	McCarthy	Wherry
Dworshak	Millikin	Williams
Ecton	Mundt	Young
Ferguson		

Absent:

Bridges	Knowland	Thye
Butler	Langer	Vandenberg
Hickenlooper	Malone	Wiley
Kem	Morse	

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who asked that Senator Brewster report to the Conference the results of the meeting with the House Committee and the changes made.

Senator Brewster explained to the Conference why the members of the House Committee would not accept certain of the proposed changes suggested by the Senate Committee and gave an explanation of the other changes.

Votes were taken on the following motions by count of hands:

The motion of Senator Ives that language be included which would reaffirm the plank on Civil Rights in the 1948 platform. Rejected 13 to 15.

The motion of Senator McCarthy that the members of the Senate Committee be instructed to insist on the inclusion of language re R.E.A. Agreed to 18 to 10. (The language previously agreed to read

as follows: “Continued development of electric service to rural areas.”).

After a discussion, it was moved, seconded and agreed to that the Conference adopt the statement of principles and objectives.

There is attached hereto as Exhibit A the text of the statement as adopted.

There being no further business, the Conference was adjourned at 3:20 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, February 7, 1950

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*

#### EXHIBIT A—CONFERENCE MINUTES

February 6, 1950

ADVANCE COPY

FOR RELEASE AT

5:00 P.M., EST

NOTE RELEASE TIME

February 6, 1950

#### STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES

Adopted by the Republican Members of the House of Representatives and the Republican Members of the Senate, and concurred in by the Members of the Republican National Committee on February 6, 1950

*To win lasting peace, to build a country in which every citizen may make the most of his skill, initiative and enterprise, and to hold aloft the inspiring torch of American freedom, opportunity and justice, assuring better and happier life for all our people, we dedicate our efforts and issue this Statement of Principles and Objectives supplementing the Republican Platform of 1948.*

*We shall not passively defend the principles stated here, but shall fight for them with all the vigor with which our forefathers fought to establish what we now seek to advance and perpetuate—Human Liberty and Individual Dignity.*

*We pledge that in all we will advocate and in all that we will perform the first test shall be: Does this conduct enlarge and strengthen or does it undermine and lessen Human Liberty and Individual Dignity.*

#### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The American people face the hard fact that though they won the war nearly five years ago they have not yet won the peace. We offer them leadership in new efforts to achieve this vital end.

FEBRUARY 6, 1950

We favor a foreign policy in which all Americans, regardless of party, will join to assure peace with justice in a free world while maintaining the independence and the rights of the American people.

We insist upon restoration of our foreign agreements to their proper place inside the Constitution and we insist that the United States shall not be bound to any course of action unless the spirit and letter of our Constitutional procedure are followed.

We oppose secret commitments, and we denounce the refusal of the Administration to furnish accurate and adequate information to the Congress.

Under our indispensable two-party system, we shall be vigilant in critical exploration of Administration Foreign Policy. We favor consultation between the Executive and Members of both major parties in the Legislative Branch of Government in the initiation and development of a united American Foreign Policy; and we deplore the tragic consequences of the Administration's failure to pursue these objectives in many fields, particularly in the secret agreements of Yalta, subsequently confirmed at Potsdam, which have created new injustices and new dangers throughout the world.

We favor full support of the United Nations and the improvement of its Charter so that it may be an effective international organization of independent states prepared to mobilize public opinion and the armed forces of the world against aggression. We favor full support of the inter-American system as an integral part of the international organization, and of our treaty obligations in the North Atlantic Community.

We advocate a strong policy against the spread of Communism or Fascism at home and abroad, and we insist that America's efforts toward this end be directed by those who have no sympathy either with Communism or Fascism.

We support aid to those states resisting Communism but such aid should be given only if it is essential to our national security, if it is within the total limits which the American economy can afford, if it will be effective, if it is beyond the ability of the aided nation to supply for itself, and if there is a program for progressive reduction.

The Republican Party has always believed in a strong national defense. We must maintain our armed forces at a strength completely adequate for the security of our people.

We favor the promotion of world trade on the basis of fair and reasonable competition and we assert that this can be done within the Republican principle that foreign products of underpaid foreign labor shall not be admitted to this country on terms which imperil the living standards of the American workman or the American farmer, or threaten serious injury to a domestic industry. A strong American economy is a vital factor for our security.

#### *DOMESTIC AFFAIRS*

The major domestic issue today is liberty against socialism: whether we shall remain in this country a free people in constant control of our governments, or whether we shall delegate to an all-powerful Federal Government with unlimited power to tax and spend, the rights to direct and operate our agriculture, industry, labor and local communities and the daily lives



of our citizens. We believe there is no frontier beyond which devotion to the American system may not increase our knowledge, character and material welfare; but we believe these goals can only be secured in a framework of liberty, equality and justice, with adequate incentive and rewards to workmen and to industry for ability, knowledge, character, hard work, daring and genius.

Basic American principles are threatened by the Administration's program for a planned economy modeled on the socialist governments of Europe, including price and wage control, rationing, socialized medicine, regional authorities, and the Brannan Plan with its controls, penalties, fines and jail sentences. This program is dictated by a small but powerful group of persons who believe in socialism, who have no concept of the true foundation of American progress, and whose proposals are wholly out of accord with the true interests and real wishes of the workers, farmers and businessmen.

As the Iron Curtain descends on half the globe, and as nation after nation samples the drug of totalitarianism, the Republican Party is the champion of human liberty and the essential dignity of the individual. To it falls the task of offering not only its opposition, but of proposing a program to restore faith in free institutions, and bring about stability, opportunity and progress.

We hold that Government can use its just powers to foster national health, promote real security for the aged, develop sound agricultural and labor-management policies and advance civil rights. These ideas are in keeping with the earliest and finest Republican traditions, and can be achieved without establishing socialism or discipline or dependence. The Democrats have also professed these ideals, but the stark truth is that after eighteen years of Democratic control and endless talk, they have reduced this whole field to confusion and futility. The Administration is seeking to make demagogic appeals rather than enact sound legislation. It seeks to keep glittering goals intact to lure votes in anticipation of favors to come. Such a cynical procedure raises the naked issue of sincerity, of responsibility, and of achievement.

To achieve our objectives, we offer certain fundamental proposals, and constructive undertakings to rebuild a prosperous and progressive America:

*I. The Economy.*

Liberty cannot breathe the air of bankruptcy and live.

Reckless and extravagant spending by the Federal Government, as now advocated by the Democratic Administration, with recurring annual deficits or continually increasing taxes, can result only in disaster and ruin for our country. It will further cheapen the dollar, rob the wage earner, impoverish the farmer and destroy the savings, pensions, insurance and investments of millions of people. Therefore we urge:

- A. An end of deficit spending and a return to a balanced budget.
- B. That Federal spending be materially reduced.
- C. The achievement of efficiency and economy in Government especially by adoption of measures along the lines of the Hoover Report.

FEBRUARY 6, 1950

D. A policy of general tax reduction to be accomplished as rapidly as reduction in Federal expenditures will permit. We favor immediate repeal of oppressive wartime excises and reduction of taxes on small business to stimulate new industry and growth. This will create new jobs, new wealth, and eventually greater tax revenue. It will provide opportunity for youth, furnish incentives for stable employment and retention of older employees and encourage lower prices.

E. Strict enforcement of the laws against monopoly and unfair competition.

F. Establishment of a non-partisan commission to study and recommend a sensible redistribution of governmental functions and sources of revenue between the Federal, State and local entities, to secure the sovereignty of the several states with as much decentralization as is compatible with the national welfare.

## II. *Agriculture.*

A prosperous agriculture is fundamental to a prosperous America. We join farm organizations in condemning the Brannan Plan which would regiment our farmers, cost untold billions of the taxpayers' money, and would mean the ultimate nationalization of agriculture. Its inefficiency and increased costs would adversely affect both the producer and the consumer. It would place every farmer in a state of complete dependency on Government for a large part of his income from uncertain annual Congressional appropriations. We deplore the maladministration for political purposes of the present agricultural law by the Department of Agriculture.

We will continue to work with the farmers, farm organizations and all friends of agriculture to bring about a sound solution of the many problems confronting the farmers of this country. Such farm policies must be developed in the interest of the farmer, the consumer and the national economy. Agriculture is a growing and dynamic industry undergoing constant change and improvement. No farm program can succeed which is not in harmony with this concept. Specifically we propose the following:

A. A program to provide a fair price for the farmers' products in the market place aided by a system of price supports and by protection against the dumping of competitive commodities produced by underpaid foreign labor, to the end that the farmer's standard of living will be in line with the contribution he makes to the national economy.

B. Continue and enlarge programs of research and education, both in production and marketing, with particular attention to cheaper and more effective production, a better and more effective marketing system especially for perishable commodities, sound cooperative marketing, and the development and expansion of industrial uses for agricultural products and by-products.

C. Continued development and restoration of our soil and water resources through soil conservation and reclamation.

D. Expansion of animal agriculture as a means of reducing surpluses, rebuilding the soil and providing a better diet for our people.

E. Special encouragement for the development and ownership of family-sized farms, improvement of rural living conditions, and completion of the rural electrification program.

F. Development of export markets for the surplus crops which can be efficiently produced in this country.

III. *Labor-Management Relations.*

Industrial harmony and justice are essential to the country's well-being. To that end, government should encourage and promote free collective bargaining. On management and unions falls an equal responsibility to act in good faith toward each other and toward the country. We favor:

A. Continuation of the Taft-Hartley law because it has restored equality between employer and employees, guaranteed the right of collective bargaining, the recognition of unions and the right to strike, while protecting the rights of the public and the union members. Under this law union membership has increased to new highs, wages have risen to record levels and strikes have decreased.

B. Continuation of our efforts to enact such improvements in the law as have been shown to be necessary to accomplish its purposes more effectively and achieve more complete equality. We deplore the action of the Administration in playing politics in this vital area of human relations, thereby blocking the enactment of necessary amendments to the law.

IV. *Civil Rights.*

The right of equal opportunity to work, to vote, to advance in life and to be protected under the law should never be limited in any individual because of race, religion, color, or country of origin. Therefore, we shall continue to sponsor legislation to protect the rights of minorities.

V. *Social Responsibility.*

The obligation of Government to those in need has long been recognized. Recognizing the inequities and injustices of the present program of social security, we urge:

A. The extension of the coverage of the Federal old-age and survivors insurance program, reduction of eligibility requirements and increase of benefits to a more generous level, with due regard to the tax burden on those who labor.

B. A thorough-going study of a program of more nearly universal coverage including the principle of pay-as-you-go.

C. Federal aid, where the need is clearly demonstrated, to states and through states to their subdivisions, to assist them in affording subsistence, shelter and medical care to their citizens who are unable to provide for themselves. Such aid, including unemployment compensation, must be based on state and local initiative, operation, contribution and responsibility, without Federal bureaucratic interference. It must avoid socialization of the medical profession or of any other activity. Federal aid must be in amounts which do not impose an unreasonable burden of taxation on the American people who pay the bills.

VI. *Veterans.*

A grateful nation demands that those who fought in its defense, their widows and orphans, must never be forgotten. We urge:

FEBRUARY 6, 1950

A. Continuing and sympathetic consideration of the rights and deserts of the veterans and their dependents.

B. Prompt and efficient handling of claims and other problems of veterans.

VII. *Loyalty.*

Communism is an international conspiracy aiming at world-wide dictatorship and the suppression of religious, political and economic freedoms throughout the world. It corrupts ideals, corrodes basic religious teachings, destroys the fiber of man and denies the existence of God. It is imperative that the nations of the world develop new methods to offset this frontal attack on civilization.

We condemn the failure of the Administration to recognize the full implications of this threat to our security. We deplore the dangerous degree to which Communists and their fellow travelers have been employed in important Government posts and the fact that information vital to our security has been made available to alien agents and persons of questionable loyalty. We denounce the soft attitude of this Administration toward Government employees and officials who hold or support Communist attitudes. We pledge immediate action to bring about:

A. The complete overhaul of the so-called loyalty and security checks of Federal personnel.

B. The prompt elimination of all Communists, fellow travelers and Communist sympathizers from our Federal payroll.

C. Closer coordination between our intelligence agencies, with full use of the facilities of the FBI for protecting our security.

*CONCLUSION*

To this program we subscribe, confident that the overwhelming majority of Americans cherish our heritage of freedom and will join us in this crusade to see that it shall not perish from the earth.

Our people must arouse themselves to preserve our precious liberties and freedoms—the right to worship God in our own way; to speak freely our minds without fear; to conduct our lives and our affairs without officious meddling by too powerful government. We must revivify those qualities of diligence, economy, courage, initiative and patriotism which enabled our forefathers to make this Nation great.

This Republic is the custodian of Human Liberty. The Republican Party will endeavor to see to it that we are worthy of this guardianship.

[April 21, 1950]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR APRIL 21, 1950, AT 10:00 A.M., 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:15 and stated that the call of the roll would be deferred, but the following Senators were present:

Present:

Aiken	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Brewster	Ives	Schoeppel
Bricker	Jenner	Smith, Maine
Butler	Kem	Taft
Capehart	Knowland	Thye
Cordon	Langer	Watkins
Darby	Lodge	Wherry
Dworshak	Martin	Williams
Flanders	Millikin	Young
Hendrickson	Mundt	

Absent:

Bridges	Gurney	Smith, N.J.
Cain	Malone	Tobey
Donnell	McCarthy	Vandenberg
Ecton	Morse	Wiley
Ferguson		

The Chairman stated that he had received a petition addressed to him by Senators Lodge, Wiley and Hickenlooper, requesting him to call a Conference of Republican Senators for the purpose of discussing S. 3303, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1950.

The Chairman recognized Senator Lodge who proceeded to discuss the substance of the bill and answer questions raised on the various sections of the measure.

The Chairman stated that he would, in conjunction with Senator Saltonstall, offer a substitute for the "Point-4" amendment, intended to be proposed to the bill by Senator [Thomas T.] Connally [Democrat of Texas].

The meeting was devoted to questions and answers on the bill and no direct or indirect attempt was made to establish Republican policy on the measure.

APRIL 21, 1950

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 12:05 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, April 24, 1950

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[June 14, 1950]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HON. EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JUNE 14, 1950, AT 10:00 A.M., 335 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:10 a.m.

The Chairman requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 32:

Aiken	Ecton	Mundt
Brewster	Ferguson	Saltonstall
Bricker	Flanders	Smith, Maine
Bridges	Gurney	Smith, N.J.
Butler	Hendrickson	Taft
Cain	Jenner	Thye
Capehart	Langer	Watkins
Cordon	Malone	Wherry
Darby	Martin	Williams
Donnell	McCarthy	Young
Dworshak	Millikin	

Absent 10:

Hickenlooper	Lodge	Vandenberg
Ives	Morse	Wiley
Kem	Schoeppel	
Knowland	Tobey	

The Chairman on behalf of Senator Ferguson, who was temporarily absent, offered the following resolution and at the suggestion of Senator Donnell it was unanimously adopted by rising vote:

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from our colleague, the Honorable Arthur H. Vandenberg, his beloved wife, Mrs. Hazel Whittaker Vandenberg,

Now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the Honorable Arthur H. Vandenberg, express our sense of loss at the passing of his wife, and

FURTHER, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Honorable Arthur H. Vandenberg, that he may be assured of our deep respect for him and our condolences to him.

The Chairman stated that the meeting had been called for the purpose of discussing the subject of Social Security, because there was under consideration by the Senate, H.R. 6000, an act to amend and improve the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance System. The Chairman discussed the history of the legislation, the part which the Republican members of the Finance Committee had played in the past by investigation of the whole system, and he stated that the Republicans could take a great share of the credit for the benefits coming from the passage of the present bill. He also stated that in his opinion it was inevitable that we move into universal coverage and a pay-as-you-go system. The Chairman asked that favorable Republican support be given to a resolution sponsored by Senators [Walter F.] George [Democrat of Georgia] and Millikin for an investigation of the whole subject.

Questions were asked of the Chairman, and there was general discussion of the measure.

At the conclusion of the conference the Chairman asked if it would be agreeable to state to the press that no polls of any kind had been taken, and that there seemed to be a wide area of support for the present bill and of the resolution for a study of the entire matter. There was no objection.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:50 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, June 15, 1950.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

JUNE 14, 1950

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[June 26, 1950]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HON. EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JUNE 26, 1950, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:15 a.m. and waived the calling of the roll but the following Senators were present:

Present 28:

Bricker	Jenner	Schoeppel
Bridges	Knowland	Smith, Maine
Butler	Lodge	Smith, New Jersey
Cain	Malone	Taft
Cordon	Martin	Tobey
Darby	McCarthy	Watkins
Donnell	Millikin	Wherry
Ferguson	Mundt	Wiley
Gurney	Saltonstall	Williams
Hendrickson		

Absent 14:

Aiken	Flanders	Morse
Brewster	Hickenlooper	Thye
Capehart	Ives	Vandenberg
Dworshak	Kem	Young
Ecton	Langer	

The Chairman recognized Senator H. Alexander Smith, active ranking minority leader of the Committee on Foreign Relations who had previously requested that he address the Conference on the subject of the Military Assistance Program.

Senator Smith analyzed the various sections of the bill, questions were asked, and the general subject of military aid was discussed.

Also discussed was the invasion of southern Korea.

Senator Mundt expressed the opinion that the Republicans should take a definite stand on the subject of Communism. It was suggested that he appear at the next meeting of the Policy Committee.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:45 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority



Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, June 26, 1950

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[August 15, 1950]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HON. EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR AUGUST 15, 1950, AT 10:00 A.M., 335 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:15 a.m. and requested the Secretary to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 30:

Aiken	Gurney	Mundt
Brewster	Hendrickson	Saltonstall
Bricker	Hickenlooper	Schoeppel
Butler	Ives	Smith, N.J.
Capehart	Knowland	Taft
Darby	Langer	Watkins
Donnell	Lodge	Wherry
Dworshak	Malone	Wiley
Ecton	Martin	Williams
Ferguson	Millikin	Young

Absent 12:

Bridges	Jenner	Smith, Maine
Cain	Kem	Thye
Cordon	McCarthy	Tobey
Flanders	Morse	Vandenberg

The Chairman stated that the purpose of the meeting was to discuss the Defense Production Act of 1950, S. 3936, and he recognized Senator Bricker, a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, for a discussion of the provisions of the bill.

Senator Bricker spoke at some length on the various sections of the bill, the testimony taken by the Committee, the reason for the various actions taken by the Committee, and on the amendments which he intended to propose to the bill. There is attached hereto as "Exhibit A" a memorandum prepared by him on the bill and on his amendments.

The discussion centered primarily on Title IV "Price and Wage Stabilization" and Title V "Settlement of Labor Disputes." There was a wide variety of views and there was no effort to establish a policy. All present were of the opinion that the Administration should an-

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nounce a definite policy in regard to finance, expenditures, and controls.

The discussion concluded at 11:45 a.m. when the meeting adjourned.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, August 16, 1950.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*  
EXHIBIT "A"

August 12, 1950

MEMORANDUM OF SENATOR JOHN W. BRICKER ON S. 3936 AND  
PROPOSED AMENDMENTS

The Senate Committee on Banking and Currency made many improving amendments to S. 3936, the Defense Production Act of 1950. The powers requested by the President in his message of July 19, 1950 are contained in Titles I, II, III, VI and VII. Only brief hearings were held on these titles, and no hearings whatever were held on the price and wage stabilization provisions of Titles IV and V. The necessity for quick action on the powers requested by the President prevented the committee from giving full consideration to every section of the bill. As a result, numerous amendments to the bill appear to be required.

It is hoped that all Republican Senators who are not members of the Banking and Currency Committee will find this summary of the bill and proposed amendments of some help in understanding the issues involved.

*Title I—Priorities and Allocations*

Section 101 provides general priority and allocation powers similar to those under which the War Production Board allocated materials and facilities during World War II. Section 102 makes hoarding a criminal offense. Title I is probably the least controversial title of the bill.

There is little doubt that priorities and allocation powers may be needed in the present emergency. The expanded military program will probably create some shortages. If shortages of vital materials develop, it will be necessary to give some contracts and orders preference over the filling of other contracts or orders. If military needs are to be satisfied at reasonable cost, it may be necessary to restrict, or even to prohibit, the flow of scarce materials into non-essential industries.

The priority and allocation powers contained in Title I are broad enough to permit the President to manage the whole economy. As a practical matter, however, the extent of the power granted to the President in Title I is limited by the need for establishing priorities and allocating materials and facilities. It is entirely possible that American industry will be able to

satisfy both the increased demands of the military and normal civilian needs. Therefore, if serious shortages do not occur, the power to fix priorities and allocate materials would not be of much practical significance.

An immediate danger connected with priorities and allocation powers lies in the possibility of inept or divided administration of those powers. Poor administration could create many artificial scarcities which would tend to hasten the need for overall price and wage controls. The committee felt that the best insurance against poor administration was to give industry a major role in formulating priorities and allocations plans subject to appropriate supervision by the government. Accordingly, the committee provided for the exercise of priorities and allocations pursuant to voluntary government-industry agreements (S. 3936, sec. 712) similar to the program authorized by the 80th Congress in P.L. 395.

To guarantee unified direction and control of the priorities and allocations program, whether voluntary or mandatory, I intend to offer an amendment to Title I vesting administration of this program in the Secretary of Commerce.

#### *Title II—Authority to Requisition*

As amended by the committee, Title II conforms generally to the requisitioning authority which existed during World War II. The President is authorized to requisition equipment and supplies, or materials or facilities necessary for the manufacture, servicing or operation thereof. Three conditions are attached to the exercise of this power: (1) the material or facility must be needed for the national defense; (2) the need must be so immediate that resort to any other source of supply would cause undue delay; and (3) all other means for obtaining the property on reasonable terms must have been exhausted. Appropriate provision is made for just compensation.

The authority contained in Title II is needed primarily to seize excessive inventories and supplies needed for the national defense. This power should be particularly effective in proceeding against hoarders and black-market operators. It may also be necessary for the President to requisition certain "facilities," including factories. This is a drastic power and one which should be used sparingly. Although provision is made for the return of property to the original owners when it is no longer needed for national defense, the power to requisition "facilities" should be limited by other safeguards.

The most obvious danger inherent in Title II is that the President could requisition a struck plant, negotiate a contract for higher wages with the union, and then return the plant to its owners. That happened in 1946 when the coal mines were seized, after which the Krug-Lewis agreement meeting the demands of the UMW was negotiated, and the mines returned subject to acceptance of that agreement. I intend to propose an amendment to Title II which will prevent wage negotiations between the government and the union with respect to property which has been requisitioned under Title II. Collective bargaining between industry and labor is impossible if the union can force seizure in the hope of getting a better contract as a result of bargaining with government officials.

The word "facilities" was defined in section 702 so as to exclude from the power of requisition farms, churches, and private dwelling houses. Banks,

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insurance companies, and other financial institutions should also be excluded from the power to allocate and requisition "facilities."

*Title III—Expansion of Productive Capacity and Supply*

Section 301 revives the so-called V-loan program of guaranteed loans which operated successfully during the last war. This section authorizes the President, through the Federal Reserve Board, to guarantee loans which may be required by business to expedite production and deliveries under government contracts.

Section 302 authorizes a direct government loan program for the purpose of (1) expansion of plant capacity; (2) development of technological processes; and (3) production of essential materials. A motion to strike this section lost by a vote of 7-6 in committee. Those who supported that motion felt that the advantages of a new direct lending program were outweighed by the possibility of unsound loans, and by the fact that adequate private capital seems to be available. The committee, however, amended section 302 by placing important restrictions on the power to lend money directly to private business enterprises. Instead of loans "to assist in carrying out the objectives of this Act," the purpose of direct loans was confined "to expedite production and deliveries under Government contracts for the procurement of materials for the national defense." In its original form section 302 made loans contingent on financial assistance "not otherwise available *on reasonable terms*," but the committee required such financial assistance to be "not otherwise available."

In other sections of S. 3936 the Federal Reserve Board is given extensive powers over the control of credit. With respect to government housing credit, section 605, and government loans under section 301, the guaranteeing or lending agency is required to consult with the Federal Reserve Board. In order to centralize credit controls so far as practicable in the Federal Reserve Board, major government loans under section 302 should also require consultation with the Federal Reserve Board. I intend to amend section 302 by requiring such consultation on all loans exceeding \$100,000.

In my opinion, S. 3936 places too much emphasis on expansion of plant capacity. The expansion of "production" is far more important than the expansion of "productive facilities." I propose to amend the declaration of policy (page 28, line 16) accordingly.

Section 303 provides for government purchasing programs of metals, minerals, and other raw materials and for exploration and development and mining of critical and strategic minerals and metals. In effect, section 303 overcomes various limitations which exist in connection with the stockpiling program authorized under existing law. These broad procurement powers may be necessary to carry out the increased armament program.

Section 304 permits the President to utilize any existing department or agency of the government (including government corporations) for the purpose of carrying out sections 302 and 303. The President may also create new agencies to carry out these loan and procurement programs but he may not create new corporations. The agencies which may be utilized under section 304 are authorized to borrow from the Treasury an aggregate amount of \$2,000,000,000.

The administrative arrangement provided for in section 304 is unusual and would no doubt prove to be cumbersome. The loan and procurement programs are essentially business operations for which government corporations are particularly well adapted. I propose to amend section 304 by permitting the creation of government corporations, but reducing the amount which may be borrowed to \$500,000,000. With this sum the programs can be started without appropriation of funds by the Congress, but thereafter the additional funds required either by corporations or agencies would be subject to the usual appropriation procedure. Such an amendment would give the Congress a much better check on the programs authorized by sections 302 and 303.

In this connection, it should be noted that section 304, in the bill as originally introduced, provided for the authority to create new corporations. The admittedly awkward substitute reported out by the Senate committee reflects the strong desire of the committee to insure Congressional supervision of any new administrative arms. The amendment I propose to offer would restore the more flexible and efficient corporate form, at the same time assuring an adequate check by the General Accounting Office and an annual review by the Appropriations Committees of the Congress.

#### *Title IV—Price and Wage Stabilization*

The arguments for and against price, wage, and consumer rationing legislation require no elaboration. But regardless of any Senator's position on the advisability of such controls, there remains the question as to whether price and wage controls should be included in S. 3936. The fact that S. 3936 authorizes price and wage controls on a stand-by basis indicates that, in the committee's judgment, they are not needed now. President Truman holds the same opinion.

There are impelling reasons why Title IV should not be made a part of S. 3936. Hearings on price and wage stabilization policies have not been held. The committee did not have time to hear any evidence evaluating the Nation's experience under World War II price and wage control laws, even from the viewpoint of those who administered it. It would be unfortunate to revive all of the mistakes, hardships and injustices experienced during the last war merely for the sake of quick action in circumstances where speed is not required. Even a cursory reading of Title IV will show that adequate consideration has not been given to the complex problems involved in price-wage-rationing controls. It is impossible to write a satisfactory price and wage control law on the floor of the Senate. Because of my belief that legislation dealing with price, wage, and consumer rationing controls should have very careful study by the Banking and Currency Committee, I shall move to strike Title IV from the bill.

If the move to strike Title IV is unsuccessful, the next major question is whether the stand-by controls should become operative (1) at the discretion of the President (as in S. 3936); (2) by concurrent resolution of the Congress (as recommended by Senator Taft); or (3) automatically upon the consumer price index advancing a certain percent (the Fulbright amendment). The principal argument in favor of the automatic mechanism suggested by Senators Fulbright, Douglas and Flanders is that business and labor would have a strong incentive to hold prices down through voluntary action. The

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principal argument against this trigger mechanism is that it might cause price and wage controls to be imposed at some future date when neither the President nor the general public felt that such controls were required under conditions then existing.

Assuming that stand-by price and wage controls should be activated at the discretion of the President, the next major question is whether or not selective price and wage controls should be authorized as now provided in Section 402(b). The idea of trying selective price and wage controls before resorting to general controls is inconsistent with the so-called Baruch Plan. Mr. Baruch's thesis, confirmed by the experience in two world wars, is that any attempt to control a few prices or wages is futile. The American economy is so interdependent and specialized that a piecemeal approach is bound to create inequities faster than they can be corrected. As a result, materials and labor would tend to move from the controlled industry to the uncontrolled segment of the economy, thus causing a result exactly contrary to the purposes sought to be attained. Since the controlled industry will undoubtedly be vital to the national defense, selective controls must inevitably expand. A particular injustice attached to selective controls is that certain employers and employees would find their incomes limited at a time when all other prices and wages were free to rise. The greatest danger in the idea of selective price and wage controls is that the President will be subjected to tremendous pressure to control particular commodities, the price of which people, rightly or wrongly feel to be excessive. Having initiated a piecemeal system of controls, the President would be powerless to stop general price and wage controls even if he should feel they were premature. Accordingly, I propose to eliminate Section 402(b) and to make the changes which such action would require with respect to Section 402(c).

In Section 402 (c) the committee attempted to tie prices and wages together. The ambiguities in Section 402 (c) are such that the committee might not have succeeded in accomplishing its purpose. The imposition of controls on prices and controls on wages need not be simultaneous under the language of subsections (c)(1) and (c)(2). However, the last paragraph of Section 402(c) (page 42, lines 9-13) does require wages, salaries and other compensation to be stabilized generally whenever ceilings have been established generally on materials, services, and property.

The committee's efforts to tie prices and wages together are nullified by the provisions of Section 402(d). In that section, the President is required to give "due consideration" to various factors at the time he imposes price and wage controls. As now written, S. 3936 permits the President to use one period for the purpose of establishing price ceilings and an entirely different period for the purpose of stabilizing wages. Section 402 (d) does not prevent the President from rolling back prices to their June, 1949 levels and stabilizing wages at the current or some future level. I intend to offer an amendment to Section 402 (d) which will prohibit the President from selecting a base period for the stabilization of the component wage or salary of any material, service or property which is different from the base period selected for establishing the ceiling price of that material, service or property. This amendment would deny the President power to destroy general price-wage relationships.

Section 402(e)(3) provides special treatment for establishing ceilings on agricultural commodities. It is provided in 402(e)(3) that the ceiling shall

not be below the higher of (i) the parity price, or (ii) the average price received by producers on June 15, 1950. Undoubtedly there will be many amendments offered to this subsection. Senator [Burnett R.] Maybank [Democrat of South Carolina] has already proposed four amendments, all of which are designed to eliminate some of the inequities which are inherent in any attempt to control the prices of agricultural commodities.

Section 402 (f) excepts from price control prices of real property, fees for professional services, and other prices which were excluded from the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942. I also intend to offer amendments which restrict the power to compel changes in business practices, cost practices, or methods of distribution, and the power to require standardization of materials or grade labeling. These amendments are substantially identical with language found in the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942.

Section 403 provides that when the President imposes price and wage controls generally that such controls, together with the rationing at the consumer level, shall be administered through a single independent agency. This section is designed to obviate many of the conflicts in jurisdiction which developed during the last war, and to make certain that the control of prices is not frustrated by independent administration of controls over wages.

Sections 407 through 409 provide for the filing of protests against regulations and orders, judicial review, criminal sanctions, and civil suits for price over-charges. In general those provisions are comparable to those found in the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942. However, Section 408(d) was amended by the committee in order to permit a person charged with violating price control laws or regulations to contest the validity of those regulations in the court in which he is tried or sued. This was not possible under the provisions of World War II legislation.

#### *Title V—Settlement of Labor Disputes*

I intend to move to strike Title V from the bill. There has been no evidence that this title is necessary, and its vague language seems to carry a vast amount of indefinite power. If mediation and conciliation procedures are not adequately provided for in existing law, there is no reason why this cannot be handled in separate legislation.

If the move to strike Title V from the bill is not successful, I propose to amend it by prohibiting (1) compulsory arbitration; (2) conscription of striking workers into military service; and (3) increases or decreases in wages achieved by the President through a collective bargaining agreement negotiated by the government with employers or labor organizations.

#### *Title VI—Control of Consumer and Real Estate Credit*

Section 601 authorizes the Federal Reserve Board to impose controls over consumer credit. Such controls are identical with those exercised during the last war pursuant to the executive order under which Regulation W was promulgated.

Section 602 authorizes the Federal Reserve Board to exercise control over credit on new real estate construction begun after August 3, 1950.

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Section 605 authorizes the President, after consultation with the Federal Reserve Board, to control credit on real estate which is being extended, insured, or guaranteed by the government.

The committee deleted a sub-title of S. 3936 as introduced which was intended to control speculation on commodity exchanges. The testimony on this sub-title tended to show that margin requirements have little or no long-term influence on prices. Because of the study which the Senate Agriculture Committee has given to this complex subject, the Banking and Currency Committee voted to refer the commodity speculation section to the Agriculture Committee.

#### *Title VII—General Provisions*

Section 703(a) should be amended so as to make it clear that litigation under the Act shall be exercised through the Department of Justice and local district attorneys and not by attorneys appointed under the Act. Such an amendment would prevent price administration lawyers from starting litigation of which the Department of Justice might have no knowledge or control.

Section 708 provides that no act or omission to act requested by the President pursuant to the Act shall be construed to be within the prohibitions of the anti-trust laws or the Federal Trade Commission Act. Section 712 provides for the same type of anti-trust exemption in the case of voluntary agreements and programs. Because Sections 708 and 712 seem to be duplicative, I intend to amend the bill by striking Section 712 and expressly providing in Section 708 for voluntary agreements. This is desirable for the further reason that Section 712 as now written prohibits price-fixing whereas Section 401 authorizes voluntary agreements concerning prices. The proposed amendment to Section 708 provides that the voluntary agreements program with respect to priorities and allocations shall be administered by a single official of the government in order to prevent conflicts in jurisdiction asserted by various governmental departments and agencies. Also for the purpose of avoiding needless friction, the amendment requires consultation in connection with the anti-trust exemption only with the Attorney General.

Section 713(c) establishes a committee to be known as the Joint Committee on Defense Production. In my opinion, it is desirable to amend this section by inserting a new subsection specifically providing for consultation between the President and the Joint Committee with respect to the exercise of certain specific powers.

Section 716 permits the authority contained in the Act to be terminated at any time prior to June 30, 1952 by Concurrent Resolution of the Congress or by the President. I intend to offer an amendment to Section 716 which would permit the Congress to terminate any section of the Act prior to June 30, 1952 by Concurrent Resolution. Congress may want to terminate some



of the powers in S. 3936 before June 30, 1952 but allow the continuance of other powers.

[November 30, 1950]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HON. EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR NOVEMBER 30, 1950, AT 10:00 A.M., 335 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:20 a.m. and requested the Secretary of the Conference to call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 35:

Aiken	Ferguson	Schoeppel
Brewster	Flanders	Smith, Me.
Bricker	Gurney	Smith, N.J.
Bridges	Hendrickson	Taft
Butler, Nebr.	Ives	Thye
Cain	Langer	Tobey
Capehart	Malone	Watkins
Carlson	Martin	Wherry
Cordon	McCarthy	Wiley
Donnell	Millikin	Williams
Dworshak	Morse	Young
Ecton	Saltonstall	

Absent 7:

Hickenlooper	Knowland	Mundt
Jenner	Lodge	Vandenberg
Kem		

The Chairman stated that [as] it had been customary to have a Conference at the first of every session, he had issued a call and that the meeting was unusual in that the Conference would proceed without agenda. After stating that the Republican Party had a terrific responsibility that its members must fully meet in connection with the grave predicament that the country is now facing, he stated that the seven newly elected Senators had been invited to attend, and after extending to them words of greeting he requested that the Secretary call the roll of new Senators.

The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 7:

Bennett	Dirksen	Nixon
Butler, Md.	Duff	Welker
Case		

Absent 0

NOVEMBER 30, 1950

The Chairman recognized Senator Butler who spoke briefly in regard to Committee assignments and requested all Senators to immediately write a letter to him as Chairman [of the Committee on Committees] in regard to their individual Committee requests. He suggested that the two Committee places released by Senator Darby, one on the Committee on the District of Columbia and the other on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service be assigned temporarily to Senators Carlson and Nixon. At the conclusion of his brief remarks he then moved that Messrs. Carlson and Nixon be each assigned to one of the two existing Committee vacancies on a temporary basis to January 3, 1951, with the understanding that the assignment would create no seniority or tenure on the Committee to which they were appointed.

The Chairman stated that without objection it would be so ordered. There was no objection.

The Chairman recognized Senator McCarthy who requested that the Conference go on record to the effect that each of the newly elected Republican members have one major Committee assignment and that seniority would not apply to a second major Committee assignment for senior Republican Senators until the new Senators had been assigned one major Committee. After discussion Senator McCarthy withdrew his previous suggestion and it was moved, seconded, and agreed to, that it is the sense of the Conference that if it can be worked out each senior Senator as well as the newly elected Republican Senators be assigned to one major Committee.

The Chairman after commenting on Conference procedure, the election of officers and the committees of the Conference, stated that the question of Committee assignments would properly be the order of business for the Conference in the next Congress.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who announced that the Policy Committee at its recent meeting had resolved no policy in regard to present pending legislation.

The Chairman recognized Senator Brewster who stated that his Campaign Committee would shortly have its report ready and he recommended continuous activity on the part of any new Campaign Committee. Senator Brewster requested approval on behalf of the Women's Republican Club of the District of Columbia of an affair similar to the box supper held by them last year. The Chairman stated that this should be a matter of decision for the Conference of the new Congress, but that as long as all of the newly elected Senators were present, Senator Brewster could inform the ladies that insofar as the present Conference is concerned, approval was granted. There being no objection to the statement made by the Chairman, it was so ordered.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wiley who spoke of the liaison offices of the Veterans Administration and Civil Service Commission

being moved from the Senate Office Building. The Chairman stated that if there was no objection the Minority Floor Leader would contact the appropriate Democratic officials and endeavor to see that no change is made. There was no objection.

Words of praise were extended to Senators Darby, Donnell and Gurney and the members of the Conference arose and applauded. There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 11:12 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, December 1, 1950

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[December 15, 1950]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR DECEMBER 15, 1950, AT 4:30 P.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 4:40 p.m., and he requested that the Secretary call the roll. The Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 33:

Aiken	Hickenlooper	Nixon
Brewster	Ives	Saltonstall
Butler	Jenner	Smith, Maine
Capehart	Kem	Smith, N.J.
Carlson	Knowland	Taft
Cordon	Langer	Thye
Donnell	Malone	Tobey
Dworshak	McCarthy	Watkins
Ecton	Millikin	Wherry
Gurney	Morse	Williams
Hendrickson	Mundt	Young

Absent 10:

Bricker	Flanders	Schoeppel
Bridges	Lodge	Vandenberg
Cain	Martin	Wiley
Ferguson		

The Chairman stated that the business of the Conference was well known, involving the Department of State and Secretary Acheson.

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Before proceeding with the business of the meeting, the Chairman read a proposed telegram to be sent by the Secretary to Senator Cain. By unanimous action the Secretary was authorized to send the following telegram:

Your Republican colleagues at their Conference today unanimously voted to extend to you their wishes for a successful operation, inform you of their friendship and esteem and express the hope that you will soon be back with them as good as ever.

At the suggestion of Senator Taft and by unanimous action the Secretary was authorized to send the following telegram to Senator Vandenberg:

Your Republican colleagues in Conference assembled unanimously voted to extend to you their very good wishes, to inform you that they miss you very much, that it is their earnest hope that your health will be completely restored and that you will be able to join with them once again in the new Congress. They send greetings for the Christmas season and the wish for a happy and healthy New Year.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who stated that the Policy Committee was of the opinion that the proposal of Senator Ives requesting some affirmative action on the part of the Republican members of the Senate in regard to Secretary Acheson was of sufficient importance to call a Conference of Republican Senators. He spoke of the appointment of a sub-committee of the Policy Committee to draft a resolution but that after several meetings the members thereof could not agree as to its phraseology. In order that the Conference might have some basis for a start he offered a perfected text of the original resolution of Senator Ives which is as follows:

Recognizing that national unity and public confidence in our government are indispensable at this time of desperate national crisis, and recognizing that such unity and confidence are unobtainable while Mr. Dean G. Acheson continues as Secretary of State because the people have lost confidence in him and other personnel in the Department of State, and because of the failure of the Administration's foreign policy,

We, Republican Members of the United States Senate, call upon the President to appoint a new Secretary of State who will reorganize the Department and who will be able thus to earn and command public confidence and support.

We pledge our fullest cooperation with the President and the Administration in a united effort to meet by the most effective means the present national crisis. For this effort there must be national unity in substance as well as in form, in fact as well as in name.

There was much discussion which followed and the Chairman recognized numerous Senators who expressed individual opinions and suggested certain phraseology.

The Chairman recognized Senator Smith of New Jersey who presented the following resolution and spoke in support of it:

We, Republican Members of the United States Senate, recognize that national unity and confidence in the foreign policy of our government are indispensable at this time of crisis.

We recognize that if unity and confidence are to be restored it is essential that effective steps be taken immediately to reestablish the confidence of the American people in the Department of State. The Department of State under its present leadership has lost that confidence.

We, therefore, propose consultation between the Executive and leaders, chosen by both major parties, in the legislative branch of the government to consider such steps, including changes in personnel, policies and procedures in the Department of State and other departments of the government as may reestablish public confidence and rebuild a united American Foreign Policy.

We pledge our fullest cooperation with the President and the Administration in the present national emergency.

Senator Taft modified his resolution in line with certain ideas expressed and the modified resolution read as follows:

Recognizing that national cooperation and public confidence in our government are indispensable at this time of desperate national crisis, and recognizing that such cooperation and confidence was unobtainable while Mr. Dean G. Acheson continues as Secretary of State because the people have lost confidence in him and other personnel in the Department of State, and because of the failures of the Administration's foreign policy in many vital fields.

We, Republican Members of the United States Senate, earnestly insist for the good of our country that Mr. Acheson be replaced as Secretary of State, that there be a thorough housecleaning in the State Department, and changes in personnel and policies responsible for this lack of confidence.

We pledge our fullest cooperation with the President and the Administration in a united effort to meet by the most effective means the present national crisis. For this effort there must be national cooperation in substance as well as in form, in fact as well as in name.

We must be free to speak and to defend the dictates of our conscience. We retain the privilege to express our opinions on policies proposed.

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The Chairman recognized Senator Kem who offered the following resolution passed by the Republican Members of the House of Representatives as a substitute for the Taft proposal:

In this critical hour, confidence of the American people in their leadership is essential to our security.

It is completely obvious that Secretary Acheson and the State Department under his leadership have lost the confidence of the Congress and the American people and cannot regain it.

Recognizing this fact, we earnestly insist for the good of our country that Mr. Acheson be replaced as Secretary of State, that there be a thorough housecleaning in the State Department, and changes in the personnel and policies responsible for this lack of confidence.

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who moved to amend the substitute of Senator Kem by the addition of the following language:

We pledge our fullest cooperation with the President and the Administration in a united effort to meet by the most effective means the present national crisis.

The Chairman recognized Senator Kem who accepted the amendment of Senator Knowland.

The Chairman recognized Senator Capehart who moved to amend the substitute of Senator Kem as modified by the inclusion of the words "by one who has not been identified with our present foreign policy," the said words to be inserted following the words "Secretary of State" in the second paragraph.

The Chairman put the question and by voice vote the amendment was defeated.

The Chairman recognized Senator Saltonstall who substituted the following substitute for the substitute of Senator Kem as modified:

Recognizing that national cooperation and public confidence in our government are indispensable at this time of desperate national crisis, and recognizing that such cooperation and confidence are unobtainable while the work of developing our future foreign policies is left in the hands of those developing them at the present time—

We, the Republican members of the United States Senate, call upon the President to reorganize the State Department from top to bottom—

We want to join with the President and his Administration in a united effort to meet by the most effective means the present national crisis. When such a reorganization has been accomplished, we believe that there will be an opportunity for more

cooperation on our national policies in substance as well as in form—in fact as well as in name.

A roll call vote was requested and after the Secretary called the roll, the Chairman announced the result as follows: Yeas: 8; Nays: 20. The vote was as follows:

Yeas:

Aiken	Nixon	Smith, N.J.
Ecton	Saltonstall	Watkins
Langer	Smith, Maine	

Nays:

Brewster	Hickenlooper	Morse
Butler	Ives	Mundt
Capehart	Jenner	Taft
Carlson	Kem	Thye
Donnell	Knowland	Wherry
Dworshak	McCarthy	Young
Hendrickson	Millikin	

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who suggested that the following words be added to the last paragraph of the substitute of Senator Kem as modified: “For this effort there must be national unity in substance as well as in form, in fact as well as in name.” The suggested amendment was accepted by Senator Kem.

A record vote was requested on the substitute of Senator Kem as modified, and after the Secretary called the roll the Chairman announced that the substitute of Senator Kem as modified was agreed to as follows: Yeas: 24; Nays: 4. The vote was as follows:

Yeas:

Brewster	Hickenlooper	Mundt
Butler	Ives	Nixon
Capehart	Jenner	Saltonstall
Carlson	Kem	Taft
Donnell	Knowland	Thye
Dworshak	Langer	Watkins
Ecton	McCarthy	Wherry
Hendrickson	Millikin	Young

Nays:

Aiken	Smith, Maine
Morse	Smith, N.J.

If present and voting, the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Martin), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. Schoeppel), and the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. Wiley) would each vote “yea.”

A roll call vote was requested on the final passage of the resolution as amended and after the Secretary called the roll the Chairman announced that the resolution was agreed to as follows: Yeas: 23; Nays: 5. The vote was as follows:

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Yeas:

Brewster	Hickenlooper	Nixon
Butler	Ives	Saltonstall
Capehart	Jenner	Taft
Carlson	Kem	Thye
Donnell	Knowland	Watkins
Dworshak	McCarthy	Wherry
Ecton	Millikin	Young
Hendrickson	Mundt	

Nays:

Aiken	Morse	Smith, N.J.
Langer	Smith, Maine	

If present and voting, the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Martin), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. Schoeppel), and the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. Wiley) would each vote "yea."

Final copy of the resolution as passed is attached hereto as Exhibit "A."

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 6:45 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, December 19, 1950

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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#### EXHIBIT "A"

#### RESOLUTION PASSED BY REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF THE SENATE IN CONFERENCE ASSEMBLED DECEMBER 15, 1950

In this critical hour, confidence of the American people in their leadership is essential to our security.

It is completely obvious that Secretary Acheson and the State Department under his leadership have lost the confidence of the Congress and the American people and cannot regain it.

Recognizing this fact, we earnestly insist for the good of our country that Mr. Acheson be replaced as Secretary of State, that there be a thorough housecleaning in the State Department, and changes in personnel and policies responsible for this lack of confidence.

We pledge our fullest cooperation with the President and the Administration in a united effort to meet by the most effective means the present national crisis. For this effort there must be national cooperation in substance as well as in form, in fact as well as in name.



## Eighty-second Congress (1951–1953)

[Editor's Note: In the 1950 election, Republicans made such substantial gains that the Democrats retained control of the Senate by only a two-vote margin—49 to 47, while the House had 235 Democrats to 199 Republicans and one independent.

As the Korean War continued, President Truman in April 1951 fired General Douglas MacArthur for insubordination in seeking to extend the war north to China, in violation of the president's orders. Outraged members of Congress invited MacArthur to address a joint session of Congress, and the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees held hearings on the matter.

Late in 1951 Minority Leader Kenneth S. Wherry died, and the Conference elected Styles Bridges of New Hampshire to replace him. Policy Committee Chairman Robert A. Taft was a leading contender for the Republican presidential nomination in 1952, although the choice ultimately went to General Dwight D. Eisenhower. California Senator Richard M. Nixon became the Republican vice-presidential candidate.]

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[January 3, 1951]

### MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 3, 1951, AT 4:00 P.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order and at the suggestion of Senator Taft, Senator Styles Bridges was requested to act as temporary Chairman. There was no objection and Senator Bridges assumed the chair. He suggested that Senator Milton R. Young be designated as temporary Secretary. There was no objection. The roll was called and the Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 43:

Aiken	Flanders	Saltonstall
Bennett	Hendrickson	Schoeppel
Brewster	Hickenlooper	Smith, Maine
Bricker	Ives	Smith, N.J.
Bridges	Jenner	Taft
Butler, Md.	Kem	Thye
Butler, Nebr.	Knowland	Tobey
Capehart	Langer	Watkins
Carlson	Malone	Welker
Case	Martin	Wherry
Cordon	McCarthy	Wiley

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Dirksen	Millikin	Williams
Dworshak	Morse	Young
Ecton	Mundt	
Ferguson	Nixon	

Absent 4:

Cain	Lodge
Duff*	Vandenberg

\* Will not take the oath until January 17

The temporary Chairman read a letter from Senator Vandenberg addressed to the Secretary of the Conference expressing appreciation to the members of the Conference for the telegram sent by the Secretary of the Conference on December 16.

Senator Bridges stated that the first item of business was the election of a permanent Chairman. He recognized Senator Knowland who nominated Senator Eugene D. Millikin. The nomination was seconded by Senator Ferguson. Senator Martin moved that nominations be closed and the motion was agreed to by voice vote. Senator Bridges then directed the Secretary to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Millikin which was done. Senator Millikin took the chair and expressed a few words of appreciation.

The Chairman recognized Senator Langer who nominated Senator Young as Secretary of the Conference and the nomination was seconded by Senator Smith of New Jersey. It was moved that nominations be closed and the Secretary was instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Young which was done. The Chairman recognized Senator Bricker who nominated Senator Kenneth S. Wherry as Minority Floor Leader. The nomination was duly seconded and it was moved that nominations be closed. The Chairman instructed the Secretary to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Wherry which was done. The Chairman recognized Senator Brewster who nominated Senator Leverett Saltonstall as Whip. The nomination was duly seconded, nominations closed, and the Chairman authorized the Secretary to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Saltonstall which was done. The Chairman recognized Senator Butler of Nebraska who nominated Senator Robert A. Taft as Chairman of the Policy Committee, the nomination was duly seconded, nominations were closed and the Chairman authorized the Secretary to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Taft which was done.

The Chairman announced that he would very shortly nominate the six members to constitute the Policy Committee and the membership of the Committee on Committees. He suggested that each Senator within twenty-four hours submit to him a list of six members suggested for nomination as members of the Policy Committee. He also stated he would soon appoint a Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. The Chairman recognized Senator Brewster who spoke of the importance of appointing a new Senatorial Campaign

Committee due to a meeting of the Republican National Committee to take place soon. The Chairman suggested that if the Committee had not been appointed by the time the meeting took place that Senator Brewster carry on informally. Senator Brewster gave notice of his intention to amend Chapter 5 of the Conference Rules to eliminate the present wording relating to the appointment of a Committee within six months.

The Chairman stated that Senator Bridges as Chairman of the Personnel Committee would continue to act informally.

The Chairman recognized Senator McCarthy who made the following motion:

It is proposed that Article 4 of the Republican Conference Rules be amended by the adoption of the additional language:

The Committee on Committees of the Republican Conference in determining Committee appointments is authorized and directed:

1. To respect the present seniority rules insofar as they affect the rights of Senators to hold their present major Committee assignments or the right of those who have lost major Committee assignments and desire to maintain their right to be re-seated on such major committee if and when an opening occurs on said Committee.
2. Except as set forth in "No. 1," vacancies on major committees shall be assigned to Senators who hold no major Committee appointments, assignment being made in the order of seniority.
3. Except as stated in "No. 1," no Senator regardless of seniority shall obtain priority insofar as Committee vacancies are concerned until each Senator has one major Committee assignment, or unless he first surrenders all major Committee assignments held by him, in which case he will have seniority on any unassigned major Committee.
4. There shall be no change in the present seniority rules insofar as minor Committees are concerned, and the minor Committees shall be designated as follows:

District of Columbia  
Post Office and Civil Service  
Expenditures in Executive Departments  
Rules and Administration

After discussion of the motion the Chair recognized Senator Kem who made a point of order against the motion of Senator McCarthy on the grounds that it was an amendment to the Conference Rules and therefore required one week's notice. The Chairman ruled that the point of order raised by Senator Kem was well taken because the motion made by Senator McCarthy was in reality the establish-

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ment of a rule. The Chairman recognized Senator Cordon who asked unanimous consent that the provision of Article 7 of the Conference Rules be waived for the purpose of determining the matter now. The Chairman after asking for advice held that the Conference Rules should not be amended in the absence of Senators who had not received due notice and that therefore the requested unanimous consent was out of order.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who asked that Senator McCarthy give notice of his intention to present an amendment to Chapter 4 of the Conference Rules and suggested that a conference be called Thursday a week. The Chairman recognized Senator McCarthy who gave notice of his intention to amend the Conference Rules and he agreed to the suggestion of the Chairman that the matter be referred to the members of the Policy Committee of the 81st Congress for study and report. The Chairman stated that a Conference would be called for Thursday, January 11 at 9:30 a.m. at which time any amendment in order would be subject to further amendment; that under the rules a proposed amendment simply raised the subject matter for consideration or action.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wherry who reported on the lack of success which was encountered with the Democratic members of the Senate when a suggestion was made to change the membership of the various committees in order that more major committee places might be at the disposal of both sides.

After several motions made to lay on the table and the sustaining of points of order, the Chairman asked that the Policy Committee of the 81st Congress informally take the matter for study and be prepared to discuss the subject at the Conference on Thursday.

The Chairman recognized Senator Kem who made the motion that it is the sense of the Conference that the question regarding the change in the seniority rule be indefinitely postponed at this time. Senator Kem then requested a secret ballot on his motion. The Chairman put the question and by voice vote it was decided to have a secret ballot. The Chairman directed the Secretary to distribute ballots, and after tabulation the Chairman announced that the Kem motion had failed by the following vote:

Yeas—17

Nays—23

In response to an inquiry by Senator Cordon the Chairman stated that all members of the present Policy Committee were eligible for reappointment and that service prior to the change in the rules two years ago would not count.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 5:30 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, January 6, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[January 8, 1951]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 8, 1951, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order and requested that the Secretary call the roll. The roll was called and the Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 38:

Aiken	Flanders	Morse
Bennett	Hendrickson	Mundt
Brewster	Hickenlooper	Nixon
Bricker	Ives	Schoeppel
Butler, Md.	Jenner	Taft
Butler, Nebr.	Kem	Thye
Capehart	Knowland	Watkins
Carlson	Langer	Welker
Case	Lodge	Wherry
Dirksen	Malone	Wiley
Dworshak	Martin	Williams
Ecton	McCarthy	Young
Ferguson	Millikin	

Absent 9:

Bridges	* Duff	Smith, N.J.
Cain	Saltonstall	Tobey
Cordon	Smith, Me.	Vandenberg

\* Will not take oath until January 17.

The Chairman stated that the business of the Conference was to act on the nominations to be submitted by him for the membership of the various Conference committees. The Chairman first submitted his nominations for the Policy Committee which are as follows:

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Knowland, William F. (California)  
Smith, H. Alexander (New Jersey)  
Ferguson, Homer (Michigan)  
Thye, Edward J. (Minnesota)  
Brewster, Owen (Maine)  
Martin, Edward (Pennsylvania)

The Chairman recognized Senator Hickenlooper who moved that the nominations be confirmed. The Chairman recognized Senator Langer who moved that the membership of the Policy Committee be increased by one member and he nominated Senator Wayne Morse. Senator Langer withdrew his motion at the request of Senator Morse. The Chairman put the question and by voice vote the nominations were confirmed. The Chairman requested the newly elected Senators to designate one of their members to sit in at the meetings of the Policy Committee in an advisory capacity, without vote. The Chairman asked if this was acceptable to the Conference and there was no objection.

The Chairman then nominated the following members to constitute the Committee on Committees:

Butler, Hugh (Nebraska), Chairman  
Bricker, John W. (Ohio)  
Cain, Harry P. (Washington)  
Ecton, Zales N. (Montana)  
Flanders, Ralph E. (Vermont)  
Ives, Irving M. (New York)  
Jenner, William E. (Indiana)  
Kem, James P. (Missouri)  
Langer, William (North Dakota)  
Lodge, Henry Cabot, Jr. (Massachusetts)  
Malone, George W. (Nevada)  
McCarthy, Joseph R. (Wisconsin)  
Smith, Margaret Chase (Maine)  
Watkins, Arthur V. (Utah)  
Williams, John J. (Delaware)

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who moved that the nominations be confirmed, the Chairman put the question and by voice vote they were confirmed.

The Chairman then nominated the following members for membership on the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee:

EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS (1951–1953)

Bridges, Styles (New Hampshire), Chairman  
Townsend, John (Delaware), Finance Chairman  
Cordon, Guy (Oregon)  
Dworshak, Henry C. (Idaho)  
Hickenlooper, Bourke B. (Iowa)  
Mundt, Karl E. (South Dakota)  
Schoeppel, Andrew F. (Kansas)  
Case, Francis (South Dakota)  
Dirksen, Everett M. (Illinois)  
Welker, Herman (Idaho)

The list of nominations submitted by the Chairman included the name of Senator Wayne Morse who asked that his name be withdrawn. The Chairman stated that without objection he would announce another selection for the Committee without confirmation by the Conference. There was no objection and it was so ordered. The Chairman recognized Senator Martin who moved that the nominations be confirmed. The Chairman put the question and by voice vote they were confirmed. The Chairman recognized Senator Malone who raised the question concerning the office of Treasurer for the Committee. After discussion the Chairman announced that if there was no objection the Chairman of the Committee would be authorized to appoint a Treasurer from the membership of the Committee. Without objection and by voice vote the suggestion of the Chairman was agreed to.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wherry who stated that every attempt has been made to negotiate with the Democratic members for an increase in the size of certain committees. He gave notice that if the matter was not ironed out there was a possibility that he might request that action be taken on the floor of the Senate when the Committee lists are submitted.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who announced that there is to be a meeting of the Policy Committee at 10:00 a.m. tomorrow morning.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 10:25 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, January 9, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

JANUARY 8, 1951

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[January 11, 1951]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 11, 1951, AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 9:40 a.m. and directed the Secretary to call the roll. The roll was called and the Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 39:

Aiken	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Bennett	Ives	Schoeppel
Brewster	Jenner	Smith, Maine
Bricker	Kem	Smith, N.J.
Bridges	Knowland	Taft
Butler, Md.	Langer	Thye
Butler, Nebr.	Lodge	Tobey
Capehart	Malone	Watkins
Carlson	Martin	Welker
Case	McCarthy	Wherry
Dirksen	Millikin	Wiley
Dworshak	Mundt	Williams
Ecton	Nixon	Young

Absent 8:

Cain	Ferguson	Morse
Cordon	Flanders	Vandenberg
* Duff	Hendrickson	

\* Will not take oath until January 18, 1951.

The Chairman stated that the business of the Conference was to consider the subject matter of the McCarthy amendment to the Conference Rules which related to a change in the seniority rule regarding assignments of the individual Senators to the various standing committees of the Senate. He stated that he had taken the liberty of delegating the matter to the new Policy Committee which would make its report. There was distributed to the membership a draft of the McCarthy amendment as perfected by the Policy Committee and a copy is attached hereto as Exhibit "A."

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who gave an interpretation of what the proposed amendment would do. He stated that it was presented solely for the consideration of the Conference, and that the Policy Committee did not make any recommendation in respect thereto. After discussion the Chairman authorized the Secretary to



distribute ballots, and after tabulation the Chairman announced that the McCarthy amendment had failed by the following vote:

Yeas—10

Nays—29

The Chairman recognized Senator Case who offered the following perfected amendment to the Conference Rules:

After the initial committee assignments for the 82nd Congress are made, new assignments of Republican Senators to the Appropriations Committee shall be exclusive of other assignments except to the Committee on Rules and Administration and the Committee on District of Columbia. Provided that this shall not be construed to apply to ex-officio members of the Committee on Appropriations.

The Chairman recognized Senator Saltonstall who made a point of order that the amendment was not in order on the grounds that notice had not been given. The Chairman overruled the point of order on the grounds that the Case amendment related to the subject matter raised for discussion by the McCarthy amendment. After discussion of the amendment offered by Senator Case the Chairman delegated the Secretary to distribute ballots and after tabulation the Chairman announced that the Case amendment had failed by the following vote:

Yeas—7

Nays—32

The Chairman recognized Senator Brewster who having previously given notice offered the following amendment to the Conference Rules:

A Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee shall be appointed at the beginning of each Congress by the Chairman of the Conference, subject to confirmation by the Conference.

After a brief discussion a voice vote was taken and the Chairman announced that the amendment was adopted.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who spoke of the intent of the Reorganization Act regarding the staffs of the various committees and he stated that the Minority members should insist on the retention of permanent staff members as well as the right to have a Minority staff member and clerk.

The Chairman stated that the Republican members of the various committees should be more aggressive in dealing with bad legislation before the respective committees.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who moved that the Chairman of the Conference, Minority Leader and Chairman of the Policy Committee sponsor a resolution which would increase the

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membership of three major committees by two members and detract from the membership of three minor committees by two members. The Chairman stated that it was not a good precedent for the Conference to direct individual Senators to sponsor specific legislation. The Chairman then asked Senator Bridges if he would withdraw his motion which was done, and the Chair asked that action be taken on the question of whether it was the sense of the Conference that an adjustment be made in the membership of the standing committees of the Senate. The Chairman put the question and by voice vote it was agreed to. The Chairman requested that the Republican members of the Committee on Rules make a study of the matter and be at liberty to proceed with appropriate floor action.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:15 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, January 17, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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#### EXHIBIT "A"

The Committee on Committees of the Republican Conference in determining Committee appointments is authorized and directed to:

1. Follow the present seniority rules and customs insofar as they affect the rights of Senators now holding two major Committee assignments.
2. Follow the present seniority rules and customs insofar as they apply to the right of any Senator holding one major Committee assignment to give up that Committee for a more desirable major Committee. Assign no second major Committee to any Senator holding only one major Committee until all Senators have been assigned at least one major Committee.
3. Any Senator who was "bumped" from a major Committee will retain any seniority or right to such major Committee which he would have had if this change in rules had not been made; and he may substitute such major Committee for his minor Committee.
4. There shall be no change in the present seniority rules insofar as minor Committees are concerned, and for the purpose of this rule only, the minor Committees shall be designated as follows:

District of Columbia  
Post Office and Civil Service  
Expenditures in Executive Departments  
Rules and Administration

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR HUGH BUTLER, FOR JANUARY 11, 1951, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, AT 3:00 P.M.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 3:00 p.m.

Members of the Committee present were: Senator Butler of Nebraska, Langer, Smith of Maine, Williams, McCarthy, Ecton, Flanders, Watkins, Kem, Malone, Ives, Bricker, Lodge. Members of the Committee absent were: Cain and Jenner. Also present was J. Mark Trice.

The Chairman stated that as had been the custom he had requested committee preferences from all Republican Senators, and that two work sheets had been compiled in order that the new Committee might have sufficient information to proceed. The Chairman then proceeded to explain the two work sheets which were distributed to each member of the Committee. Individual assignments were made in accordance with seniority, and after discussion Senator Bricker moved that the assignments as approved by the Committee be reported to the Republican Conference. The Chairman put the question and the motion was agreed to by voice vote. See Exhibit "A" of Conference minutes of January 12, 1951 for the committee assignments recommended.

Senator Watkins stated during the meeting that he wished the record to show that the West is without representation on the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Senator Flanders stated that he regretted his release of the Committee on Banking and Currency, but did so for the benefit of the new members of the Senate.

Senator McCarthy raised the question concerning the possible assignment to the same Committee of both Republican Senators from the same State. The matter was discussed in the light of a possible assignment of Senator McCarthy to the Committee on Judiciary, but no action was taken.

The Chairman recognized Senator McCarthy who moved that the Chairman of the Committee contact Senator Vandenberg and ask him if he would release his assignment on the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments for the Committee on the District of Columbia, and that if he should do so that the vacancy on the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments be assigned to Senator Nixon. The motion was agreed to by voice vote.

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There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 4:10 p.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

[signed] Hugh Butler  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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[January 12, 1951]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 12, 1951, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:10 a.m. and directed the Secretary to call the roll. The roll was called and the Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 38:

Aiken	Flanders	Saltonstall
Bennett	Hendrickson	Schoeppel
Brewster	Hickenlooper	Smith, Me.
Bricker	Ives	Smith, N.J.
Bridges	Kem	Taft
Butler, Md.	Knowland	Thye
Butler, Nebr.	Lodge	Tobey
Carlson	Malone	Watkins
Case	Martin	Welker
Cordon	McCarthy	Wherry
Dirksen	Millikin	Williams
Dworshak	Mundt	Young
Ecton	Nixon	

Absent 9:

Cain	Ferguson	Morse
Capehart	Jenner	Vandenberg
* Duff	Langer	Wiley

\* Will not take oath until January 18, 1951

The Chairman recognized Senator Butler, Nebraska, Chairman of the Republican Committee on Committees who reported to the Conference the recommendations of his Committee concerning assignment of Republican Senators to the various standing committees of the Senate. Attached hereto are the recommendations of the Committee on Committees marked Exhibits "A" and "B." Senator Butler read the list of Committee assignments, called particular attention to the new assignments which had been recommended by the Committee and spoke of the generosity exercised by certain senior members in order that major committees might be assigned to the new

Senators. The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who moved that the recommendations of the Committee on Committees be approved by the Conference. The Chairman put the question and by voice vote the motion was agreed to.

The Chairman recognized Senator McCarthy who asked Senator Butler if he had contacted Senator Vandenberg concerning a possible change from membership on the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments to the Committee on the District of Columbia in order that Senator Nixon might be on the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. Senator Butler stated that he had not received any word as yet from Senator Vandenberg, and if there was no objection, the exchange of committee places would be made without further formal Conference action. There was no objection.

The Chairman raised the question concerning the appointment of Republican Senators to special and select committees of the Senate, and after a discussion of the matter it was moved and by voice vote agreed to that the Floor Leader be instructed to advise the Presiding Officer of the Senate that the Conference desired to continue on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy Messrs. Hickenlooper, Millikin, Knowland and Bricker, those members constituting the present Republican Senate membership of the Joint Committee.

A question was raised concerning the Committee on Small Business now comprising a Republican membership of Messrs. Tobey, Saltonstall, Thye, Hendrickson and Schoeppel. It was moved and agreed to that the Floor Leader convey to the Presiding Officer of the Senate the desire that the same membership continue with the hope that there might be a change in ratio favoring the Republican Minority.

The Chairman recognized in turn Senators Thye, Hendrickson and Schoeppel who stated that they would gladly yield their membership on the Committee in order that the new members of the Senate might be assigned to that Committee. It was then moved and agreed to that it be the sense of the Conference that the Committee on Committees look into the appointment of members of the Committee on Small Business and make recommendations concerning the membership thereof to the Minority Floor Leader.

The Chairman recognized Senator Brewster who expressed the opinion that there should be a definite policy on the part of the Republicans in regard to the whole matter of Senate investigations, and he expressed the opinion that the Policy Committee and the Conference should make a study of the matter.

The Chairman recognized Senator Butler of Maryland who spoke briefly on the possibility of the investigation of the election in Maryland and the Chairman stated that attention would be given to the

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desires of the Senator from Maryland as to what action should be taken ultimately.

The Chairman announced with regret that Senator Styles Bridges had declined his appointment as Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee and that he therefore nominated for the Chairmanship of that Committee Senator Everett M. Dirksen. It was moved by Senator Brewster, seconded by Senator Smith of New Jersey, that the nomination be confirmed, and by voice vote it was agreed to. The Chairman announced that Senator Styles Bridges would remain as a member of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee.

The Chairman announced the nomination of the following three Senators to constitute the Republican Personnel Committee: Senator Styles Bridges, Chairman, Senators Martin and Cain. The Chairman recognized Senator Wherry who moved that the nominations be confirmed, and after seconding the motion was agreed to by voice vote.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wherry who again raised the question concerning Minority employees on standing committees of the Senate and he stated that the Minority members of the Committee should insist upon their rights. Senator Bridges was recognized and he stated that on some Committees the Minority has not had employee recognition and that the matter should be written into the law.

The Chairman expressed the gratitude of the Conference to Senator Butler of Nebraska, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, and his Committee for the excellent job which the Committee had performed.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 10:53 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, January 17, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

(Note: Senator Butler was advised by Senator Vandenberg that it was agreeable that he be released from the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments and be assigned to service on the Committee on the District of Columbia. Therefore, the attached list shows the switch between Senator Vandenberg and Senator Nixon.)

EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS (1951–1953)

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(Confidential Work Sheet)  
 COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS OF SENATORS  
 Eighty-second Congress  
 (To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

Mr. AIKEN .....	Agriculture and Forestry Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. BENNETT .....	Banking and Currency District of Columbia
Mr. BREWSTER .....	Finance Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. BRICKER .....	Banking and Currency Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. BRIDGES .....	Appropriations Armed Services
Mr. BUTLER, Md. ....	District of Columbia Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. BUTLER, Nebr. ....	Finance Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. CAIN .....	Armed Services Public Works
Mr. CAPEHART .....	Banking and Currency Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. CARLSON .....	Post Office and Civil Service Public Works
Mr. CASE .....	District of Columbia Public Works
Mr. CORDON .....	Appropriations Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. DIRKSEN .....	Banking and Currency Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. DUFF .....	District of Columbia Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. DWORSHAK .....	Expenditures in the Executive Departments Public Works
Mr. ECTON .....	Appropriations Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. FERGUSON .....	Appropriations Judiciary
Mr. FLANDERS .....	Armed Services Rules and Administration
Mr. HENDRICKSON .....	Judiciary Rules and Administration

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Mr. HICKENLOOPER .....	Agriculture and Forestry Foreign Relations
Mr. IVES .....	Banking and Currency Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. JENNER .....	Judiciary Rules and Administration
Mr. KEM .....	Agriculture and Forestry Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. KNOWLAND .....	Appropriations Armed Services
Mr. LANGER .....	Judiciary Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. LODGE, Jr. ....	Foreign Relations Rules and Administration
Mr. MALONE .....	Interior and Insular Affairs Public Works
Mr. MARTIN .....	Finance Public Works
Mr. MCCARTHY .....	Appropriations Expenditures in the Executive Departments
Mr. MILLIKIN .....	Finance Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. MORSE .....	Armed Services Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. MUNDT .....	Agriculture and Forestry Expenditures in the Executive Departments
Mr. NIXON .....	Expenditures in the Executive Departments Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. SALTONSTALL .....	Appropriations Armed Services
Mr. SCHOEPPPEL .....	Banking and Currency Expenditures in the Executive Departments
Mr. SMITH .....	Foreign Relations Labor and Public Welfare
Mrs. SMITH .....	Expenditures in the Executive Departments Rules and Administration
Mr. TAFT .....	Finance Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. THYE .....	Agriculture and Forestry Appropriations
Mr. TOBEY .....	Foreign Relations Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. VANDENBERG .....	District of Columbia Foreign Relations



EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS (1951–1953)

Mr. WATKINS .....	Interior and Insular Affairs Judiciary
Mr. WELKER .....	District of Columbia Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. WHERRY .....	Appropriations Rules and Administration
Mr. WILEY .....	Foreign Relations Judiciary
Mr. WILLIAMS .....	Finance Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. YOUNG .....	Agriculture and Forestry Appropriations

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(Confidential Work Sheet)

**STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE**

Eighty-second Congress

(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

**On Agriculture and Forestry** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. AIKEN, YOUNG, THYE, KEM, HICKENLOOPER, MUNDT

**On Appropriations** (Ratio 11–10)

Messrs. BRIDGES, FERGUSON, WHERRY, CORDON,  
SALTONSTALL, YOUNG, KNOWLAND, THYE, \*(1.) ECTON, (2.)  
MCCARTHY

**On Armed Services** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. BRIDGES, SALTONSTALL, MORSE, KNOWLAND, CAIN,  
FLANDERS

**On Banking and Currency** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. CAPEHART, BRICKER, IVES, SCHOEPPPEL, DIRKSEN,  
BENNETT

**On District of Columbia** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. CASE, \*(1.) BUTLER, Md., (2.) WELKER, (3.) BENNETT,  
\*\* DUFF, VANDENBERG

**On Expenditures in the Executive Departments** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. MCCARTHY, MUNDT, Mrs. SMITH, MAINE, Messrs.  
SCHOEPPPEL, DWORSHAK, NIXON

**On Finance** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. MILLIKIN, TAFT, BUTLER, Nebr., BREWSTER, MARTIN,  
WILLIAMS

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\* Determined by draw.

\*\* Sworn in 1/18/51

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**On Foreign Relations** (Ratio 7-6)

Messrs. VANDENBERG, WILEY, SMITH, N.J., HICKENLOOPER,  
LODGE, Jr., TOBEY

**On Interior and Insular Affairs** (Ratio 7-6)

Messrs. BUTLER, Nebr., MILLIKIN, CORDON, ECTON, MALONE,  
WATKINS

**On Interstate and Foreign Commerce** (Ratio 7-6)

Messrs. TOBEY, BREWSTER, CAPEHART, BRICKER, WILLIAMS,  
KEM

**On the Judiciary** (Ratio 7-6)

Messrs. WILEY, LANGER, FERGUSON, JENNER, WATKINS,  
HENDRICKSON

**On Labor and Public Welfare** (Ratio 7-6)

Messrs. TAFT, AIKEN, SMITH, N.J., MORSE, IVES, NIXON

**On Post Office and Civil Service** (Ratio 7-6)

Messrs. LANGER, CARLSON, DIRKSEN, \* (1) WELKER, (2) BUTLER,  
Md., \*\* DUFF

**On Public Works** (Ratio 7-6)

Messrs. CAIN, MARTIN, MALONE, DWORSHAK, CARLSON, CASE

**On Rules and Administration** (Ratio 7-6)

Messrs. WHERRY, LODGE, Jr., JENNER, HENDRICKSON, FLAN-  
DERS, Mrs. SMITH, Maine

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[February 27, 1951]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CON-  
FERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EU-  
GENE D. MILLIKIN FOR FEBRUARY 27, 1951, AT 10:00 A.M.,  
ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:15 a.m., and  
stated that it had been called for the purpose of discussing S. 1,  
the Manpower Bill.

The roll was not called but the following Senators were present:

Present 33:

Aiken	Ferguson	Nixon
Bricker	Flanders	Saltonstall
Butler, Md.	Ives	Schoeppel
Butler, Nebr.	Jenner	Smith, Maine

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\* Determined by draw.

\*\* Sworn in 1/18/51

EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS (1951–1953)

Cain	Knowland	Smith, N.J.
Carlson	Langer	Taft
Cordon	Malone	Thye
Dirksen	Martin	Tobey
Duff	Millikin	Watkins
Dworshak	Morse	Williams
Ecton	Mundt	Young
Absent 14:		
Bennett	Hendrickson	Vandenberg
Brewster	Hickenlooper	Welker
Bridges	Kem	Wherry
Capehart	Lodge	Wiley
Case	McCarthy	

The Chairman recognized Senator Saltonstall who explained in detail the purposes of the bill as well as the various points in controversy. After completion of the remarks by Senator Saltonstall and questions asked by various members of the Conference, the Chairman asked if there were any other members of the Committee on Armed Services who wished to speak in support of the committee bill. Senators Flanders and Knowland were recognized and spoke briefly thereon.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Morse who expressed his opposition to certain features of the bill, and stated that he would offer on the floor of the Senate certain specific amendments in respect thereto.

There was no attempt made to establish a party policy.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:45 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference February 28, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

FEBRUARY 27, 1951

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[April 16, 1951]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR APRIL 16, 1951, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:18 a.m. and asked the Secretary to call the roll. The roll was called and the Secretary made the following announcement:

Present 33:

Aiken	Flanders	Nixon
Bennett	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Brewster	Ives	Schoeppel
Bricker	Jenner	Smith, Maine
Butler, Md.	Kem	Smith, N.J.
Butler, Nebr.	Knowland	Taft
Cain	Langer	Watkins
Carlson	Lodge	Wherry
Dworshak	McCarthy	Wiley
Ecton	Millikin	Williams
Ferguson	Mundt	Young

Absent 14:

Bridges	Duff	Thye
Capehart	Hendrickson	Tobey
Case	Malone	Vandenberg
Cordon	Martin	Welker
Dirksen	Morse	

The Chairman stated that the meeting had been called at the request of several Senators to discuss matters precipitated by the dismissal of General Douglas A. MacArthur.

At the suggestion of the Chairman, Senator Taft spoke of the results of a meeting in the office of the Minority Leader of the House, Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr., which was attended by Republican members of both Houses of Congress.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wherry who spoke of the changes recently made in his resolution calling for an invitation to General MacArthur to appear before a joint meeting of the two Houses of Congress.

The Chairman recognized a number of Senators who spoke on various aspects of the firing of General MacArthur. The impeachment of the President, the creation of a committee to investigate foreign and military policy, the political aspects of the situation, and the

effort to make it appear that the Democratic Party is the peace party were some of the matters discussed.

The Chairman recognized Senator Brewster who offered the following resolution which was agreed to by unanimous vote:

That the Conference refer to the Republican Policy Committee the formulation of an appropriate resolution dealing with the subject matter under discussion and that the Committee confer with those Senators interested.

The Chairman was authorized to make public announcement of the pleasure of the Conference that following his dismissal General MacArthur decided to return to the United States and that by reason of Republican demands he would address a joint meeting of the two Houses of Congress.

The Chairman was also authorized to state that the Conference was of the opinion that there should be a complete investigation of our foreign and military policy, that it had unanimously adopted a resolution whereby the Republican Policy Committee would perfect a resolution for a complete investigation, with consideration to be given by them to the resolution of Senator Ferguson and any other resolution, that concerning impeachment, this action must originate in the House of Representatives and that the consensus of opinion of the Conference was that any conclusions should await the outcome of further investigations.

The Chairman received the permission of Senator Cain to state that his discussion of a resolution to declare war on Red China was for the purpose of crystallizing the fact that the war in Korea is a Truman war.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, April 18, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR HUGH BUTLER, FOR MAY 3, 1951, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, AT 9:00 A.M.

The Chairman called the meeting to order.

APRIL 16, 1951

Members of the Committee present were: Senators Butler of Nebraska, Smith of Maine, Kem, McCarthy, Malone, Bricker, Ecton, Cain. Also present was J. Mark Trice.

The Chairman stated that it had been called for the purpose of recommending assignments to committees due to the reshuffling of places caused by the death of Senator Vandenberg. He stated that nothing could be done at this time because the Majority had postponed a meeting which they had scheduled the day before and at this time there was no way of knowing which committees would be involved.

After informal discussion it was concluded that Senator Brewster was the top applicant for the vacancy on the Committee on Foreign Relations if it remained a 7 to 6 committee.

It was suggested that the usual letter be sent to all Republican Senators by the Chairman, informing them of possible committee vacancies and suggesting that they inform him of their desires.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 9:25 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

[signed] Hugh Butler  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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[May 3, 1951]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR MAY 3, 1951, AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 9:35 a.m. and suggested that the meeting begin without waiting for a quorum since several Senators had to leave before 10:00 a.m. The following Senators appeared while the meeting was in progress:

Present 30:

Aiken	Dirksen	Millikin
Bennett	Dworshak	Morse
Brewster	Ecton	Mundt
Bricker	Ferguson	Nixon
Butler, Md.	Flanders	Saltonstall
Butler, Nebr.	Hendrickson	Schoeppel
Cain	Jenner	Smith, Maine
Carlson	Malone	Smith, N.J.
Case	Martin	Thye
Cordon	McCarthy	Wherry

Absent 16:

Bridges	Knowland	Watkins
Capehart	Langer	Welker
Duff	Lodge	Wiley
Hickenlooper	Taft	Williams
Ives	Tobey	Young
Kem		

The Chairman stated that the purpose in calling the Conference was to receive the recommendation of the Committee on Committees caused by the reshuffling of committee assignments due to the death of Senator Vandenberg. The Chairman requested Senator Wherry to report anything he had in respect to possible committee changes. Senator Wherry stated that while it was not official there would be a change in membership on Appropriations and that the Majority was inclined to leave the present ratio of 7 to 6 in effect on the Committee on Foreign Relations. He stated that he had endeavored without success to have them agree to a special order so that the Senator selected by the Conference as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations might be approved by the Senate in order that he could become a member of that Committee at the start of the MacArthur hearings.

The Chairman recognized Senator Morse who stated that he thought it a mistake if the Committee on Committees overloaded the Committee on Foreign Relations with Senators from the Midwest and eastern sections of the country and that some attention should be taken of geographic distribution in order that the West Coast might be represented.

The Senator also suggested that an organized supply of speakers be always available to continue to urge open meetings by the joint committee on Armed Services and Foreign Relations during the hearings re the MacArthur matter.

The Chairman asked if the Committee on Committees was ready to make a report on the assumption that the Committee on Foreign Relations was to be a 7 to 6 committee. Senator Butler, Chairman of the Committee, was recognized and stated that the Committee had nothing to report but that Senator Brewster by reason of his seniority was the top applicant for the vacancy. The Chairman recognized Senator Jenner who moved that Senator Brewster be appointed to the existing vacancy on the Committee on Foreign Relations provided that the said Committee retains its present ratio of 7 to 6. The Chairman put the motion and it was agreed to by voice vote—a quorum then being present.

The Chairman stated that Senator Cain had suggested that he ascertain if the Conference would care to have Mr. Eric Johnston, Administrator of the Economic Stabilization Agency appear before it to present his views and answer questions concerning ESA. After

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discussion of the matter concerning the advisability of having an outsider appear before a Republican Conference, the Chairman was authorized to suggest to Senator Cain that a privately sponsored luncheon meeting at which Republican Senators could be present might be considered as an alternative.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wherry who stated that he had contacted various Republican Senators in regard to making speeches on the Floor of the Senate in behalf of open hearings by the Committees on Armed Services and Foreign Relations on the MacArthur matter. He stated the advisability of appointing three assistants to facilitate the work of the Republican Whip. Also he suggested that the Chairman sound out the Conference in regard to a motion being made in the Senate for consideration of the Watkins-Ferguson resolution for the purpose of further forcing to a decision the matter of open hearings re the MacArthur matter. After general discussion the Chairman stated that if there was no objection the Floor Leader was authorized to make such a motion. There was no objection.

The Chairman stated that he intends to call a Conference soon on the subject of Reciprocal Trade and to deal with committee membership problems resulting from any change of ratio put into effect by the Majority.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 10:15 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, May 7, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR HUGH BUTLER, FOR MAY 10, 1951, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING. AT 9:30 A.M.

The Chairman called the meeting to order.

Members of the Committee present were: Senators Butler of Nebraska, Brewster, McCarthy, Malone, Bricker, Flanders, Kem, Cain, Williams, Ecton. Also present was J. Mark Trice.

The Chairman stated that because of the death of Senator Vandenberg the Majority had taken a place on the Appropriation Committee and selected the Committee on Banking and Currency as their 8 to 5 committee. By reason of previous Conference action, Senator Brewster having been assigned to the Committee on For-



eign Relations and releasing the Committee on Finance, there were two vacancies to be filled, one on Finance and one on the Committee on the District of Columbia. The action of the Majority required the reassigning of Senator McCarthy who had been on Appropriations and Senator Bennett who was a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The Chairman stated that Senator Flanders was the top applicant for the Committee on Finance and would release the Committee on Rules and Administration. The Chairman spoke of contacting several Senators with the possibility of being assigned to the Committee on Rules and Administration and the choice had finally resolved itself to Senators Bennett and Welker.

Senator Flanders stated that he was very much interested in becoming a member of the Committee on Finance and in the future returning to the Committee on Banking and Currency. He stated that in the future he might release the Committee on Armed Services in order to return to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Senator McCarthy stated he felt that he should receive some consideration due to his being bumped from the Committee on Appropriations and after discussion of the matter he made several motions but withdrew them.

After further discussion it was decided to reappraise the situation and decide the assignments at a subsequent meeting.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 10:00 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

[signed] Hugh Butler  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR HUGH BUTLER, FOR MAY 19, 1951 IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, AT 10:00 A.M.

The Chairman called the meeting to order.

Members of the Committee present were: Senators Butler of Nebraska, Smith of Maine, Flanders, Langer, Lodge, Malone. Also present was J. Mark Trice. Absent: Senators Bricker, Cain, Ecton, Ives, Jenner, Kem, McCarthy, Watkins, Williams.

The Chairman stated that due to pressure from the Majority it was necessary that the Committee on Committees recommend to the Conference some action in order that the Majority might fill the

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places selected by them on the respective committees of Appropriations and Banking and Currency.

After discussion it was moved and agreed to, without objection, that the Committee recommend to the Conference the following action: That Mr. Bennett be excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency and that Mr. McCarthy be excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Appropriations.

The Chairman stated that he would not ask that recommendations be made as to the resultant vacancies and that he would continue to attempt to arrange committee transfers in order to help Senator McCarthy.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 10:15 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

[signed] Hugh Butler  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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[May 21, 1951]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR MAY 21, 1951 AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 9:40 a.m. and stated that it would be best to proceed without a roll call because of other important committee meetings scheduled for later in the morning.

The following Senators were present:

Present 29:

Aiken	Duff	McCarthy
Bennett	Dworshak	Millikin
Brewster	Ferguson	Schoeppel
Butler, Nebr.	Hendrickson	Smith, N.J.
Cain	Hickenlooper	Taft
Capehart	Jenner	Thye
Carlson	Langer	Welker
Case	Lodge	Wherry
Cordon	Malone	Williams
Dirksen	Martin	

Absent 17:

Bricker	Kem	Smith, Maine
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EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS (1951–1953)

Bridges	Knowland	Tobey
Butler, Md.	Morse	Watkins
Ecton	Mundt	Wiley
Flanders	Nixon	Young
Ives	Saltonstall	

The Chairman stated that the Conference had been called for the purpose of discussing H.R. 1612, an act to extend the authority of the President to enter into trade agreements under section 350 of the Tariff Act, 1930. The Chairman who was also the ranking Minority member of the Committee on Finance informed the membership as to the various sections of the bill, gave a legislative history of the peril point provision included in the bill and covered the legislative field of reciprocal trade and tariff enactments.

Questions were asked on various phases of the subject and no effort was made to establish party policy.

The Chairman recognized Senator Butler of Nebraska, Chairman of the Republican Committee on Committees, who moved the adoption of the following resolution:

That Mr. Bennett be, and he is hereby, excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency;

That Mr. McCarthy be, and he is hereby, excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Appropriations.

He stated that his Committee was not ready at this time to recommend the filling of the existing vacancies, one on the Committee on Finance and the other on the Committee on the District of Columbia. The motion was agreed to by voice vote.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 11:23 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, May 28, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

MAY 21, 1951

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY SENATOR JOHN W. BRICKER WHO HAD BEEN SO DESIGNATED TO ACT BY SENATOR BUTLER OF NEBRASKA, THE CHAIRMAN, FOR JUNE 22, 1951, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, AT 10:00 A.M.

Senator Bricker called the meeting to order at 10:23 a.m. and stated that Senators Smith of Maine, Ives and Watkins had given him permission to use their names for quorum purposes.

The following Senators were present: Bricker, Ecton, Williams, McCarthy, Flanders, Kem, Malone. Also present was J. Mark Trice. Absent: Butler, Nebraska, Cain, Jenner, Langer, Lodge.

Senator Bricker stated that after negotiations he would recommend the following Committee assignments which were satisfactory to the parties concerned:

Senator Flanders was to be excused from the Committee on Rules and Administration and assigned to the Committee on Finance.

Senator Dirksen was to be excused from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and assigned to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Senator McCarthy was to be assigned to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

Senator Bennett was to be assigned to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

It was moved, seconded and agreed to that the previously listed assignments be reported favorably to the Republican Conference.

Senator Bricker then moved:

That if in the future Mr. Dirksen should desire to return to service on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service that he be granted the same seniority standing that he held on the said committee when he graciously released himself from service thereon.

The motion was seconded and agreed to as a recommendation for action by the Republican Conference.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

[signed] John Bricker  
Acting Chairman of the Committee on Committees

[June 22, 1951]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JUNE 22, 1951, AT 11:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 11:10 a.m.

The Chairman stated that the purpose of the meeting was to receive a report from the Committee on Committees and he recognized Senator Bricker, Vice Chairman of the Committee on Committees, who had been so designated by Senator Butler of Nebraska, Chairman. Senator Bricker presented the findings of the Committee on Committees and moved that the committee assignments recommended be agreed to. The motion was seconded and agreed to by voice vote as follows:

That Senator Flanders be excused from service on the Committee on Rules and Administration and assigned to the Committee on Finance.

That Senator Dirksen be excused from service on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and assigned to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

That Senator McCarthy be assigned to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

That Senator Bennett be assigned to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

Senator Bricker then stated that because Senator Dirksen had consented to be released from service on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service that his seniority standing should be protected if he wished to return to that committee in the future. Therefore, the following motion was made, seconded and agreed to by voice vote:

That if in the future Mr. Dirksen should desire to return to service on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service that he be granted the same seniority standing that he held on the said committee when he graciously released himself from service thereon.

The Chairman recognized Senator Welker who expressed regret at the bumping of Senator Bennett from the Committee on Banking and Currency and he stated that he hoped that some consideration might be given in the future to a possible enlargement of the Policy Committee in order that the Senator's knowledge in the field of business might be utilized.

JUNE 22, 1951

The Chairman thanked the members of the Committee on Committees and all who had participated in working out the committee assignments.

The Chairman recognized Senators Taft and Wherry who informed the members as to the legislative situation on the Floor, relating to a motion made by Senator Taft to reconsider H.R. 2416 due to an amendment presented and adopted by Senator [Ernest W.] McFarland [Democrat of Arizona] to amend the Social Security law to increase by \$5.00 per individual per month the Federal payment to States for assistance to the aged, blind and totally disabled and to increase payments for dependent children by \$3.00.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 11:30 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, June 22, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[September 27, 1951]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR SEPTEMBER 27, 1951, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:10 a.m. and received the unanimous approval of the Conference to send the following telegram to Senators Wherry and Tobey:

The Conference this morning expressed its affection for you and hopes your convalescence may be most speedy and complete.

The Chairman then stated that the meeting had been called to hear Senator Capehart and other Republican Members of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the Senate on the subject of pending legislation to amend the Defense Production Act.

The roll was not called but the following Senators were present:

Present 28:

Aiken	Dirksen	Millikin
Bennett	Duff	Saltonstall
Brewster	Dworshak	Schoeppel
Bricker	Ecton	Smith, Maine
Butler, Md.	Ferguson	Smith, N.J.
Butler, Nebr.	Flanders	Taft

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Cain	Knowland	Welker
Capehart	Martin	Williams
Carlson	McCarthy	Young
Cordon		

Absent 18:

Bridges	Kem	Nixon
Case	Langer	Thye
Hendrickson	Lodge	Tobey
Hickenlooper	Malone	Watkins
Ives	Morse	Wherry
Jenner	Mundt	Wiley

The Chairman recognized Senator Capehart who informed the Members of the Conference of the legislative history and the action of the Banking and Currency Committee on the three bills now on the Senate Calendar for consideration.

In his Message to the Congress, the President had demanded that three sections of the law be repealed and one reinstated. Repeal was requested of the sections relating to Fats and Oils and Dairy Products, the Capehart amendment which related to certain cost increases, and the Herlong amendment guaranteeing pre-Korean mark-ups for distributors. It was requested that slaughter quotas be reinstated.

Senator Capehart stated that the Committee on Banking and Currency took no action on the Herlong amendment on the theory that it was a matter for the House to decide. He discussed at length that provision of the law known as the Capehart amendment and stated that a substitute proposal set forth in the Minority views of the Committee Report might be offered on the Floor.

Senator Dirksen explained the Committee action relating to the bill to repeal the sections of the law relating to Fats and Oils and Dairy Products.

Senator Schoeppel explained the action of the Committee and the provisions of the bill to provide for slaughtering quotas and allocations of livestock.

Questions were asked by the individual members of the Conference. No attempt was made to establish party policy in the legislation involved.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:45 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

SEPTEMBER 27, 1951

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, October 26, 1951

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[January 8, 1952]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 8, 1952, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:15 a.m.

In the absence of the Secretary, the roll was not called but the following members were present:

Present 41:

Aiken	Ecton	Millikin
Bennett	Ferguson	Morse
Bricker	Flanders	Saltonstall
Bridges	Hendrickson	Schoeppel
Butler, Md.	Hickenlooper	Seaton
Butler, Nebr.	Ives	Smith, Maine
Cain	Jenner	Smith, N.J.
Capehart	Kem	Taft
Carlson	Knowland	Thye
Case	Langer	Tobey
Cordon	Lodge	Welker
Dirksen	Malone	Wiley
Duff	Martin	Williams
Dworshak	McCarthy	

Absent 5:

Brewster	Nixon	Young
Mundt	Watkins	

The Chairman recognized Senator Butler from Nebraska who read and presented the following resolution which was unanimously agreed to:

WHEREAS Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from us our beloved colleague, the Honorable Kenneth Spicer Wherry, late junior Senator from the State of Nebraska, and

WHEREAS throughout his nine years in the United States Senate he rendered to our Nation and to his State a most distinguished service, and hence was elected by the Conference of Republican Senators first as Whip and then as Floor Leader, and



WHEREAS he was our affectionate friend and our esteemed colleague, ever ready to give of himself, of his efforts, and of his judgment,

Now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the Honorable Kenneth Spicer Wherry, express our sense of loss at his passing, and

FURTHER, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Mrs. Marjorie C. Wherry, that she may be assured of our deep respect for her and of our condolences to her upon the passing of our friend, her husband.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who read and presented the following resolution which was unanimously agreed to:

WHEREAS Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from our colleague, the Honorable Charles W. Tobey, his beloved wife, Mrs. Loretta Rabenhorst Tobey,

Now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the Honorable Charles W. Tobey, express our sense of loss of the passing of his wife, and

FURTHER, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Honorable Charles W. Tobey, that he may be assured of our deep respect for him and of our condolences to him.

The Chairman recognized Senator Butler from Nebraska who presented his colleague from Nebraska, Fred A. Seaton, to the members of the Conference.

The Chairman stated that the business of the Conference was to select a successor to Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, the Minority Floor Leader, and he recognized Senator Bricker who placed in nomination the name of Senator Styles Bridges. The nomination was seconded by Senator Ferguson.

The Chairman recognized Senator Smith from New Jersey who placed in nomination the name of Senator Leverett Saltonstall. Senator Thye and Senator Lodge were recognized by the Chairman and they seconded the nomination.

The Chairman authorized the Clerk to distribute ballots to those Senators present and after the ballots were collected and tabulated, the Chairman announced the result as follows:

Senator Styles Bridges—26

Senator Leverett Saltonstall—15

The Chairman then declared that Senator Styles Bridges had been elected Minority Floor Leader.

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The Chairman recognized Senator Saltonstall who pledged his cooperation and support to the newly elected Floor Leader. The Chairman then recognized Senator Bridges who thanked his colleagues for the honor which they had bestowed upon him.

Senator Butler from Nebraska, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, reported that within several days he should be able to make recommendations concerning committee vacancies.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who announced that a Policy meeting had been called for 3 o'clock in Room 335.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 10:40 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, January 9, 1952

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR HUGH BUTLER, FOR JANUARY 10, 1952 IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, AT 2:30 P.M.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 2:40 p.m.

Members of the Committee present were: Senators Butler of Nebraska, Ecton, Jenner, Langer, Smith of Maine. Members of the Committee absent were: Senators Bricker, Cain, Flanders, Ives, Kem, Lodge, Malone, McCarthy, Watkins, Williams. Also present was J. Mark Trice.

The Chairman stated that the purpose of the meeting was for the Committee to recommend to the Republican Conference the following committee changes caused by the demise of Senator Wherry who had served on the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Rules and Administration.

The Chairman stated that he had personally contacted all Senators who might have any interest in a committee reassignment and that his recommendation to the Committee was as follows:

That Senator McCarthy by reason of previous bumping in Conference action be reassigned to service on the Committee on Appropriations and released from service on the Committee on Rules and Administration.

That Senator Dirksen be assigned to service on the Committee on Rules and Administration and released from service on the Committee on the District of Columbia.

That Senator Welker be assigned to service on the Committee on Rules and Administration and released from service on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

That Senator Seaton be assigned to service on the Committee on the District of Columbia and to service on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

After brief discussion it was moved, seconded and agreed to that the recommendation of the Chairman be adopted by the Committee and those recommendations be submitted to the Republican Conference.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 2:45 p.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

[signed] Hugh Butler  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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[January 14, 1952]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 14, 1952, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:10 a.m. and announced that the purpose of the meeting was to ratify certain committee assignments as well as to hear a report from Senators Brewster, Smith of New Jersey, Ferguson and Hickenlooper on their recent travels.

Following the report by Senator Smith of New Jersey the Chairman asked the Clerk to call the roll and the following Senators were present:

Present 33:

Aiken	Dirksen	Martin
Bennett	Dworshak	Millikin
Brewster	Ecton	Nixon
Bricker	Ferguson	Saltonstall
Butler, Md.	Hendrickson	Schoeppel
Butler, Nebr.	Hickenlooper	Seaton
Cain	Ives	Smith, N.J.
Capehart	Jenner	Taft

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Carlson	Knowland	Thye
Case	Langer	Tobey
Cordon	Malone	Wiley
Absent 13:		
Bridges	McCarthy	Watkins
Duff	Morse	Welker
Flanders	Mundt	Williams
Kem	Smith, Me.	Young
Lodge		

Senators Smith of New Jersey and Ferguson informed the Conference on the results of their travels in the Far East, and Senator Brewster spoke on the result of his visit to the Far East as well as India and Iran. Senator Hickenlooper spoke of his recent visit to Europe. Senator Malone also was recognized and he commented on the world situation as he had found it.

The Chairman recognized Senator Butler of Nebraska, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, who reported as follows: That due to the demise of Senator Kenneth S. Wherry the following Committee assignments be made:

Senator McCarthy to release the Committee on Rules and Administration and be assigned to the Committee on Appropriations.

Senator Dirksen to release the Committee on the District of Columbia and be assigned to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

Senator Welker to release the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and be assigned to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

Senator Seaton to be assigned to the Committee on the District of Columbia and to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ferguson who moved that the assignments submitted by the Chairman of the Committee on Committees be adopted and that the appointments become effective immediately. The motion was agreed to unanimously.

The Chairman stated that without objection the following telegram would be sent to Senator Young who is now recovering from an operation:

Your Republican colleagues at their Conference today unanimously voted to extend to you their wishes for a fast recovery from your recent operation, inform you of their friendship and esteem and express the hope that you will soon be back with them as good as ever.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ferguson who submitted for the information of the Conference a resolution favoring the consolidation in one general appropriation bill of all regular appropriations for the support of the Government as a permanent feature of fiscal policy. Senator Ferguson had intended to offer this resolution as business of the Conference, but after a suggestion by the Chairman, that, in his opinion, notice should be given on important business to be transacted, Senator Ferguson withdrew the resolution. The Chairman stated that he would be glad to include it in the agenda of business of the next Conference if Senator Ferguson so desired. There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:53 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, January 17, 1952

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[March 31, 1952]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR MARCH 31, 1952, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:20 a.m. and asked that the Secretary call the roll.

The following Senators were present:

Present 27:

Bennett	Ferguson	Schoeppel
Bricker	Flanders	Smith, Me.
Bridges	Ives	Smith, N.J.
Butler, Md.	Knowland	Thye
Cain	Malone	Tobey
Capehart	Martin	Watkins
Cordon	McCarthy	Welker
Dirksen	Milliken	Williams
Dworshak	Mundt	Young

Absent 19:

Aiken	Hendrickson	Morse
Brewster	Hickenlooper	Nixon
Butler, Nebr.	Jenner	Saltonstall
Carlson	Kem	Seaton
Case	Langer	Taft

MARCH 31, 1952

Duff  
Ecton

Lodge

Wiley

The Chairman stated that the purpose of the Conference was to consider a resolution offered by Senator Ferguson on the consolidation of general appropriations, as well as S. 913, a bill by Mr. [John L.] McClellan [Democrat of Arkansas] and others for the creating of a joint Congressional committee on the budget.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ferguson who recommended that the Conference take some action on the issue of economy in government and he presented his resolution for one general appropriation bill. A copy of the resolution is attached hereto as Exhibit "A." The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who also spoke in regard to the resolution of Senator Ferguson as well as S. 913, the McClellan bill to create a joint Congressional committee on the budget, and he suggested that the Republicans should offer an amendment to the latter bill specifying a certain percentage of the staff for the Minority.

After general discussion of the resolution and the McClellan bill the Chairman suggested that the resolution of Senator Ferguson be considered paragraph by paragraph. Certain amendments and omissions were made in the original resolution and the final draft of the resolution is attached hereto as Exhibit "B."

When the text of the resolution was perfected the Chairman stated that he would announce to the press that it was the consensus of opinion of the Conference that a one-package appropriation bill was favored as well as the endorsement of the McClellan bill in principle. There was no objection.

The Chairman on behalf of Senators Owen Brewster and Margaret Chase Smith offered a resolution of condolence on the death of former Senator Wallace H. White, Jr. of Maine. A copy of the resolution is attached hereto as Exhibit "C."

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 11:40 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, April 1, 1952

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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EXHIBIT “A”

*RESOLUTION ON THE CONSOLIDATION OF GENERAL  
APPROPRIATIONS*

Whereas, the power of the purse is the constitutional birthright of the Congress of the United States; and

Whereas, the efforts of Congress to control expenditures have been repeatedly frustrated; and

Whereas, recurring Treasury deficits, huge Federal outlays for defense and civilian purposes, and the rising burden of the public debt are fundamental factors in inflation and jeopardize the fiscal solvency of the Nation; and

Whereas, there is an insistent and growing demand from the country and the taxpayers that Congress develop a more efficient and effective system of handling the annual appropriation bills; and

Whereas, the existing fiscal machinery and procedures of Congress are fragmented and dispersive, affording little or no coordination in the consideration of revenue and spending measures; and

Whereas, the appropriation process has hitherto been piecemeal in nature, each supply bill being separately considered by different subcommittees in each chamber, but without consideration of their interrelationships or of the over-all aspects of expenditure and revenue programs; and

Whereas, the recurring log-jam of appropriation bills at the end of recent sessions of Congress has required the passage of a series of continuing resolutions to keep the government going, handicapped the planning of public programs, and delayed the adjournment of Congress; and

Whereas, the public business cannot be operated successfully or economically when its policies and programs are held in suspense for more than three months of the new fiscal year; and

Whereas, the experiment with the single-package appropriation bill procedure during 1950, compared with the multiple-bill procedure used during 1951, conclusively demonstrated that the consolidated-bill procedure is both more expeditious and resulted in greater economies than the piecemeal method; and

Whereas, the most American cities and states and foreign countries have long and successfully used the consolidated procedure; and

Whereas, there has seldom been such need for prompt, expeditious, and economical action on the money bills as at the present session; and

Whereas, it is impossible for Congress to balance the Federal budget unless it is in a position to compare total estimated receipts with total prospective expenditures, as set forth in the single-package money bill;

Now, therefore, Be it Resolved by the Republican Conference of the Senate that we favor the consolidation in one general appropriation bill of all the regular appropriations for the support of the Government as a permanent feature of fiscal policy and strongly urge the Democratic Administration now in control of Congress to take prompt and suitable steps to prepare a single appropriation bill in this 2d Session of the 82d Congress.

MARCH 31, 1952

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EXHIBIT "B"

*RESOLUTION ON THE CONSOLIDATION OF GENERAL  
APPROPRIATIONS AND ON IMPROVED BUDGET PROCEDURES*

Adopted by Republican Conference of the Senate on Monday, March 31,  
1952.

Whereas, the power of the purse is the exclusive constitutional right and responsibility of the Congress of the United States; and

Whereas, the efforts of Congress to control expenditures have been repeatedly frustrated by the Executive Departments of the Government; and

Whereas, recurring Treasury deficits, huge Federal outlays for defense, foreign aid, and civilian purposes, including indefensible waste, and the rising burden of the public debt and taxes are fundamental factors in inflation and jeopardize the fiscal solvency of the Nation; and

Whereas, there is an insistent and growing demand from the country and the taxpayers that Congress develop a more efficient and effective system of handling the annual appropriation bills; and

Whereas, the appropriation process has hitherto been piecemeal in nature, each supply bill being separately considered by different subcommittees in each Chamber, but without consideration of their interrelationships or of the over-all aspects of expenditure and revenue programs; and

Whereas, the recurring log-jam of appropriation bills at the end of recent sessions of Congress has required the passage of a series of continuing resolutions to keep the government going, and handicap the sensible planning of public business; and

Whereas, the experiment with the single-package appropriation bill procedure during 1950 was abandoned without adequate experience; and

Whereas, it is extremely difficult for Congress to balance the Federal budget unless it is in a position to compare total estimated receipts with total prospective expenditures as set forth in a single-package appropriation bill;

Now, therefore, Be it Resolved by the Republican Conference of the Senate that we favor as a permanent feature of Federal fiscal policy the consolidation into one general appropriation bill of all the regular appropriations for the support of the Government; and

Be it further Resolved that we favor and will support legislation to equip our appropriations committees with sufficient trained staffs and other needed powers and facilities to enable the thorough detection and elimination of waste and useless Government functions so that taxes may be reduced, the budget balanced, and payments made for the reduction of the national debt; and

Be it further Resolved that we favor in principle the creation of a Joint Committee on the Budget as set forth in Senate 913, 82d Congress, 1st Session.



EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS (1951–1953)

\* \* \*

EXHIBIT “C”

82d Congress  
2d Session

**Wallace H. White, Jr.**

Senator Eugene D. Millikin on behalf of Senators Owen Brewster and Margaret Chase Smith offered the following resolution in the Republican Minority Conference on Monday, March 31, 1952, which was adopted by unanimous action:

**Whereas** Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from us our former colleague, the Honorable Wallace H. White, Jr., late senior Senator from the State of Maine, and

**Whereas** throughout his eighteen years in the United States Senate he rendered to our Nation and to his State a most distinguished service, and hence was elected by the Conference of Republican Senators first as Minority and then as Majority Leader, and

**Whereas** he was our affectionate friend and our esteemed colleague, ever ready to give of himself, of his efforts, and of his judgment,

*Now, therefore,*

**Be It Resolved**, That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the Honorable Wallace H. White, Jr., express our sense of loss at his passing, and

**Further**, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Mrs. Nina L. White, that she may be assured of our deep respect for her and of our condolences to her upon the passing of our friend, her husband.

Attest:

Chairman  
Secretary



## **Eighty-third Congress (1953–1955)**

[Editor's Note: As Dwight D. Eisenhower won the presidency in 1952, he swept Republicans into control of Congress. In the House Republicans had 221 members to 213 Democrats and one Independent, but the Senate was almost evenly divided, with 48 Republicans to 47 Democrats. Former Republican Wayne Morse of Oregon, who had become an Independent in October 1952, promised to vote with the Republicans to organize the Senate.

Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, who had served as minority leader in 1952, chose to become president pro tempore of the Senate and chairman of the Appropriations Committee, clearing the way for the Conference to elect Robert Taft as majority leader. Republican control of the Senate became more tenuous in July 1953 when Taft died and was replaced by a Democrat, giving the Democrats 48 members to only 47 Republicans. In fact, during the Eighty-third Congress a total of nine senators died (five Democrats and four Republicans), in three cases being replaced by a member of the other party. The result was a confusing and unstable situation with shifting party totals, leaving the "majority" party at times with a minority of the members. The leadership positions and committee chairmanships, however, remained in Republican hands, partly because Vice President Nixon was available if necessary to break a tie. The Conference elected William F. Knowland of California as the new majority leader.

In June 1953 a truce ended the Korean War, but the cold war continued, and the U.S. military sought the capacity for "massive retaliation" in the case of a Soviet attack.

As chairman of the Senate's Government Operations Committee and its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Wisconsin Republican Senator Joseph R. McCarthy held hearings throughout 1953 on alleged Communist influence on government, the press, and the U.S. Army. Then, in the spring of 1954, the Investigations Subcommittee asked McCarthy temporarily to step aside as chairman and expanded its investigation of the army to also consider McCarthy's attacks on the army. The Wisconsin senator continued to badger witnesses during the nationally televised hearings, and in July 1954 Vermont Republican Ralph Flanders introduced a resolution calling for the censure of McCarthy because his conduct in the hearings brought the Senate into disrepute. In a contentious drama—not noted in the Conference minutes—a bipartisan committee chaired by Utah Republican Arthur Watkins unanimously recommended that McCarthy be censured. On December 2, 1954, the full Senate voted 67 to 22 for censure.]

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[January 2, 1953]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 2, 1953, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:10 a.m. and requested that Senator Styles Bridges act as Temporary Chairman. Senator Styles Bridges took the Chair as Temporary Chairman. The Temporary Chairman asked Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel to act as Temporary Secretary. The Temporary Chairman asked that the roll be called and the Temporary Secretary called the roll.

The following Senators were present:

Present 47:

Aiken	Dworshak	Payne
Barrett	Ferguson	Potter
Beall	Flanders	Purtell
Bennett	Goldwater	Saltonstall
Bricker	Griswold	Schoeppel
Bridges	Hickenlooper	Smith, Maine
Bush	Ives	Smith, N.J.
Butler, Md.	Jenner	Taft
Butler, Nebr.	Knowland	Thye
Capehart	Kuchel	Tobey
Carlson	Langer	Watkins
Case	Malone	Welker
Cooper	Martin	Wiley
Cordon	McCarthy	Williams
Dirksen	Millikin	Young
Duff	Mundt	

Absent 1:

Hendrickson

(Senator Smith of New Jersey, stated that his colleague was absent due to illness.)

The Temporary Chairman announced that the first order of business of the Conference was that the Chairman would receive nominations for the Chairman of the Conference. Senator Bridges was recognized and nominated Senator Eugene Millikin. Senators Smith of New Jersey and Capehart seconded the nomination. Senator Cordon moved that nominations be closed and the Secretary authorized to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Millikin. The motion was agreed

to and the Secretary was instructed to and did cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Eugene Millikin.

Senator Millikin assumed the Chair as Chairman of the Conference and addressed the Conference briefly.

The Chairman announced that he would receive nominations for Secretary of the Conference. Senator Langer nominated Senator Milton R. Young as Secretary of the Conference. The nomination was seconded by Senator Thye, and Senator Capehart moved that nominations be closed and that the Secretary cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Young. The motion was agreed to and the Secretary was instructed to and did cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Young.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dirksen, Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Committee who introduced to the members of the Conference the newly elected Senators as well as sitting Senators who had been reelected. Senator Langer moved that a vote of thanks be extended to the Chairman and members of the Republican Senatorial Committee, for the magnificent job which they had performed during the last election. The motion was agreed to unanimously.

The Chairman announced that nominations would be received for President Pro Tempore of the Senate. Senator Bricker nominated Senator Styles Bridges and Senator Smith of Maine seconded the nomination. Senator Knowland moved that nominations be closed and the Secretary instructed to cast a unanimous ballot. The motion was agreed to and the Secretary was instructed to and did cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Styles Bridges.

The Chairman announced that nominations were in order for Majority Floor Leader. Senator Bridges nominated Senator Taft and the nomination was seconded by Senator Smith of New Jersey. Senator Dirksen moved that nominations be closed and the Secretary instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Robert A. Taft. The motion was agreed to and the Chairman instructed the Secretary to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Robert A. Taft which was done.

The Chairman announced that nominations were in order for Whip. Senator Smith of New Jersey nominated Senator Leverett Saltonstall and the motion was seconded by Senator Ferguson. Senator Butler of Nebraska moved that nominations be closed and the Secretary instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Saltonstall. The motion was agreed to and the Chairman instructed the Secretary to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Leverett Saltonstall which was done.

The Chairman announced that nominations were in order for a Chairman of the Policy Committee. Senator Taft nominated Senator

JANUARY 2, 1953

William F. Knowland. The motion was seconded by Senators Cordon, Hickenlooper and Thyne and the Secretary instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Knowland. The motion was agreed to and the Chairman instructed the Secretary to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator William F. Knowland which was done.

The Chairman announced that nominations were in order for Secretary of the Senate. Senator Bridges nominated J. Mark Trice and the nomination was seconded by Senators Butler of Maryland, Young and Smith of New Jersey. Senator Ferguson moved that nominations be closed and the Secretary be instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for Mr. Trice. The motion was agreed to and the Chairman instructed the Secretary to cast a unanimous ballot which was done.

The Chairman announced that nominations were in order for Sergeant at Arms of the Senate. Senator Saltonstall nominated William T. Reed. The nomination was seconded by Senator Ives. Senator Jenner nominated Forest A. Harness and the nomination was seconded by Senator Capehart. Senator Dirksen was recognized and stated he intended to propose the nomination of Edward F. McGinnis but that he had been requested not to present his name and he did not do so. There being no further nominations the Chairman instructed the Secretary to distribute ballots and after they were collected and tabulated the Chairman announced the results as follows:

Mr. Harness—32

Mr. Reed—14

The Chairman announced that Forest A. Harness had been elected as Sergeant at Arms.

The Chairman announced that nominations were in order for Secretary for the Majority. Senator Bridges, Chairman of the Personnel Committee, recommended that nominations for this position be postponed for a few days in order that candidates might be screened by the Personnel Committee and then presented to the Republican Committee. The Chairman stated that if there was no objection to this method it would be pursued. There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who recommended that the nominations for Chaplain be passed over as no affirmative action of the Conference was needed for the continuation in office of Dr. Frederick Brown Harris. The Chairman asked if there were any objections to this action and there were none.

The Chairman requested that the Republican Members of the Conference within 24 hours submit to him a list of six members suggested for nomination as members of the Policy Committee.

The Chairman announced that Senator Bridges, the present Chairman of the Personnel Committee, had requested that he not be renamed as Chairman and therefore the Committee on Personnel would be comprised of the following membership:

Edward Martin, Chairman  
Styles Bridges  
Herman Welker

Without objection the action of the Chairman was approved.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who spoke of the respective lists of Republican and Democrat personnel agreed upon as well as other employee situations in the Senate. Senator Bridges suggested that if Senators up for reelection in 1954 wished a doorkeeper place they might be given first consideration in that respect. The Chairman asked if there was any objection and there being none it was so ordered.

Senator Wiley spoke of the possibility of extending patronage to Southern Democrats who had been of help to the Republicans in the last election. Senator Mundt also spoke about patronage for the Southern Democrats and the Chairman announced that without objection the Personnel Committee would be allowed to use its judgment in regard to assigning places to the Southern Democrats.

Senator Dirksen was recognized and raised the question concerning salary and expenses of Senators and Senatorial employees. Senator Ives made similar remarks. Without objection the Chairman assigned the Republican members of the Rules Committee to study these subjects and make appropriate recommendations.

The Chairman recognized Senator Case who suggested that the Chairman appoint a committee of Republican Members to investigate and report as to a possible change in the size of the membership of the various committees and report back to the Conference not later than Tuesday next. The Committee appointed is as follows:

Case, Chairman  
Taft  
Jenner  
Butler, Nebraska  
Cooper

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who impressed upon all Senators the necessity of being present at the session tomorrow, not only from the standpoint of an organization problem but the possibility of certain Senatorial contests. He stated that all Senators should be sworn in and so recommended.

The Chairman nominated membership of the Committee on Committees as follows:

JANUARY 2, 1953

Butler, Nebraska, Chairman  
Bricker  
Ferguson  
Bennett  
Butler, Maryland  
Capehart  
Carlson  
Case  
Duff  
Tobey  
Hickenlooper

and the Conference unanimously approved.

The Chairman recognized Senator Payne who presented the attached resolution which was agreed to unanimously.

The Chairman announced that he would leave it to the Members of the Conference as to whether or not they wished to proceed or recess until 2 o'clock, in order that Senator Taft might present to the Conference the question to be raised tomorrow as to whether the Senate is a continuing body and the present Senate rules continue in force and effect. It was the consensus of opinion that a recess be taken.

The Conference recessed at 11:45 a.m.

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The second session of the Conference was called to order by the Chairman at 2:10 p.m.

Vice President-elect Nixon attended the afternoon Conference and was greeted by applause.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who discussed at some length the question as to whether or not the Senate is a continuing body and whether or not the Senate rules continue in full force and effect.

The Chairman recognized Senator Jenner who presented the new Sergeant at Arms, Forest A. Harness.

Senator Dirksen was recognized and called attention to the action taken by the Rules Committee at the last Session of Congress in reporting Senate Resolution 203.

The Chairman recognized Senator Ives who spoke in favor of adopting Senate rules at the beginning of each session of the Senate.

Senator Malone moved that the Conference approve the stand taken by the Majority Leader and that the sense of the Conference is that the Senate is a continuing body and that the Senate rules continue in full force and effect until changed. The motion was seconded by



Senator Knowland. The Chairman put the question and announced that the motion was agreed to.

Senator Taft announced that he had talked with Mr. Sherman Adams<sup>1</sup> concerning political appointments and that it was agreed that some specific and constructive decision would be reached in the matter.

Senator Knowland suggested that constant check be made during the sessions of absences of Senators by the Whip and the Secretary for the Majority and that no important legislation be taken up during the Lincoln and Jackson Day period.

The Chairman requested that Mark Trice call a meeting of the newly elected Senators and brief them as to Senate prerogatives.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who stated that if a motion were made to stop any newly elected Senator from taking the oath, a motion be made to lay that motion on the table. He said he hoped that all Republican Senators would vote to lay the motion on the table.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 3:55 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 6, 1953

[signed] J. Mark Trice

\* \* \*

83d Congress  
1st Session

### **Senate Resolution**

In the Senate of the United States

Senator Frederick G. Payne offered the following resolution in the Republican Majority Conference on Friday, January 2, 1953, which was adopted by unanimous action:

### **Resolution**

**Whereas** Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from our colleague, the Honorable Margaret Chase Smith, her beloved mother, Mrs. Carrie M. Chase,

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<sup>1</sup>[Sherman Adams was a top aide to President-elect Eisenhower who became the chief presidential assistant in the White House.]

JANUARY 2, 1953

*Now, therefore,*

**Be It Resolved,** That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the Honorable Margaret Chase Smith, express our sense of loss at the passing of her mother, and

**Further,** That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Honorable Margaret Chase Smith, that she may be assured of our deep respect for her and our condolences to her.

Attest:

*Chairman.*

*Secretary.*

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[January 7, 1953]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 7, 1953, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:05 a.m. The Chairman requested that the roll be called. The roll was called and the following Senators were present:

Present 44:

Aiken	Cooper	Jenner	Saltonstall
Barrett	Cordon	Knowland	Smith, Maine
Beall	Dirksen	Kuchel	Smith, N.J.
Bennett	Duff	Langer	Taft
Bricker	Dworshak	Malone	Thye
Bridges	Ferguson	Martin	Tobey
Bush	Flanders	McCarthy	Watkins
Butler, Md.	Goldwater	Millikin	Welker
Capehart	Griswold	Payne	Wiley
Carlson	Hendrickson	Potter	Williams
Case	Hickenlooper	Purtell	Young

Absent 4:

Butler, Nebr.	Ives	Mundt	Schoeppel
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The Chairman recognized Senator Case, who had previously been selected as Chairman of a Conference Committee to study the number and size of the various standing committees of the Senate. There had been previously distributed the report of the Special Committee and a copy thereof is attached hereto as Exhibit "A." In substance the report created 1 committee of 23 Members, 9 Committees of 15 Members, 5 Committees of 11 Members or a total of 15 Committees with a total of 213 Committee positions in lieu of 203.

After the assignment of two places to each of the 96 Members, it would allow the Majority 15 extra places and the Minority 3 extra places. To allow for the 18 Senators to serve on a third committee the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service was recommended to be included with the present 2 Committees, District of Columbia and Committee on Government Operations.

Senator Wiley was recognized who discussed the possibility of creating a separate committee to take some of the work load off the Committee on the Judiciary and confine the jurisdiction of the latter committee to legal problems.

Senator Case moved that the report be accepted and that the Chairman of the Special Committee be instructed to introduce legislation embodying the terms of the report. The Chairman put the question and the motion was agreed to by voice vote.

The Chairman recognized Senator Carlson who raised the question concerning leave for Government employees on the 19th of January as well as the 20th. After discussion the motion was withdrawn and the matter was left up to the Policy Committee for decision.

The Chairman recognized Senator Capehart who raised a question concerning the obtaining of a list of all Federal and State jobs as to number and as to classification.

The Chairman recognized Senator Carlson who stated that he had prepared a resolution which was similar to those previously adopted when the Administration changes, requesting information concerning jobs. Senator Carlson then moved that the Conference go on record in favor of his resolution.

The Chairman recognized Senator Capehart who moved as an amendment to the motion of Senator Carlson the following:

That the Conference go on record and ask the Administration to furnish to the Congress the names and addresses by category and States of each Federal employee in the United States.

The Chairman put the question on the Capehart amendment and it was defeated by a voice vote. The Chairman put the question on the original Carlson motion and it was agreed to by voice vote.

Senator Taft informed the Conference of various conversations he had had with Mr. Arthur Summerfield<sup>2</sup> and other persons in New York concerning a solution of the patronage problem. Senator Taft stated that no definite conclusions had been reached and he was merely reporting on the situation. There was general discussion on the subject, at the conclusion of which the Chairman stated that if there was no objection the Policy Committee get in touch with those persons attempting to work out the problem and advise the

<sup>2</sup>[Arthur E. Summerfield served as postmaster general in Eisenhower's cabinet from 1953 to 1961.]

JANUARY 7, 1953

consensus of opinion of the Conference that the traditional rights of Senators in patronage matters be observed and there was no objection.

The Chairman announced nominations for the six vacancies on the Policy Committee as follows:

Cordon	Schoeppel
Dworshak	Smith, Maine
Ferguson	Bridges

The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who asked that he be permitted to withdraw his name as he was President Pro Tempore of the Senate. After a discussion as to whether or not the President Pro Tempore was an Ex Officio Member and the statement made that he was not, it was decided that Senator Bridges would remain as a Member of the Policy Committee.

The Chairman also stated that one newly elected member would be invited to sit in on each Policy meeting as had been past custom in the matter.

The Chairman recognized Senator Martin who moved that the nominations be confirmed and by voice vote they were agreed to.

Senator Bridges was recognized and spoke of several actions recommended by the Committee on Personnel but after discussion it was suggested that these matters go over to the next meeting of the Conference.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 11:40 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference February 2, 1953

[signed] J. Mark Trice

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#### EXHIBIT "A"

#### REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON SIZE AND NUMBER OF COMMITTEES

for the Senate Republican Conference, January 7, 1953

*Your Committee proposes:*

1. To increase 10 Standing Committees by 2 members each (1 Majority, 1 Minority), and to reduce 5 similarly.
2. To permit 18 Senators of the Majority and 3 of the Minority to serve on a third standing committee—Civil Service, District of Columbia or Government Operations. (Present rules do not include Civil Service and do not recognize the Minority.)

This will present the following Committee picture:

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1953–1955)

15 Members instead of 13 (9)		11 Members instead of 13 (5)	
Agriculture		Civil Service	
Armed Services		District of Columbia	
Banking and Currency		Government Operations	
Finance		Public Works	
Foreign Relations		Rules and Administration	
Interstate and Foreign Commerce			
Judiciary			
Labor and Public Welfare		23 Members instead of 21 (1)	
Interior and Insular Affairs		Appropriations	
The proposal—			
1. Creates 20 new positions in the more desired committees (10 each for Majority and Minority) without increasing total number of committees.			
2. Makes committee size more nearly reflect committee work-load and thereby adjusts burdens and responsibilities more equally to all Senators and all committees.			
3. Establishes a minimum margin of 1 for the Majority party in each of the Senate's 15 committees, <i>which present rules do not</i> , in an evenly divided Senate. This can be seen from the following:			
Present	1 Committee of 21		21
Committee Structure	14 Committees of 13		182
	Total Committee Positions		203
Two assignments for each of 96 Senators requires			192
Leaving for members serving on 3 committees			11
Which does not provide the necessary minimum of 15 for control of 15 committees in an evenly divided Senate.			
Proposed	1 Committee of 23		23
Committee Structure	9 Committees of 15		135
	5 Committees of 11		55
	Total Committee Positions		213
Two assignments for each of 96 Senators requires			192
Leaving for members serving on 3 committees			21
Which divided 18 to the Majority and 3 to the Minority gives the margin of 15 for the Majority to have the minimum 1 on each of 15 Committees.			
4. Permits continuity and experience for both parties on the committees which, in the past, have tended to be loaded with new Senators.			
5. Insures better use of senatorial talent, industry and ability, for both Majority and Minority.			
In summary:			
1. The plan meets the necessary mechanics of an evenly divided Senate.			
2. It opens the door for new Senators on major committees.			
3. It retains the values of long Senate service.			

JANUARY 7, 1953

4. It dispossesses no one, has distinct advantages for majority and minority.

Respectfully submitted by the committee, Senators Case, Taft, Butler, Jenner and Cooper, by

FRANCIS CASE, Chairman

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[January 13, 1953]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 13, 1953, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:05 a.m. The Chairman requested that the roll be called. The roll was called and the following Senators were present:

Present 45:

Aiken	Cooper	Kuchel	Schoeppel
Barrett	Cordon	Langer	Smith, Maine
Beall	Dworshak	Malone	Smith, N.J.
Bennett	Ferguson	Martin	Taft
Bricker	Flanders	McCarthy	Thye
Bridges	Goldwater	Millikin	Tobey
Bush	Griswold	Mundt	Watkins
Butler, Md.	Hendrickson	Payne	Welker
Butler, Nebr.	Ives	Potter	Wiley
Capehart	Jenner	Purtell	Williams
Carlson	Knowland	Saltonstall	Young
Case			

Absent 3:

Dirksen	Duff	Hickenlooper
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The Chairman recognized Senator Martin, Chairman of the Committee on Personnel, who moved on behalf of his Committee that Mr. William T. Reed be appointed as Secretary for the Majority and Mr. Howard C. Foster as Assistant Secretary for the Majority. The Chairman put the question and the motion was agreed to.

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who spoke on the subject of pairing and he requested that Republican Senators not make pairs except through the Secretary for the Majority.

He also stated that the Policy Committee had recommended that only a one day holiday be granted to Federal employees for the Inauguration.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft who spoke on the work of the Senate during the Lincoln Day Period. He informally agreed

that there would be no important votes between February 6th and the 16th. He stated, however, that the Committee should keep working on legislation.

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who spoke of a meeting in New York with General Eisenhower together with Senators Taft and Millikin in regard to political appointments. He stated that the meeting was most cordial and that the General wanted to work out the matter in a mutually satisfactory way. He stated that the Committee of Senators was authorized to make a press statement that future Federal appointments would be made in the customary way through the Senators and in some instances, in accord with traditional practice, through Congressmen.

The Chairman recognized Senator Hugh Butler of Nebraska who submitted a report of the Committee on Committees of which he is Chairman. The Senator stated that the Committee had followed Seniority Rules except where a senior Senator had yielded his position for someone further down the list. He expressed appreciation for the cooperation which he had received as well as for the work done by the respective members of his Committee. He spoke of Senator McCarthy releasing his seniority to a place on the Committee of Banking and Currency and asked that the Conference protect him in the future if the Senator wishes to avail himself of a place on that Committee. Senator Butler then moved that the report submitted be adopted and that the protection of the seniority rights of Senator McCarthy in regard to the Committee on Banking and Currency be recognized.

The final report as adopted is attached hereto as Exhibit "A." As originally submitted by the Committee on Committees Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon had been assigned to the Committee on Armed Services and to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

There followed a discussion as to the assignments of Senator Morse by Senators Flanders, Ives, Taft, Smith of New Jersey, Welker, Cordon, Saltonstall, Mundt and Knowland. The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who moved that the Butler of Nebraska motion be modified as follows:

That whereas Senator Morse has declared that he is not a Republican and has withdrawn himself from the Republican Party, that Committee assignments not be assigned him by the Republican Conference and that the assignments of the Republican Senators as recommended by the Committee on Committees be adopted except that the Committee on Committees would assign a Republican to the Committee on Armed Services and make other adjustments shown on the attached list.

The Chairman recognized Senator Butler of Nebraska who accepted the modification. The Chairman put the question and the Knowland motion was agreed to by voice vote.

JANUARY 13, 1953

The Chairman recognized Senator Cooper who said that he hoped that sometime soon it might be possible to receive an assignment to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry because of the interest of Kentucky in agricultural matters.

The Chairman recognized Senator Griswold who asked if there might be any objection to the newly elected Senators organizing for the purpose of better acquainting themselves with the legislative situation. The Chairman stated that he saw no objection to such action.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 11:32 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference February 2, 1953

[signed] J. Mark Trice

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(Confidential Work Sheet)

**STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE**

Eighty-third Congress

(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

**On Agriculture and Forestry** (Ratio 8-7)

Messrs. AIKEN, Chairman, YOUNG, THYE, HICKENLOOPER,  
MUNDT, WILLIAMS, SCHOEPPPEL, WELKER.

**On Appropriations** (Ratio 12-11)

Messrs. BRIDGES, Chairman, FERGUSON, CORDON,  
SALTONSTALL, YOUNG, KNOWLAND, THYE, MCCARTHY,  
MUNDT, Mrs. SMITH, Maine, Messrs. DWORSHAK, DIRKSEN.

**On Armed Services** (Ratio 8-7)

Messrs. SALTONSTALL, Chairman, BRIDGES, FLANDERS, Mrs.  
SMITH, Maine, Messrs. HENDRICKSON, CASE, DUFF, COOPER.

**On Banking and Currency** (Ratio 8-7)

Messrs. CAPEHART, Chairman, BRICKER, IVES, BENNETT, BUSH,  
BEALL, PAYNE, GOLDWATER.

**On District of Columbia** (Ratio 5-4)

Messrs. CASE, Chairman, BARRETT, BEALL, PAYNE, \_\_\_\_\_.

**On Finance** (Ratio 8-7)

Messrs. MILLIKIN, Chairman, BUTLER, Nebr., MARTIN, WILLIAMS,  
FLANDERS, MALONE, CARLSON, BENNETT.

**On Foreign Relations** (Ratio 8-7)

Messrs. WILEY, Chairman, SMITH, N.J., HICKENLOOPER, TOBEY,  
TAFT, LANGER, FERGUSON, KNOWLAND.



**On Government Operations** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. MCCARTHY, Chairman, MUNDT, Mrs. SMITH, Maine,  
Messrs. DWORSHAK, DIRKSEN, BUTLER, Md., POTTER.

**On Interior and Insular Affairs** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. BUTLER, Nebr., Chairman, MILLIKIN, CORDON, MALONE,  
WATKINS, DWORSHAK, KUCHEL, BARRETT.

**On Interstate and Foreign Commerce** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. TOBEY, Chairman, CAPEHART, BRICKER, SCHOEPPPEL,  
BUTLER, Md., COOPER, GRISWOLD, POTTER.

**On the Judiciary** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. LANGER, Chairman, WILEY, JENNER, WATKINS,  
HENDRICKSON, DIRKSEN, WELKER, BUTLER, Md.

**On Labor and Public Welfare** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. SMITH, N.J., Chairman, TAFT, AIKEN, IVES, PURTELL,  
BARRETT, GOLDWATER.

**On Post Office and Civil Service** (Ratio 6–5)

Messrs. CARLSON, Chairman, DUFF, JENNER, COOPER, GRIS-  
WOLD, PURTELL.

**On Public Works** (Ratio 6–5)

Messrs. MARTIN, Chairman, CASE, BUSH, KUCHEL, BEALL, \_\_\_\_\_.

**On Rules and Administration** (Ratio 5–4)

Messrs. JENNER, Chairman, CARLSON, POTTER, GRISWOLD,  
PURTELL.

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(Confidential Work Sheet)

**COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS OF SENATORS**

Eighty-third Congress

(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

Mr. AIKEN .....	Agriculture and Forestry Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. BARRETT .....	Interior and Insular Affairs Labor and Public Welfare District of Columbia
Mr. BEALL .....	Banking and Currency District of Columbia Public Works
Mr. BENNETT .....	Banking and Currency Finance
Mr. BRICKER .....	Banking and Currency Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. BRIDGES .....	Appropriations Armed Services

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Mr. BUSH .....	Banking and Currency Public Works
Mr. BUTLER, Md. ....	Interstate and Foreign Commerce Judiciary Government Operations
Mr. BUTLER, Nebr. ....	Finance Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. CAPEHART .....	Banking and Currency Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. CARLSON .....	Post Office and Civil Service Finance Rules and Administration
Mr. CASE .....	District of Columbia Armed Services Public Works
Mr. COOPER .....	Interstate and Foreign Commerce Armed Services Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. CORDON .....	Appropriations Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. DIRKSEN .....	Appropriations Judiciary Government Operations
Mr. DUFF .....	Armed Services Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. DWORSHAK .....	Government Operations Appropriations Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. FERGUSON .....	Appropriations Foreign Relations
Mr. FLANDERS .....	Armed Services Finance
Mr. GOLDWATER .....	Labor and Public Welfare Banking and Currency
Mr. GRISWOLD .....	Interstate and Foreign Commerce Rules and Administration Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. HENDRICKSON .....	Judiciary Armed Services
Mr. HICKENLOOPER .....	Agriculture and Forestry Foreign Relations
Mr. IVES .....	Banking and Currency Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. JENNER .....	Judiciary Rules and Administration Post Office and Civil Service

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1953–1955)

Mr. KNOWLAND .....	Appropriations Foreign Relations
Mr. KUCHEL .....	Interior and Insular Affairs Public Works
Mr. LANGER .....	Judiciary Foreign Relations
Mr. MALONE .....	Interior and Insular Affairs Finance
Mr. MARTIN .....	Finance Public Works
Mr. MCCARTHY .....	Appropriations Government Operations
Mr. MILLIKIN .....	Finance Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. MUNDT .....	Agriculture and Forestry Appropriations Government Operations
Mr. PAYNE .....	Banking and Currency District of Columbia
Mr. POTTER .....	Interstate and Foreign Commerce Rules and Administration Government Operations
Mr. PURTELL .....	Labor and Public Welfare Rules and Administration Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. SALTONSTALL .....	Appropriations Armed Services
Mr. SCHOEPPPEL .....	Interstate and Foreign Commerce Agriculture and Forestry
Mrs. SMITH, Maine .....	Armed Services Appropriations Government Operations
Mr. SMITH, N.J. ....	Foreign Relations Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. TAFT .....	Foreign Relations Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. THYE .....	Agriculture and Forestry Appropriations
Mr. TOBEY .....	Foreign Relations Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. WATKINS .....	Interior and Insular Affairs Judiciary
Mr. WELKER .....	Agriculture and Forestry Judiciary
Mr. WILEY .....	Foreign Relations

JANUARY 13, 1953

	Judiciary
Mr. WILLIAMS .....	Finance
	Agriculture and Forestry
Mr. YOUNG .....	Agriculture and Forestry
	Appropriations
Mr. MORSE (Independent) ..	_____
	_____

[March 6, 1953]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE, CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR MARCH 6, 1953, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:00 a.m., and asked the Secretary to call the roll. The following Senators were present:

Present 36:

Aiken	Dirksen	Langer	Taft
Barrett	Dworshak	Malone	Thye
Beall	Ferguson	Martin	Tobey
Bennett	Griswold	McCarthy	Watkins
Bricker	Hendrickson	Millikin	Welker
Bush	Hickenlooper	Payne	Wiley
Butler, Nebr.	Ives	Purtell	Young
Carlson	Jenner	Saltonstall	
Cooper	Knowland	Smith, N.J.	
Cordon	Kuchel		

Absent 12:

Bridges	Goldwater
Butler, Maryland	Mundt
Capehart	Potter
Case	Schoeppel
Duff	Smith, Maine
Flanders	Williams

The Chairman announced that the first order of business would be the unfinished business from the previous meeting, namely, the approval of the readjustment of the majority membership of two committees: The Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. The Chairman read the proposed majority membership of both committees.

Senator Langer moved that the new majority membership of the two committees be accepted as read, and it was seconded. The Chairman

put the question and the motion was unanimously agreed to by a voice vote. Rosters of the new majority membership of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and Interstate and Foreign Commerce are attached hereto as Exhibit “A.”

The Chairman offered the following motion: “Ordered that Senator Dwight Griswold be excused from further service on the Committee on Rules and Administration and that Senator Frank A. Barrett be assigned to the Majority Membership of the said Committee.”

Senator Jenner moved its adoption, it was seconded and unanimously agreed to by a voice vote.

There being no further unfinished business, the Chairman explained that the Conference meeting had been called primarily to take up two matters of new business. The first of these was the consideration of an amendment to the Conference Rules proposed by Senator Smith of New Jersey. A copy of the amendment is attached hereto as “Exhibit B.”

The amendment was read, Senator Smith of New Jersey, moved the adoption of the amendment and it was seconded. The Chairman put the question and the motion was unanimously agreed to by a voice vote.

The Chairman then nominated and Senator Smith of New Jersey moved the appointment of Senator Hendrickson to membership on the Policy Committee. After the nomination was seconded, the nominations were closed and Senator Hendrickson was unanimously elected by a voice vote.

The Chairman then announced the second matter for consideration, namely, the selection of a Campaign Committee. He read the following slate of nominees:

*Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee*

Honorable Everett M. Dirksen, Illinois, Chairman  
Honorable John Townsend, Delaware, Co-Chairman  
Honorable William A. Purtell, Connecticut  
Honorable Irving M. Ives, New York  
Honorable John W. Bricker, Ohio  
Honorable Milton R. Young, North Dakota  
Honorable Wallace Bennett, Utah  
Honorable Barry Goldwater, Arizona  
Honorable John M. Butler, Maryland

Senator Malone made inquiry regarding the title of Co-Chairman, and suggested it should be Finance Chairman. A general discussion of the title and duties of the position ensued, but the matter was left as reported.

MARCH 6, 1953

Senator Langer moved, and it was seconded, that nominations be closed and that the slate be accepted as presented. The Chairman put the question and the motion was unanimously agreed to by a voice vote.

The Chairman recognized Senator Taft, who discussed H.J. Res. 200, regarding the subjugation of free peoples by the Soviet Union.

Senator Taft yielded in turn to Senator McCarthy, Senator Ives, Senator Dworshak, Senator Hickenlooper, Senator Ferguson, Senator Watkins, Senator Smith of New Jersey, Senator Carlson, Senator Bricker and Senator Knowland, each of whom expressed himself with regard to H.J. Res. 200. A copy of this Resolution is attached as Exhibit "C."

No action was taken. Senator Smith of New Jersey, said that an attempt was being made to work out a new draft which might meet with greater acceptance. Both Senator Taft and Senator Knowland explained that the inadvertance whereby the Resolution was given to the press and the Democrats prior to being cleared with the Republicans in the Congress had caused much of the difficulty and that this in large part was due to the failure of liaison between the Executive Department and the Congress. They explained further that, in the future every effort would be made to prevent such a recurrence.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 11:05 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference April 20, 1953

[signed] William T. Reed

\* \* \*

#### Exhibit A

ORDERED, that the following persons shall constitute the Majority Membership of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce:

Charles W. Tobey, Chairman  
Homer E. Capehart  
John W. Bricker  
Anrew F. Schoeppel  
John Marshall Butler  
Dwight Griswold  
John Sherman Cooper  
Charles E. Potter

\* \* \*

Exhibit A

ORDERED, that the following persons shall constitute the Majority Membership of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

H. Alexander Smith, Chairman  
Robert A. Taft  
George D. Aiken  
Irving M. Ives  
Dwight Griswold  
William A. Purtell  
Barry Goldwater

\* \* \*

Exhibit B

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONFERENCE RULES

Senator Smith of New Jersey proposes the following amendments:

Amend Rule 1 so as to read as follows:

I.

At the beginning of each Congress, or within one week thereafter, a Republican Party Conference shall be held. At that Conference there shall be elected the following officers:

Chairman of the Conference  
Secretary of the Conference  
Floor Leader  
Whip  
Chairman of Policy Committee  
A Policy Committee of *Twelve* Senators

The Chairman of the Conference, the Secretary of the Conference, the Floor Leader, the Whip, the Chairman of the Policy Committee, *and the President pro tem of the Senate (if a Republican)*, shall be members ex officio of the Policy Committee. The other six members shall be nominated by the Chairman of the Conference, subject to action by the Conference. The six members so nominated and elected shall serve for two years and may be reelected for an additional 2 years, but no such member may serve more than 4 consecutive years and then shall be eligible for further service in such capacity only after an interval of 2 years. Within 24 hours after the election of the Chairman of the Conference each Senator may submit a list of six members suggested for nomination as members of the Policy Committee.

In all contested elections, vote shall be by written ballot.

The term of office of all party officers herein provided shall extend for not more than 2 years, and shall expire at the close of each Congress.

\* \* \*

Exhibit C

83d Congress  
1st Session

MARCH 6, 1953

**H.J. RES. 200**

In the House of Representatives  
February 23, 1953

Mr. Vorys introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

**JOINT RESOLUTION**

Joining with the President of the United States in a declaration regarding the subjugation of free peoples by the Soviet Union.

Whereas during World War II, representatives of the United States, during the course of secret conferences, entered into various international agreements or understandings concerning other peoples; and

Whereas the leaders of the Soviet Communist Party, who now control Russia, have, in violation of the clear intent of these agreements or understandings, subjected the peoples concerned, including whole nations, to the domination of a totalitarian imperialism; and

Whereas such forcible absorption of free peoples into an aggressive despotism increases the threat against the security of all remaining free peoples including our own; and

Whereas the people of the United States, true to their tradition and heritage of freedom, are never acquiescent in such enslavement of any peoples; and

Whereas it is appropriate that the Congress join with the President in giving expression to the desires and hopes of the people of the United States: Therefore be it

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress join with the President in declaring that the United States rejects any interpretations or applications of any international agreements or understandings, made during the course of World War II, which have been perverted to bring about the subjugation of free peoples; and be it further*

*Resolved, That Congress join with the President of the United States in proclaiming the hope that the peoples who have been subjected to the captivity of Soviet despotism shall again enjoy the right of self-determination within a framework which will sustain the peace; that they shall again have the right to choose the form of government under which they will live, and that sovereign rights of self-government shall be restored to them all in accordance with the pledge of the Atlantic Charter.*

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[June 2, 1953]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE, CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JUNE 2, 1953, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:00 a.m., and asked the Secretary to call the roll. The following Senators were present:



EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1953–1955)

Present 38:

Aiken	Knowland
Barrett	Kuchel
Beall	Langer
Bennett	Malone
Bricker	Martin
Bush	Millikin
Butler, Md.	Mundt
Capehart	Payne
Carlson	Potter
Cooper	Purtell
Cordon	Saltonstall
Dworshak	Schoeppel
Ferguson	Smith, Maine
Flanders	Tobey
Goldwater	Watkins
Griswold	Welker
Hendrickson	Wiley
Hickenlooper	Williams
Jenner	Young

Absent 10:

Bridges	Ives
Butler, Nebr.	McCarthy
Case	Smith, N.J.
Dirksen	Taft
Duff	Thye

The Chairman, speaking for the entire Conference, said he was very happy to hear that Senator Butler of Nebraska had fully recovered from his illness and would soon rejoin his Senate colleagues.

The Chairman stated that the Conference had been called for the purpose of discussing the matters of current importance and interest to the Members. Prior to getting into the main portion of the program, he suggested that whenever a Senator plans to deliver a speech on the Floor, which he feels is important or may occasion debate, he notify the Secretary to the Majority, who in turn will notify the Republican Senators, to give them a chance to be present. As early notice as possible was recommended so that a good attendance might be assured. It was the sense of the meeting that such a plan should be followed.

Senator Knowland was recognized by the Chairman for the purpose of outlining the legislative program necessary to be considered prior to adjournment.

Before discussing the legislation Senator Knowland stressed the importance of better attendance at Committee meetings in order to expedite legislation reaching the Floor. He also urged prompt response to quorum calls in order to prevent undue delay in Floor action on

JUNE 2, 1953

legislation being considered. He further requested that the members notify the Secretary to the Majority when they were planning to be absent and if a pair was desired, to let the Secretary arrange it rather than handle it themselves.

The Senator then outlined the legislative goals which should be reached prior to adjournment. The goals are as follows:

Completion of the Appropriation Bills; Continental Shelf Submerged Lands Bill; Customs Simplification; Extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act; Tax Legislation; Mutual Security Authorization; Emergency Wheat Loan to Pakistan; Hawaiian Statehood; Reorganization Plans; Emergency Displaced Persons Legislation.

Old Age Pension and Survivors Insurance and Taft Hartley Amendments may not be ready until next Session.

Senator Bricker was recognized by the Chairman and raised the question as to when S.J. Res. 1 would be reported out by the Judiciary Committee. A brisk discussion of the resolution followed and it was the sense of the meeting that the resolution should be reported out at an early date.<sup>3</sup>

The Conference concurred in the Patronage Committee's selection of William Brownrigg, III, as the Assistant Secretary to the Majority, to succeed Mr. Howard Foster, who voluntarily retired on June 1, 1953. The Chairman requested that the Conference Secretary extend to Mr. Foster the good wishes and appreciation of the membership for his many years of faithful Senate service. A copy of a resolution, unanimously agreed to, is attached.

After a brief discussion relative to summer adjournment of the Senate until January 1954, versus recess and return in the Fall, the Chairman asked for a show of hands and a large majority voted in favor of adjournment until January 1954, assuming satisfactory accomplishment could be shown.

The question was raised and a discussion followed as to Presidential appointment of a Commission to study and make recommendation as to Congressional salaries. During the discussion it was brought out that the President was willing to appoint such a Commission if the Congress wanted him to do so. The Conference voted 25 to 9 in favor of the President appointing a Commission and the Chairman said he would so inform the President at the next White House Conference.

The Chairman recognized Senator Cooper, who said he thought that if the Republican Senators could be briefed on each appropriation bill prior to its going to the Floor, there would be a much better

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<sup>3</sup>[Republican Senator John W. Bricker of Ohio proposed a constitutional amendment—opposed by the Eisenhower administration—that would limit the president's authority to negotiate treaties and executive agreements. The Senate rejected the Bricker amendment by a single vote in February 1954.]

understanding of the legislation. Senator Ferguson concurred in the thinking of Senator Cooper and said he would mention the suggestion to Senator Bridges.

Senator Saltonstall was recognized by the Chairman who asked him to bring the Conference up to date regarding the proposed cut in the Air Defense budget. Senator Saltonstall furnished facts and figures submitted by the Department of Defense comparing the air power of the Navy and Air Force to be developed under the Eisenhower military budget for the fiscal year 1954, with that planned under the Truman budget.

The staff of the Policy Committee was asked by the Conference Chairman, with the concurrence of the Policy Committee Chairman, to prepare, after action had been taken on the Defense Appropriation Bill, a report to distribute to all Republican Senators, showing amount of air power provided by the Appropriation Bill, and the facts and arguments to support the Republican position.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 11:30 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference June 22, 1953

[signed] William T. Reed  
Secretary for the Majority

\* \* \*

83d Congress  
1st Session

Senator Eugene D. Millikin offered the following resolution in the Republican Majority Conference on Tuesday, June 2, 1953, which was adopted by unanimous action:

**Resolved,** That the Republican Majority Conference of the Senate expresses its deep sense of appreciation to Howard C. Foster, its retiring Assistant Secretary to the Majority, for his efficient long and faithful service, and extends its best wishes for continued success and happiness in all of his future endeavors.

JUNE 2, 1953

Attest:

Chairman

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[June 23, 1953]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE, CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JUNE 23, 1953, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:00 a.m., recognized Senator Dirksen and requested him to give a brief resume of his recent trip to the Far East, as the Republican member of a two-man Appropriations Committee team to investigate conditions there and report back. The Senator from Illinois high-pointed his trip, which included visits to Korea, Japan, Indo-China and Formosa, in a brief but thorough explanation of conditions as they exist in each of the countries today. He gained this information from conferences he had with officials in each of the countries visited and from his own observations with respect to our Mutual Aid Program to those countries. Considerable interest was shown in Senator Dirksen's report as evidenced by the questions asked him at the conclusion of his remarks.

The Chairman, on behalf of the Conference, expressed his thanks to Senator Dirksen for his excellent report.

At this point, prior to taking up any regular business, the Chairman asked the Secretary to call the roll. The following Senators were present:

Present 36:

Aiken	Kuchel
Barrett	Langer
Beall	Malone
Bennett	Martin
Bush	Millikin
Butler, Md.	Mundt
Butler, Nebr.	Payne
Capehart	Potter
Carlson	Purtell
Case	Saltonstall
Cordon	Smith, Maine
Dirksen	Smith, N.J.
Dworshak	Taft
Goldwater	Tobey
Griswold	Watkins
Hendrickson	Welker

Jenner	Wiley
Knowland	Young
Absent 12:	
Bricker	Hickenlooper
Bridges	Ives
Cooper	McCarthy
Duff	Schoeppel
Ferguson	Thye
Flanders	Williams

Senator Knowland was recognized and discussed the importance of a good attendance at all sessions in order to expedite the legislative program and assure Republican control. He requested that live pairs be arranged through the Secretary to the Majority and that pairs be held to a minimum. He also suggested that if there are objections to nominations appearing on the Executive Calendar, that the Acting Majority Leader be advised prior to the Calendar call. In relation to Conference Reports being called up, Senator Knowland emphasized the importance of team play if the Majority expects to control the legislative program. He also requested that conferees advise the Acting Majority Leader of the decision reached by them as soon as possible, especially when a disagreement develops.

The importance of every Senator advising his office staff where he can be reached at all times was stressed by Senator Knowland.

In response to an inquiry, the legislative program for the rest of the week and plans for adjournment over the July 4th weekend were outlined.

The Chairman, on behalf of himself and the Conference, expressed great pleasure at seeing Senator Butler of Nebraska in attendance and looking so well.

Senator Wiley, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, was recognized by the Conference Chairman and was asked to explain and discuss the Act authorizing the extension of the Mutual Security Administration. Prior to starting his explanation, Senator Wiley requested that Francis O. Wilcox, Chief of the Professional Staff of the Foreign Relations Committee, be permitted to attend the meeting during the M.S.A. discussion and the request was granted, it being explained by the Chairman that such action was not to be taken as a precedent. Senator Wiley then outlined the proposed M.S.A. legislation, explaining various committee changes and answering inquiries concerning certain phases of the Act.

At the conclusion of Senator Wiley's remarks, Senator Taft was recognized and made a number of pertinent observations relative to various sections of the Act.

JUNE 23, 1953

After Senator Taft's remarks, a brief, general discussion of various aspects and provisions of the Mutual Security Act of 1951, as amended, followed.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 11:47 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference July 25, 1953

[signed] William T. Reed  
Secretary for the Majority

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[June 30, 1953]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE, CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JUNE 30, 1953, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:00 a.m. The roll was not called, but the following Senators were observed to be present.

Present 32:

Barrett	Griswold
Beall	Hendrickson
Bennett	Hickenlooper
Bricker	Knowland
Bush	Malone
Butler, Md.	Martin
Capehart	Millikin
Carlson	Mundt
Case	Payne
Cooper	Saltonstall
Cordon	Schoeppel
Dirksen	Smith, N.J.
Dworshak	Thye
Ferguson	Watkins
Flanders	Welker
Goldwater	Young

Absent 16:

Aiken	McCarthy
Bridges	Potter
Butler, Nebr.	Purtell
Duff	Smith, Maine
Ives	Taft
Jenner	Tobey

Kuchel  
Langer

Wiley  
Williams

A quorum being present, the Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who outlined the legislative program for the remainder of the week and for Monday, July 6 and Tuesday, July 7.

Following Senator Knowland's presentation, the Chairman explained that the Conference had been called to consider the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1953, which would be the pending business on the Floor following passage of the M.S.A. Act.

He first mentioned that the President was anxious to have the Act extended for one year in its present form. The extension, he explained, provides for the establishment of a bipartisan commission on foreign economic policy, "to examine, study and report on the subject of international trade and to recommend policies, measures and practices for stimulating its sound enlargement." The Commission is to make its report to the President and the Congress within 60 days after the second regular Session of the 83rd Congress is convened.

Senator Millikin outlined the history of the Act since 1947, explaining the "peril point" and "escape clause" which were included in the 1948 Act. In 1950, it was pointed out, the Democrats repealed the Act but reinstated it in 1951 and included both the "peril point" and the "escape clause," by a vote of 75–2. The present Act is substantially the same as that passed in 1951.

At the conclusion of the Chairman's resume a general discussion of the legislation took place and it was moved, seconded and agreed to by a voice vote that it was the sense of the Conference that its Chairman should request the President to call on the Tariff Commission for a new study of the impact of competitive imports on the wool industry in the current year and make recommendations for a remedy. The Chairman thanked the Conference for its backing and said he would convey its sentiments to the President.

After a brief explanation by the Chairman of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy to be appointed to study the trade problem, he again urged support of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1953, together with the Committee Report.

There being no further business the Conference was adjourned at 11:30 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, July 25, 1953

[signed] William T. Reed  
Secretary for the Majority

JUNE 30, 1953

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**Calendar No. 474**

83d Congress  
1st Session

SENATE

Report  
No. 472

**TRADE AGREEMENTS EXTENSION ACT OF 1953**

June 26 (legislative day, June 8), 1953—Ordered to be printed  
Mr. Millikin, from the Committee on Finance, submitted the following

**REPORT**

[To accompany H.R. 5495]

The Committee on Finance, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 5495) to extend the authority of the President to enter into trade agreements under section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, and for other purposes, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with amendments and recommend that the bill do pass.

**[The 7-page text of the report appears at pp. 60181–87 of Vol. 6 of the original minutes, and the 12-page text of H.R. 5495 as reported by the Senate appears at page 60188 of Vol. 6 of the original minutes.]**

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[August 4, 1953]

**MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE, CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR AUGUST 4, 1953, AT 2:00 P.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING**

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 2:10 p.m., and asked the Secretary to call the roll. The following Senators were present:

Present 39:

Aiken	Jenner
Barrett	Knowland
Beall	Kuchel
Bennett	Langer
Bush	Martin
Butler, Md.	Millikin
Butler, Nebr.	Mundt
Capehart	Payne
Carlson	Potter
Case	Purtell
Cooper	Saltonstall
Cordon	Schoeppel
Dirksen	Smith, Maine
Duff	Smith, N.J.



EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1953–1955)

Dworshak  
Ferguson  
Griswold  
Hendrickson  
Hickenlooper  
Ives

Thye  
Watkins  
Wiley  
Williams  
Young

Absent 7:

Bricker  
Bridges  
Flanders  
Goldwater

Malone  
McCarthy  
Welker

The Chairman recognized Senator Ferguson who offered the attached resolutions (Exhibits “A” and “B”), both of which were unanimously agreed to.

Senator Dirksen was then recognized and explained that the large manila envelope which had been given to each Senator contained campaign material for their use when they returned home.

At this point the Chairman read the letter of resignation as Policy Chairman which had been tendered by Senator Knowland. The letter is attached at “Exhibit C.”

The Chairman then recognized Senator Cordon who spoke at some length in praise and appreciation of the outstanding job Senator Knowland had done under extremely difficult circumstances, while serving as both the Acting Floor Leader and as Chairman of the Policy Committee. At the conclusion of his commendatory remarks Senator Cordon placed Senator Knowland’s name in nomination for the position of Floor Leader. The nomination was seconded by Senators Thye, Smith of New Jersey, Langer and Hendrickson.

Senator Ives then moved that if there were no further nominations, the nominations be closed and that the Secretary cast a single ballot for Senator Knowland. The motion was seconded and Senator Knowland was unanimously elected Majority Floor Leader.

Senator Knowland then thanked the Conference Members for their confidence in him and for the great honor they had bestowed upon him. He said he would do his utmost to justify their belief in him and carry out the Party program during the second Session of the 83rd Congress.

Senator Carlson, after being recognized by the Chairman, said he thought the Conference ought to know that, at the beginning of the 83rd Congress, when the late Senator Taft expressed to President Eisenhower his desire to be the Majority Floor Leader, he had also mentioned to the President that he would like to have Senator Knowland be his assistant.

AUGUST 4, 1953

At this point it was moved by Senator Langer that the resignation of Senator Knowland as Policy Chairman be unanimously accepted. The motion was seconded and agreed to without dissent.

After stating that nominations were in order for the position of Chairman of the Policy Committee, Senator Millikin recognized Senator Saltonstall who made a brief nominating speech and then placed the name of Senator Ferguson in nomination.

The nomination was seconded by Senators Smith of Maine, Dirksen, Thye, Langer, Capehart and Griswold. Senator Mundt then moved that the nominations be closed and that the Secretary cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Ferguson.

The motion was promptly seconded and Senator Ferguson was unanimously elected Chairman of the Policy Committee. After being recognized by Senator Millikin, he expressed his deep appreciation to the Conference for electing him its new Policy Committee Chairman and assured the members that he would do his best to handle the job to the satisfaction of the Party.

Senator Capehart requested and was given recognition by the Chairman. He announced that at the next meeting of the Conference he planned to move to amend the Conference rules. He said his amendment would change the method of selecting the members of the Policy Committee. In addition to the President Pro Tempore (if he were a Republican), the Floor Leader, the Conference Chairman and the Whip, all of whom would be ex officio members, his amendment would specify that the Chairmen of all Standing Committees, when the Republicans have the Majority, plus one Member of the Freshman Senators shall constitute regular membership of the Policy Committee.

When the Republicans are in the minority, then the ranking Republican Members of all Standing Committees will become regular members of the Policy Committee.

Both Senator Smith of New Jersey and Senator Thye raised objections to Senator Capehart's suggested amendment and each discussed alternative methods, but did not state that they planned to offer them as amendments to the Conference rules.

Senator Dirksen was recognized by the Chairman and after making a few brief remarks relative to the legislation passed on August 3rd, creating a Commission to study Judicial and Congressional salaries, he suggested that the Senators give some careful consideration to possible candidates to be selected from the ranks of industry, as members of the Commission.

Chairman Millikin urged the Members to give thoughtful study to ways and means of improving the functioning of the Party.

Upon recognition by the Chairman, Senator Griswold mentioned the matter of a vacancy on the Policy Committee and suggested that Senator Cooper be chosen to fill the vacancy. Both Senators Wiley and Butler of Nebraska spoke in behalf of Senator Cooper and the Chairman thanked the Members and assured them that when the time came to fill the vacancy, he would give careful consideration to their recommendations.

Senator Knowland was recognized and outlined the various possible situations that could develop relative to committee membership ratios if Governor Lausche should appoint a Democrat to fill the vacancy created by the death of Senator Taft. He suggested that some study ought to be given toward determining the most practical way of solving such a situation.

Senator Case was then recognized and explained briefly some of the situations that may and can occur with regard to committee ratios, should such an appointment materialize.

Chairman Millikin complimented the Conference for its action in choosing the new leaders and expressed pride in the success that had been attained during the Session. He urged all of the Members to speak with pride concerning the accomplishments of the 1st Session of the 83rd Congress. The Republicans, he emphasized, should leave here to return to their various states and to let it be known that we are a united Party.

Senator Carlson was recognized and said he thought that Senator Millikin deserved high praise for the splendid job he had done as the Chairman of the Majority Conference. Unanimous agreement of the Members of the Conference was indicated by a rousing round of applause.

There being no further business to come before it, the Conference was adjourned at 4:00 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, August 17, 1953

[signed] William T. Reed  
Secretary for the Majority

\* \* \*

83d Congress  
1st Session

EXHIBIT "A"

**Charles William Tobey**

Senator Homer Ferguson offered the following resolution for Senator Styles Bridges in the Republican Majority Conference on Tuesday, August 4, 1953, which was adopted by unanimous action.

AUGUST 4, 1953

**Whereas** Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from us our beloved colleague, the Honorable Charles William Tobey, late junior Senator from the State of New Hampshire, and

**Whereas** throughout his fourteen years in the United States Senate he rendered to our Nation and to his State a most distinguished service, and

**Whereas** he was our affectionate friend and our esteemed colleague, ever ready to give of himself, of his efforts, and of his judgment,

*Now, therefore,*

**Be It Resolved**, That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the Honorable Charles William Tobey, express our sense of loss at his passing, and

**Further**, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Mrs. Lillian S. Tobey, that she may be assured of our deep respect for her and of our condolences to her upon the passing of our friend, her husband.

Attest:

Chairman  
Secretary

\* \* \*

EXHIBIT "B"

83d Congress  
1st Session

**Robert Alphonso Taft**

Senator Homer Ferguson offered the following resolution for Senator John W. Bricker in the Republican Majority Conference on Tuesday, August 4, 1953, which was adopted by unanimous action:

**Whereas** Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from us our beloved colleague, the Honorable Robert Alphonso Taft, late senior Senator from the State of Ohio, and

**Whereas** throughout his fourteen years in the United States Senate he rendered to our Nation and to his State a most distinguished service, and

**Whereas** he was our affectionate friend and our esteemed colleague, ever ready to give of himself, of his efforts, and of his judgment,

*Now, therefore,*

**Be It Resolved**, That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the Honorable Robert Alphonso Taft, express our sense of loss at his passing, and

**Further**, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Mrs. Martha B. Taft, that she may be assured of our deep respect for her and of our condolences to her upon the passing of our friend, her husband.

Attest:

Chairman  
Secretary

\* \* \*  
EXHIBIT "C"

August 3, 1953

Eugene Millikin, Chairman  
Conference of Republican Senators

I hereby tender my resignation as Chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee effective at 2 p.m. Tuesday, August 4, 1953

[signed] William Knowland  
U.S. Senator

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES, CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR HUGH BUTLER, FOR JANUARY 11, 1954, IN THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE, AT 2:30 P.M.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 2:30 p.m.

The following members of the Committee were present: Senators Butler of Nebraska, Bricker, Butler of Maryland, Capehart, Carlson and Case. The following members were absent: Duff, Ferguson and Hickenlooper. Also present was William T. Reed, Secretary for the Majority.

The Chairman stated that he had written each Republican Senator the customary letter requesting committee preferences, and that two work sheets had been compiled in order that the Committee might have the necessary information on which to base their decisions. He then explained the two work sheets to the members. Assignments to the various committees were filled in accordance with eligibility and seniority. After a brief discussion, Senator Bricker moved that the assignments as approved by the Committee be reported to the Republican Conference called for Tuesday, January 12, at 10:00 a.m., in Room 335, Senate Office Building. The Chairman put the question and the motion was agreed to by a voice vote.

Following are the changes in, and assignments made to, the various committees: Senator Aiken was excused from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and assigned to the Committee on Foreign Relations. Senator Capehart was excused from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and was assigned to the committee on Foreign Relations. Senator McCarthy was assigned to the Committee on Rules and Administration. Senator Duff was assigned to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Senator Cooper was excused from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and assigned to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Senator Purtell was excused from the Committee on Rules and Administration, and was assigned to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Senator Payne was assigned to the Committee

AUGUST 4, 1953

on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Senator Upton was assigned to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, and the Committee on Public Works.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 3:30 p.m.

[signed] William T. Reed  
Secretary for the Majority

[signed] Hugh Butler  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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[January 12, 1954]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE, CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 12, 1954, AT 10:00 A.M., IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m., and asked the Secretary to call the roll. The following Senators were present:

Present 43:

Aiken	Knowland
Barrett	Kuchel
Beall	Langer
Bennett	Malone
Bricker	Martin
Bush	McCarthy
Butler, Md.	Millikin
Butler, Nebr.	Mundt
Carlson	Payne
Case	Potter
Cooper	Purtell
Cordon	Saltonstall
Dirksen	Schoeppel
Duff	Smith, Maine
Dworshak	Smith, N.J.
Flanders	Thye
Goldwater	Upton
Griswold	Watkins
Hendrickson	Welker
Hickenlooper	Wiley
Jenner	Williams
	Young

Absent 4:

Bridges	Ferguson
Capehart	Ives

Others present: J. Mark Trice, Lloyd Jones, William T. Reed.

A quorum was present.

The Chairman extended personal greetings to all his colleagues and expressed great pleasure on having such a fine attendance at the first Conference of the Session.

Senator Knowland was recognized and said he hoped that during the week of February eighth, the principal week devoted to Lincoln's Birthday Dinners, there would not be too many of the Senators away from the Senate at the same time. His concern, he said, stemmed from the fact that it was customary for an agreement to be made with the Democrats that no record votes on major legislation would be taken during that week or the week of the Jackson Day Dinners, if many Senators are absent. Therefore, if many are to be away the legislative program will be considerably delayed.

He further stated that, now since the Administration's honeymoon is over, there may be frequent criticism on the Floor of the Republican Committee Chairmen and the Cabinet Members, by the Democrats. If this does occur, the Senator suggested that the Floor Secretary and his staff should immediately notify the Chairman being criticized.

In order that none of the Senators be penalized, Senator Knowland urged that everyone cooperate in taking a turn at relieving the Floor Leader or, the Vice President, from their Floor duties when asked.

At this point he explained the committee ratio agreement that has been worked out with the Democrats. Included as Exhibit "A" is a copy of the agreement. He emphasized that the present proposal would apply to the balance of the 83rd Congress only. The agreement was approved by the Conference.

Senator Butler of Nebraska was recognized and explained the committee assignments that had been worked out by the Committee on Committees. Exhibit "B" explains the changes. He also read a statement, Exhibit "C" attached, which explains a correction that has been made in the seniority rating on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, between Senators Potter and Griswold. The new order as corrected is as follows:

That the majority Members of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce shall be the following: Mr. John W. Bricker of Ohio, Chairman; Mr. Andrew F. Schoeppel of Kansas; Mr. John M. Butler of Maryland; Mr. Charles E. Potter of Michigan; Mr. Dwight Griswold of Nebraska; Mr. James H. Duff of Pennsylvania; Mr. William A. Purtell of Connecticut; and Mr. Frederick G. Payne of Maine.

Senator Case requested that Senator Payne be permitted to remain on the District of Columbia Committee, instead of assigning Senator Hendrickson, as was done by the Committee. Senator Hendrickson gladly withdrew in favor of Senator Payne.

JANUARY 12, 1954

Senator Knowland moved, and Senator Langer seconded, that the Committee on Committees report be accepted as presented, together with the substitution of Senator Payne for Senator Hendrickson on the District of Columbia Committee.

Exhibits "D" and "E" are the new lists of Committee assignments as submitted to, and approved by, the Conference.

The Conference Chairman thanked the Floor Leader and the Chairman and Members of the Committee on Committees for the splendid job they did in working out a mutually satisfactory committee ratio agreement with the Democrats, and in the individual assignments that were made to the committees.

Senator Upton of New Hampshire, who was appointed to fill the vacancy created by the death of Senator Tobey, was welcomed by the Chairman, and introduced to the Members of the Conference.

Senator Smith of New Jersey was recognized and expressed his pleasure on having Senator Upton assigned to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, of which Senator Smith is Chairman.

Senator Dirksen, Chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee, was recognized and asked to make a report of the Committee's activities. After a brief review of the special elections recently held in New Jersey and California, the Senator discussed this year's Senatorial contests, state by state. He was quite optimistic regarding the results next November.

At this point a brief discussion took place relative to Secretary Benson, and his farm program. Messrs. McCarthy, Welker, Watkins, Young, Thye and Jenner, contributed to the discussion.

Chairman Millikin closed the meeting by urging that there be as much party cooperation as possible and that the Majority Party Members be confident, hard working, forthright, and present a solid front to the voters throughout the coming year.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, April 1, 1954

[signed] William T. Reed  
Secretary for the Majority

\* \* \*  
Exhibit "A"

Resolved, That during the remainder of the 83rd Congress section (1) of rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate (relating to standing committees) is amended—

(1) by striking out "11" in subsection (e) (relating to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service) and inserting in lieu thereof "13" and



(2) by striking out “11” in subsection (n) (relating to the Committee on Public Works) and inserting in lieu thereof “13.”

Sec. 2. During the remainder of the 83rd Congress section (4) of rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, as amended, is further amended by inserting “(a)” after “4” and by striking out “14” and inserting in lieu thereof “18”, and by adding the following new paragraph:

“(b) In the event that during the remainder of the 83rd Congress members of one party in the Senate are replaced by members of the other party, the 21 third-committee assignments shall in such event be distributed in accordance with the following table:

“Senate seats		Third committee assignments	
Majority	Minority	Majority	Minority
48	48	18	3
49	47	16	5
50	46	14	7
51	45	12	9”

\* \* \*

Exhibit “B”  
COMMITTEE SERVICE

Ordered, that the Senator from Vermont (Mr. Aiken) be, and he is hereby, excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and is assigned to service on the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Ordered, that the Senator from Indiana (Mr. Capehart) be, and he is hereby, excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and is assigned to service on the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Ordered, that the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. McCarthy) be, and he is hereby, assigned to service on the Committee on Rules and Administration.

Ordered, that the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Duff) be, and he is hereby, assigned to service on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Ordered that the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Cooper) be, and he is hereby, excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and is assigned to service on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Ordered, that the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. Purtell) be, and he is hereby, excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Rules and Administration and is assigned to service on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Ordered, that the Senator from Maine (Mr. Payne) be, and he is hereby, assigned to service on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Ordered, that the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. Upton) be, and he is hereby, assigned to service on the Committee on Labor and Public Wel-

JANUARY 12, 1954

fare; the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service; the Committee on Public Works.

\* \* \*  
Exhibit "C"

STATEMENT READ BY SENATOR BUTLER OF NEBRASKA

Last January when the Republican Conference approved the committee assignments, Senator Potter's name was inadvertently placed junior to that of Senator Griswold on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, when actually, on the basis of established seniority, their positions should have been reversed.

To correct the oversight Senator Potter's name now appears in its proper seniority position on the committee lists you have before you.

\* \* \*  
Exhibit "D"

January 12, 1954  
(Confidential Work Sheet)

**COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS OF SENATORS**

Eighty-third Congress

(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

Mr. AIKEN .....	Agriculture and Forestry Foreign Relations
Mr. BARRETT .....	District of Columbia Interior and Insular Affairs Rules and Administration
Mr. BEALL .....	Banking and Currency District of Columbia Public Works
Mr. BENNETT .....	Banking and Currency Finance
Mr. BRICKER .....	Banking and Currency Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. BRIDGES .....	Appropriations Armed Services
Mr. BUSH .....	Banking and Currency Public Works
Mr. BUTLER, Md. ....	Government Operations Interstate and Foreign Commerce Judiciary
Mr. BUTLER, Nebr. ....	Finance Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. CAPEHART .....	Banking and Currency Foreign Relations
Mr. CARLSON .....	Finance Post Office and Civil Service

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1953–1955)

	Rules and Administration
Mr. CASE .....	Armed Services District of Columbia Public Works
Mr. COOPER .....	Armed Services Labor and Public Welfare Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. CORDON .....	Appropriations Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. DIRKSEN .....	Appropriations Government Operations Judiciary
Mr. DUFF .....	Armed Services Interstate and Foreign Commerce Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. DWORSHAK .....	Appropriations Government Operations Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. FERGUSON .....	Appropriations Foreign Relations
Mr. FLANDERS .....	Armed Services Finance
Mr. GOLDWATER .....	Banking and Currency Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. GRISWOLD .....	Interstate and Foreign Commerce Labor and Public Welfare Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. HENDRICKSON .....	Armed Services Judiciary
Mr. HICKENLOOPER .....	Agriculture and Forestry Foreign Relations
Mr. IVES .....	Banking and Currency Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. JENNER .....	Judiciary Post Office and Civil Service Rules and Administration
Mr. KNOWLAND .....	Appropriations Foreign Relations
Mr. KUCHEL .....	Interior and Insular Affairs Public Works
Mr. LANGER .....	Foreign Relations Judiciary
Mr. MALONE .....	Finance Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. MARTIN .....	Finance Public Works

JANUARY 12, 1954

Mr. MCCARTHY .....	Appropriations Government Operations Rules and Administration
Mr. MILLIKIN .....	Finance Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. MUNDT .....	Agriculture and Forestry Appropriations Government Operations
Mr. PAYNE .....	Banking and Currency Interstate and Foreign Commerce District of Columbia
Mr. POTTER .....	Government Operations Interstate and Foreign Commerce Rules and Administration
Mr. PURTELL .....	Interstate and Foreign Commerce Labor and Public Welfare Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. SALTONSTALL .....	Appropriations Armed Services
Mr. SCHOEPPPEL .....	Agriculture and Forestry Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mrs. SMITH, Maine .....	Appropriations Armed Services Government Operations
Mr. SMITH, N.J. ....	Foreign Relations Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. THYE .....	Agriculture and Forestry Appropriations
Mr. UPTON .....	Labor and Public Welfare Post Office and Civil Service Public Works
Mr. WATKINS .....	Interior and Insular Affairs Judiciary
Mr. WELKER .....	Agriculture and Forestry Judiciary
Mr. WILEY .....	Foreign Relations Judiciary
Mr. WILLIAMS .....	Agriculture and Forestry Finance
Mr. YOUNG .....	Agriculture and Forestry Appropriations
Mr. MORSE (Independent) ..	District of Columbia Public Works

\* \* \*

Exhibit "E"

January 12, 1954

(Confidential Work Sheet)

**STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE**

Eighty-third Congress

(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

**On Agriculture and Forestry** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. AIKEN, Chairman, YOUNG, THYE, HICKENLOOPER,  
MUNDT, WILLIAMS, SCHOEPPPEL, WELKER.

**On Appropriations** (Ratio 12–11)

Messrs. BRIDGES, Chairman, FERGUSON, CORDON,  
SALTONSTALL, YOUNG, KNOWLAND, THYE, MCCARTHY,  
MUNDT, Mrs. SMITH, Maine, Messrs. DWORSHAK, DIRKSEN.

**On Armed Services** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. SALTONSTALL, Chairman, BRIDGES, FLANDERS, Mrs.  
SMITH, Maine, Messrs. HENDRICKSON, CASE, DUFF, COOPER.

**On Banking and Currency** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. CAPEHART, Chairman, BRICKER, IVES, BENNETT, BUSH,  
BEALL, PAYNE, GOLDWATER.

**On District of Columbia** (Ratio 5–4)

Messrs. CASE, Chairman, BARRETT, BEALL, PAYNE. MORSE.

**On Finance** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. MILLIKIN, Chairman, BUTLER, Nebr., MARTIN, WILLIAMS,  
FLANDERS, MALONE, CARLSON, BENNETT.

**On Foreign Relations** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. WILEY, Chairman, SMITH, N.J., HICKENLOOPER,  
LANGER, FERGUSON, KNOWLAND, AIKEN, CAPEHART.

**On Government Operations** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. MCCARTHY, Chairman, MUNDT, Mrs. SMITH, Maine,  
Messrs. DWORSHAK, DIRKSEN, BUTLER, Md., POTTER.

**On Interior and Insular Affairs** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. BUTLER, Nebr., Chairman, MILLIKIN, CORDON, MALONE,  
WATKINS, DWORSHAK, KUCHEL, BARRETT.

**On Interstate and Foreign Commerce** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. BRICKER, Chairman, SCHOEPPPEL, BUTLER, Md., POTTER,  
GRISWORLD, DUFF, PURTELL, PAYNE.

**On the Judiciary** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. LANGER, Chairman, WILEY, JENNER, WATKINS,  
HENDRICKSON, DIRKSEN, WELKER, BUTLER, Md.

**On Labor and Public Welfare** (Ratio 7–6)

JANUARY 12, 1954

Messrs. SMITH, N.J., Chairman, IVES, GRISWOLD, PURTELL, GOLDWATER, COOPER, UPTON.

**On Post Office and Civil Service** (Ratio 7-6)

Messrs. CARLSON, Chairman, DUFF, JENNER, COOPER, GRISWOLD, PURTELL, UPTON.

**On Public Works** (Ratio 7-6)

Messrs. MARTIN, Chairman, CASE, BUSH, KUCHEL, BEALL, UPTON. MORSE.

**On Rules and Administration** (Ratio 5-4)

Messrs. JENNER, Chairman, CARLSON, POTTER, BARRETT, MCCARTHY.

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[March 23, 1954]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE, CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR MARCH 23, 1954, AT 10:00 A.M. IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:10 a.m.

In the absence of Senator Young the Chair designated Senator Saltonstall to be acting secretary and asked him to call the roll. The following Senators were present:

Present 39:

Barrett	Ives
Beall	Jenner
Bennett	Kuchel
Bricker	Malone
Bush	Martin
Butler, Nebr.	McCarthy
Capehart	Millikin
Carlson	Mundt
Cooper	Potter
Cordon	Purtell
Dirksen	Saltonstall
Duff	Schoeppel
Dworshak	Smith, Maine
Ferguson	Smith, N.J.
Flanders	Thye
Goldwater	Upton
Griswold	Watkins
Hendrickson	Welker
Hickenlooper	Wiley
	Williams

Absent 8:

Aiken	Knowland
Bridges	Langer
Butler, Md.	Payne
Case	Young

Others present: J. Mark Trice, Lloyd Jones, William T. Reed, James Gleason.

A quorum was present.

Senator Barrett, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections was recognized by Chairman Millikin, who requested that Senator Barrett explain New Mexico Senatorial Election Resolution 220, which he did in detail.<sup>4</sup> A number of the Senators interrogated Senator Barrett and Senator Millikin concerning various aspects of the Resolution. Senator Barrett made it very clear that Senate Resolution 220 in no way directly involved Senator Chavez, but rather had to do with the unconstitutional manner in which the senatorial election was conducted in New Mexico.

Several Senators complimented the Committee Members—Barrett and Potter—for the excellent investigation that was conducted and on the comprehensive report that was prepared. They also praised the work of Wilford Ware, chief counsel of the subcommittee, and his staff for doing a thorough job under most difficult conditions.

A majority of the speakers expressed the view that the Republican Senators should support the Committee even if the vote failed to carry.

Senator Cordon was recognized and explained his amendment to the resolution which in essence would provide that in the event Resolution 220 was upheld as amended, then it would be suggested that the Senate seat vacated as result of the action would not be filled by an appointee of the Governor of New Mexico, but instead would be filled by the voters at the first general or special election to be held thereafter.

At the conclusion of the discussion of Senate Resolution 220, Senator Millikin briefly explained the Excise Tax Bill (H.R. 8224) as amended by the Finance Committee. In the opinion of the Chairman the bill in its present structure effects all the relief possible at this time without seriously undermining the financial position of the Government.

<sup>4</sup>[The slim Republican margin at the beginning of the Congress lent importance to the challenge filed by losing Republican candidate Patrick J. Hurley of New Mexico against incumbent Democrat Dennis Chavez. Hurley's petition in the close race charged numerous election irregularities. The Senate initially seated Chavez "without prejudice" to Hurley's challenge and did not complete work on the case until March 1954, when it voted to allow Chavez to retain his seat.]

MARCH 23, 1954

There being no further business the meeting was closed at 12:00 noon.

[signed] Leverett Saltonstall  
Acting Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, April 1, 1954

[signed] William T. Reed  
Secretary for the Majority

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[April 30, 1954]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE, CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR FRIDAY, APRIL 30, 1954, IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m., and asked the Secretary to call the roll. The following Senators were present:

Present 24:

Aiken	Ives
Beall	Knowland
Bennett	Malone
Bowring	Martin
Bush	Millikin
Butler, Nebr.	Payne
Carlson	Purtell
Case	Saltonstall
Duff	Smith, N.J.
Dworshak	Thye
Ferguson	Welker
Goldwater	Young

Absent 23:

Barrett	Kuchel
Bricker	Langer
Bridges	McCarthy
Butler, Md.	Mundt
Capehart	Potter
Cooper	Schoeppel
Cordon	Smith, Maine
Dirksen	Upton
Flanders	Watkins
Hendrickson	Wiley
Hickenlooper	Williams
Jenner	

Others present: Lloyd Jones, William T. Reed.



A quorum was present.

The Chairman recognized Senator Beall who discussed the filling of the position of the Comptroller General when it becomes vacant on May 1. He recommended and urged that the Senate support J. Mark Trice, the present Secretary of the Senate, for the position. At this point Senator Knowland was recognized and explained in some detail the complications which have developed relative to the selection of a new Comptroller General. He stated that the House of Representatives is supporting Representative Sterling Cole of New York, for the position and seems adamant against withdrawing his name.

Senator Knowland further explained that if the House-Senate stalemate were not resolved, a third party might be named by the President. It was his feeling, however, that the Senate should continue to support Mark Trice.

Senator Beall was again recognized, and moved on behalf of Senator Butler of Maryland and himself that the Senate should support Mark Trice for appointment to the position of Comptroller General of the United States. The motion was seconded and unanimously agreed to.

At this point, Senator Millikin welcomed Mrs. Eva Bowring, the recently appointed Senator from Nebraska, to the Conference and expressed the hope that she would grace many future conferences with her presence.

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who stressed the importance of better attendance on the Floor and the prompt answering of quorum calls in the interest of expediting the legislative program, to make it possible to adjourn sine die on July 31st.

Senator Butler of Nebraska, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, was recognized by the Chairman and reported that after consultation with his Committee Members, it was unanimously decided to assign Mrs. Eva Bowring to the same committees to which the late Senator Dwight Griswold had been assigned: Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Labor and Public Welfare and Post Office and Civil Service. The Conference unanimously approved the Committee assignments.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Smith of New Jersey, Chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Mr. Smith explained in great detail the background of the legislative changes in the Taft-Hartley Act to be considered on the Floor next week. He also discussed the Party position in relation to the proposed legislation, as well as the position the opposition would take. Each Senator was given a copy of Committee Print #2, dated March 13, 1954, of the Taft-Hartley Act as Modified by Proposed Amendments, (Exhibit

APRIL 30, 1954

A), so that they might follow Senator Smith's explanation of the Committee amendments.

Following his discussion of the proposed Committee amendments, Senator Smith urged the support of the Conference Members in preventing any attempt for recommittal of the legislation.

Senator Knowland was again recognized and requested a united Republican support of night sessions, if necessary, to complete work on the Taft-Hartley Act. He also recommended a united stand in opposition to recommittal of the legislation.

Chairman Millikin recognized Senator Goldwater and he explained the provisions of his so-called "States Rights" amendment #4-29-54A (Exhibit B). A number of the Senators asked questions concerning the effect of the amendment on the Act and Senator Goldwater said that in essence, it would provide certain restraining authority to the states. He urged the Conference to support his amendment.

The Chairman recognized Senator Purtell and asked him to explain his proposed "secret strike ballot" amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act. This he did, in detail. He also urged Conference support of his amendment.

Senator Ives was recognized and explained his views regarding the regulation of secret strike balloting, and its [in]corporation into the Taft-Hartley Act. Senators Bush, Case, Smith of New Jersey, Ferguson, Knowland and Welker, all contributed to the discussion of the question regarding secret strike balloting.

The Chairman recognized Senator Butler of Nebraska, who moved that a resolution (copy attached) be prepared by the Secretary, and sent to Mrs. Dwight Griswold, expressing the sympathy of the Conference upon the death of her husband, the late Senator Dwight Griswold. The motion was seconded and unanimously agreed to.

There being no further business, the Conference was adjourned at 11:57 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, August 27, 1954

[signed] William T. Reed  
Secretary for the Majority

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1953–1955)

\* \* \*

Exhibit “A”

(COMMITTEE PRINT NO. 2)

March 13, 1954

**Taft-Hartley Act as Modified by Proposed Amendments  
AN ACT**

To amend the National Labor Relations Act, to provide additional facilities for the mediation of labor disputes affecting commerce, to equalize legal responsibilities of labor organizations and employers, and for other purposes.

[The 79-page text of Committee Print No. 2 appears at page 60234 of Vol. 6 of the original minutes.]

\* \* \*

Exhibit “B”

Calendar No. 1217

83d Congress  
2d Session

**S. 2650**

In the Senate of the United States

April 29 (legislative day, April 14), 1954

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

**AMENDMENT**

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Goldwater to the bill (S. 2650) to amend the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, and for other purposes, viz: On page 18, strike out all of lines 6 to 16 inclusive, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

(c) Except as provided in subsections (a) and (b), nothing in this Act shall be construed to nullify or impair the power of any State or Territory—

(1) to exercise its police powers, and to deal with labor disputes causing, or likely to cause, emergencies affecting the health or safety of citizens of such State or Territory; or

(2) in any other case, to give effect to its law: *Provided*, That no such law may be applied so as to permit employers or labor organizations to interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in the exercise of the rights guaranteed to employees by this Act.

\* \* \*

**83d Congress  
2d Session**

**Dwight Palmer Griswold**

Senator Hugh Butler offered the following resolution in the Republican Majority Conference on Friday, April 30, 1954, which was adopted by unanimous action.

APRIL 30, 1954

**Whereas** Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from us our beloved colleague, the Honorable Dwight Palmer Griswold, late junior Senator from the State of Nebraska, and

**Whereas** while he was in the United States Senate he rendered to our Nation and to his State a most distinguished service, and

**Whereas** he was our affectionate friend and our esteemed colleague, ever ready to give of himself, of his efforts, and of his judgment,

*Now, therefore,*

**Be It Resolved**, That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the honorable Dwight Palmer Griswold, express our sense of loss at his passing, and

**Further**, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Mrs. Erma E. Griswold, that she may be assured of our deep respect for her and of our condolences to her upon the passing of our friend, her husband.

Attest:

Chairman  
Secretary

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[June 3, 1954]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE MAJORITY CONFERENCE, CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR 10:00 A.M., JUNE 3, 1954, ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m.

The Secretary called the roll and the following Senators were present:

Present 30:

Aiken	Knowland
Barrett	Langer
Beall	Malone
Bennett	Martin
Bowring	Millikin
Bricker	Payne
Bush	Purtell
Capehart	Saltonstall
Carlson	Schoeppel
Cordon	Smith, Maine
Ferguson	Smith, N.J.
Goldwater	Watkins
Hendrickson	Welker
Ives	Wiley
Jenner	Young

Absent 17:

Bridges	Flanders
Butler, Md.	Hickenlooper
Butler, Nebr.	Kuchel
Case	McCarthy
Cooper	Mundt
Dirksen	Potter
Duff	Thye
Dworshak	Upton
	Williams

Others present: J. Mark Trice, Lloyd Jones, William T. Reed.

A quorum was present.

Senator Knowland was recognized and discussed the importance of maintaining a good attendance on the Floor. He stated that many proposed amendments can be disposed of by voice vote if a sufficient Floor attendance is maintained. He also urged the Senators not to give live pairs to their Democrat colleagues but rather, if they find it necessary to vote contrary to the Party, to give live pairs to the absent Republican colleagues.

At this point the Floor Leader raised the question as to whether the legislation relative to an increase in Congressional and Judicial salaries should be acted on in this Congress. After a brief discussion of the matter a show of hands indicated that a majority of those present were in favor of bringing S. 1663 to the Floor for consideration.

After complimenting Senator Knowland on his suggestions relative to the handling of the Congressional and Judicial salary increase legislation, Chairman Millikin recognized Senator Capehart and asked him to explain the Housing Act of 1954.

The Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, Mr. Capehart, explained that the bill had been made more liberal in that the required down payments had been reduced, and the time to pay out had been extended. He also cited the sections of the Act which were affected by the “irregularities” charges made by the Justice Department.

Senator Saltonstall was recognized and inquired about the slum clearance section of the bill. Senator Capehart explained that section of the bill and then discussed public housing, which he said would be the principal issue on the Floor. He also discussed the President’s position and desire relative to public housing.

Senator Capehart resumed his explanation of the bill, stating that it was unanimously reported out of the full Committee, while the public housing section authorizing approximately 617,000 units as proposed by Senator [Burnet R.] Maybank [Democrat of South Carolina] was agreed to by an 11 to 4 vote. He further stated that Sen-

JUNE 3, 1954

ator Maybank now planned to remove the public housing section by means of a floor amendment because of the segregation issue.

Senator Ives was recognized and explained an amendment he had prepared as a substitute to the Maybank amendment. His amendment provides for 140,000 units over a four year period, but not to exceed 35,000 units in any one year. Senator Ives stated that his substitute was in agreement with President Eisenhower's suggested program.

Senator Capehart was again recognized and said that Senator [Harry F.] Byrd [Democrat of Virginia] planned to offer several amendments purported to tighten certain sections of the bill where irregularities had previously occurred. He said that after he had an opportunity to study the Byrd Amendments, if he considered them beneficial to the bill he would be glad to take them to conference.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:10 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, August 27, 1954

[signed] William T. Reed  
Secretary for the Majority

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[June 30, 1954]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE, CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, ON JUNE 30, 1954, AT 10:00 A.M., IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m. The following Senators were present:

Present 39:

Aiken	Knowland
Barrett	Kuchel
Beall	Langer
Bennett	Martin
Bowring	Millikin
Bridges	Mundt
Bush	Payne
Butler, Md.	Potter
Butler, Nebr.	Purtell
Carlson	Saltonstall
Cordon	Schoeppel
Crippa	Smith, Maine

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1953–1955)

Dworshak  
Ferguson  
Flanders  
Goldwater  
Hendrickson  
Hickenlooper  
Ives  
Jenner

Smith, N.J.  
Thye  
Upton  
Welker  
Wiley  
Williams  
Young

Absent 9:

Bricker  
Capehart  
Case  
Cooper  
Dirksen

Duff  
Malone  
McCarthy  
Watkins

Others present: J. Mark Trice, Lloyd Jones, William T. Reed.

A quorum was present.

Chairman Millikin, on behalf of his colleagues, welcomed Senator Crippa of Wyoming, to his first Conference. He also welcomed Mrs. Bowring from Nebraska, and expressed his appreciation of the fine attendance.

The Chairman then announced that voting on H.R. 8300, the Tax Revision Bill, would start this afternoon. He briefly explained the amendment which Senator [Walter F.] George [Democrat of Georgia] has proposed and which is now pending, the purpose of which is to increase personal exemption from \$600 to \$700, and urged the Conference Members to oppose it.

He then stated that many Republican Senators think the Republicans should offer an amendment to Senator George's amendment which would help the low-income taxpayers, and asked for an expression from the Conference.

Senator Knowland was recognized and explained to the Conference that the Policy Committee Members thought the Republicans should offer an amendment of benefit to the low-income groups.

So many Senators agreed with Senator Knowland's suggestion that Senator Millikin explained a proposed amendment suggested by Senator Ives. He also explained an amendment to change the dividend exemption. The consensus of the Conference was that Senator Millikin should offer both amendments.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:45 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

JUNE 30, 1954

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, August 27, 1954

[signed] William T. Reed  
Secretary for the Majority

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[July 9, 1954]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE, CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JULY 9, 1954, AT 9:30 A.M.

Chairman Millikin called the Conference to order at 9:45 a.m.

The following Senators were present:

Present 26:

Barrett	Kuchel
Bennett	Malone
Bowring	Martin
Bush	Millikin
Butler	Payne
Carlson	Reynolds
Cordon	Saltonstall
Crippa	Schoeppel
Dirksen	Smith, Maine
Duff	Smith, N.J.
Dworshak	Thye
Ferguson	Upton
Knowland	Welker

Absent 22:

Aiken	Ives
Beall	Jenner
Bricker	Langer
Bridges	McCarthy
Capehart	Mundt
Case	Potter
Cooper	Purtell
Flanders	Watkins
Goldwater	Wiley
Hendrickson	Williams
Hickenlooper	Young

Others present: J. Mark Trice, Lloyd Jones, William T. Reed.

A quorum was present.

Senator Eva Bowring of Nebraska was recognized and moved that a resolution be prepared on behalf of the Conference and sent to Mrs. Maudlee L. Butler, sister-in-law of the late Senator Hugh But-



ler, expressing its deep sympathy upon the death of their colleague. The motion was seconded and unanimously agreed to.

Chairman Millikin then explained that the Conference had been called primarily to approve certain committee assignments and appointments. He further explained that a new chairman needed to be appointed for the Committee on Committees and suggested that since Senator Bricker was the ranking member, that he be chosen. Senator Bennett moved, and it was seconded, that Senator Bricker be named as Chairman of the Committee on Committees for the remainder of the Session. It was unanimously agreed to.

Senator Millikin then suggested that Senator Cordon be assigned as Chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Senator Thye so moved and it was seconded and unanimously agreed to.

After advising the Conference of the vacancies on the Committee on Finance and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the Chairman suggested that rather than get involved in a number of permanent changes at this point in the closing days of the Session, Senator Crippa of Wyoming be relieved of membership on the Committee on the District of Columbia, and be assigned to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Also that Senator Reynolds of Nebraska be assigned to the Committee on Finance and the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Senator Smith of New Jersey moved, and it was seconded, that Senator Crippa be assigned to service on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and Senator Reynolds be assigned to service on the Committee on Finance. It was unanimously agreed to.

Senator Ferguson then moved and it was seconded and unanimously agreed to, that Senator Crippa be relieved of service on the Committee on the District of Columbia, and Senator Reynolds be assigned to service on that Committee.

Senator Ferguson also moved, and it was seconded and unanimously agreed to, that Senator Mundt be made a member of the Policy Committee.

In order to provide for the filling of possible vacancies on the Policy Committee between now and January, 1955, Senator Saltonstall moved, and it was seconded, that if and when a vacancy should occur on the Policy Committee the Conference Chairman be authorized to fill such a vacancy by making a temporary appointment.

Senator Knowland was recognized and urged the Senators not to make plans to be away from the Senate from now until the Session ends, except when absolutely necessary. Only by having a quorum present at all times can the Senate hope to complete the work and adjourn by July 31, Knowland stated.

JULY 9, 1954

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 10:00 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, August 27, 1954

[signed] William T. Reed  
Secretary for the Majority

\* \* \*

**83d Congress  
2d Session**

**Hugh Butler**

Senator Eva Bowring offered the following resolution in the Republican Majority Conference on Friday, July 9, 1954, which was adopted by unanimous action:

**Whereas** Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from us our beloved colleague, the Honorable Hugh Butler, late senior Senator from the State of Nebraska, and

**Whereas** while he was in the United States Senate he rendered to our Nation and to his State a most distinguished service, and

**Whereas** he was our affectionate friend and our esteemed colleague, ever ready to give of himself, of his efforts, and of his judgment,

*Now, therefore,*

**Be It Resolved,** That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the honorable Hugh Butler, express our sense of loss at his passing, and

**Further,** That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Mrs. Maudlee L. Butler, that she may be assured of our deep respect for her and of our condolences to her upon the passing of our friend, her brother-in-law.

Attest:

Chairman  
Secretary

## Eighty-fourth Congress (1955–1957)

[Editor's Note: The 1954 election returned control of Congress to the Democrats, who had 232 members in the House to 203 Republicans. In the Senate, however, their lead was slim, with only 49 Democrats—including former Independent Wayne Morse, who became a Democrat in February 1955, and South Carolina's Strom Thurmond, who had won election as an Independent Democrat—to 47 Republicans.]

In foreign affairs the cold war tensions continued. Egypt's President Nasser, who had been moving toward the Soviet orbit, precipitated a crisis in 1956 by nationalizing control of the Suez Canal. Israel retaliated by invading and occupying the Sinai Peninsula, joined for a time by British and French troops, while the United States sought to end the crisis through negotiations before it could explode into a full-scale war. At about the same time, Soviet troops brutally suppressed freedom fighters in Hungary.

On the domestic front, Congress in June 1956 passed the Highway Act that authorized construction of the interstate highway system and established a Highway Trust Fund financed by gasoline taxes to pay for the projects.]

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[January 4, 1955]

### MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 4, 1955, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:12 a.m. and requested that Senator Styles Bridges act as Temporary Chairman. Senator Bridges took the Chair as Temporary Chairman. The Temporary Chairman asked Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel to act as Temporary Secretary and requested that the roll be called. The roll was called.

The following Senators were present:

Present 43:

Aiken	Dirksen	Mundt
Allott	Dworshak	Payne
Barrett	Flanders	Potter
Beall	Goldwater	Purtell
Bender	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Bricker	Hruska	Schoeppel
Bridges	Jenner	Smith, Maine
Bush	Knowland	Smith, N.J.
Butler	Kuchel	Thye

JANUARY 4, 1955

Capehart	Langer	Watkins
Carlson	Martin, Iowa	Welker
Case, N.J.	Martin, Pa.	Wiley
Case, S.D.	McCarthy	Williams
Cotton	Millikin	Young
Curtis		

Absent 4:

Bennett	Ives
Duff	Malone

Others present were: J. Mark Trice, Lloyd Jones, William T. Reed.

A quorum was present.

The Temporary Chairman announced that the first order of business was the nomination and election of a permanent Chairman of the Conference and he asked for nominations. Senator Knowland was recognized and nominated Senator Eugene Millikin. The nomination was seconded by Senators Bricker, Smith, New Jersey, and Capehart. Senator Welker then moved that the nominations be closed and that the Temporary Secretary cast a unanimous vote for Senator Millikin. The Temporary Secretary cast a unanimous vote for Senator Millikin.

Senator Millikin assumed the Chair as Chairman of the Conference and thanked the Conference for its vote of confidence and for the fine attendance. He then greeted the new Senators and asked Senator Everett Dirksen to introduce them to the Conference which he did, very ably. The new Senators as introduced were: Messrs. Thomas Martin of Iowa; Gordon Allott of Colorado; Roman Hruska of Nebraska; George Bender of Ohio; Carl T. Curtis of Nebraska; Clifford Case of New Jersey and Norris Cotton of New Hampshire. Following the introductions Senator Dirksen as Chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee made a comprehensive report on the activities of the Campaign Committee relative to the 1954 campaign. He urged that a unified Republican front be established between now and the 1956 campaign and emphasized that only through unity can the Party hope to win in 1956.

Senator Bridges was recognized and moved that the Conference go on record and that the Secretary prepare a resolution extending the gratitude of the Conference to Senator Dirksen for his outstanding efforts on behalf of the Party as Chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee. Senator Margaret Chase Smith and Senator Capehart seconded the motion. Chairman Millikin spoke highly of the fine work done by Senator Dirksen then put the question which was unanimously adopted. A copy of the resolution is attached hereto as Exhibit "A."

The Chairman announced that nominations were in order for Secretary of the Conference. Senator Langer nominated Senator Milton

R. Young as Secretary of the Conference, it was seconded by Senator Capehart and Senator Thye moved that the nominations be closed and that the Secretary cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Young. The motion was agreed to and a unanimous ballot was cast for Senator Young.

The Chairman announced that nominations were in order for Minority Floor Leader. Senator Carlson nominated Senator William F. Knowland and Senator Bricker moved that the nominations be closed. Senator Kuchel seconded the nomination and the motion that the nominations be closed. He also spoke briefly in praise of Senator Knowland and the fine job he did throughout the 83rd Congress. Chairman Millikin added his words of praise and put the question. Senator Knowland was elected unanimously to Minority Floor leader. Senator Knowland thanked the Conference for its expression of confidence and pledged his complete cooperation.

The Chairman announced that nominations were in order for Whip. Senator Thye nominated Senator Leverett Saltonstall, it was seconded by Senator Bridges who moved that the nominations be closed and that the Secretary cast a single ballot for Senator Saltonstall. The motion was seconded, agreed to, and the Secretary cast a unanimous ballot.

The Chairman announced that nominations were in order for Chairman of the Policy Committee. Senator Bricker nominated Senator Styles Bridges for Chairman of the Policy Committee. The motion was seconded by Senators Cotton and Capehart. It was moved that nominations be closed and that the Secretary be instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Bridges. The motion was agreed to and the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot.

The Chairman announced that nominations were in order for Secretary for the Minority. Senator Bridges nominated J. Mark Trice and it was seconded by Senator Butler. The nominations were closed and Mr. Trice was unanimously elected Secretary for the Minority.

The Chairman explained that it was customary for the Minority Party to submit a slate for President Pro Tempore, Secretary of the Senate and Sergeant at Arms. Senator Knowland nominated Senator Styles Bridges for President Pro Tempore, J. Mark Trice for Secretary of the Senate and Forest A. Harness for Sergeant at Arms. The nominations were seconded, closed and the three nominees unanimously elected.

The Chairman requested that the members of the Conference interested in serving on the Policy Committee convey their interest to him by letter within 24 hours.

The Chairman then reappointed the Committee on Personnel which served throughout the 83rd Congress, namely:

JANUARY 4, 1955

Edward Martin, Chairman  
Styles Bridges  
Herman Welker

Without objection the action of the Chairman was approved.

The Chairman announced that without objection the proceedings would be considered as having taken place following the convening of the Senate and the swearing in of the Senators tomorrow (January 5, 1955). He then announced that the following Senators were nominated to membership on the Committee on Committees:

Bricker, Chairman, Kuchel, Allott, Purtell, Jenner, Martin, Iowa, Schoeppel, Smith, Me., Beall, Hruska, Case, N.J., Langer, Mundt, Watkins, Flanders, McCarthy, Cotton, Bender.

and the Conference unanimously approved.

Senator Knowland was recognized and he urged that no pairs be made without first consulting with the Floor Leader, the Whip or the Floor Secretary. He further urged the Senators to have their Administrative Assistants keep the leadership advised in advance of any plans their Senators may have for being out of the city so that votes may be scheduled when the attendance will be the best possible.

Senator Case of South Dakota was recognized and suggested Senator Mundt as a potential candidate for the position of Chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee. He discussed Senator Mundt's qualifications briefly and emphasized his well-rounded experience in politics.

Senator Dirksen was recognized and praised the excellent cooperation and fine work done by John A. Reilly of The Second National Bank of Washington who acted as Treasurer of the Senatorial Campaign Committee and Olive Hurley who has for several years been Secretary to the Committee. He moved that the Conference express its appreciation for the excellent job done by both Miss Hurley and Mr. Reilly and that a suitable resolution be drafted by the Secretary and sent to each of them. Without objection the motion was agreed to unanimously. Resolutions attached hereto as Exhibit "B."

Senator Langer was recognized and offered the suggestion that at least three of the new Senators be included as members of the Policy Committee.

Senator Williams was recognized and nominated former Senator John Townsend of Delaware as Co-Chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee. The nomination was seconded and without objection the nominations were closed and the election was unanimous.

Senator Goldwater was recognized and addressed himself to the matter of suggesting that more Conferences be held this session than were held during the 83rd Congress. He urged that this be

done in an effort to improve party unity and keep the Senators better informed with regard to the Party position on legislation.

Senator Knowland was recognized and responded by agreeing with Senator Goldwater on the need for more Conferences.

Senator Thye was recognized and commended Senator Goldwater for his suggestion that more Conferences be held. He said he felt that the leaders did not keep the other Senators fully informed on the thinking of the White House. Senator Knowland was recognized and responded to Senator Thye explaining that the leaders tried at all times to keep all of the Senators informed on legislation and had always tried to represent their thinking at the White House conferences and would continue to do so.

Senator Purtell was recognized and also spoke briefly on the need for more conferences.

Senator Millikin said that he did not object to more frequent conferences provided the Senators would exercise personal restraint in what they said.

The Chairman suggested that one of the new Senators be selected to attend the Policy Committee meetings each time the Committee meets.

The Chairman also suggested that the ranking Republican members on each committee endeavor to see that committee meetings do not conflict with Conferences.

Senator Dirksen was recognized and urged that early plans be made by the Senators relative to their Lincoln Birthday plans so as not to conflict with the legislative program. He also moved and it was unanimously agreed that a letter or wire be sent to Senator Wallace Bennett expressing the sympathy of the Conference over his illness and its desire for his speedy recovery. Copy of telegram is attached as Exhibit "C."

There being no further business the Conference was adjourned at 11:40 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 26, 1955

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*

Exhibit "A"

**84th Congress**  
**1st Session**

JANUARY 4, 1955

**Everett McKinley Dirksen**

Senator Styles Bridges offered the following resolution in the Republican Minority Conference on Monday, January 4, 1955, which was adopted by unanimous action:

**Resolved,** That the individual members of the Republican Minority Conference of the United States Senate express to their beloved colleague, the Honorable Everett McKinley Dirksen, United States Senator from the State of Illinois, their sincere esteem and untold gratitude for his unceasing efforts, his able and outstanding services, and his unselfish devotion to them and to the Republican Party throughout his long and faithful tenure as Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee from January 12, 1951, to January 11, 1955.

Attest:

Chairman, Republican Conference

Attest:

Secretary, Republican Conference

\* \* \*  
Exhibit "B"

84th Congress  
1st Session

**RESOLVED,** That the Republican Minority Conference of the United States Senate expresses its sincere gratitude and best wishes to John A. Reilly for his splendid cooperation and efficient work while serving as Treasurer of the National Republican Campaign Committee from February, 1940 up to the present time.

**RESOLVED,** That the Republican Minority Conference of the United States Senate expresses its sincere gratitude and best wishes to Olive B. Hurley for her efficient, loyal and faithful service as Secretary to the National Republican Campaign Committee from February, 1940 up to the present time.

Chairman, Republican Conference  
Secretary, Republican Conference

\* \* \*  
Exhibit "C"

WESTERN UNION

January 7, 1955

Honorable Wallace F. Bennett  
United States Senator  
65 West First South  
Salt Lake City, Utah

THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE AT ITS MEETING ON TUESDAY LAST REQUESTED THAT THE SECRETARY EXPRESS TO YOU DEEP REGRET THAT YOU COULD NOT BE PRESENT BECAUSE OF YOUR RECENT OPERATION AND HOPES THAT YOU WILL HAVE A SPEEDY



RECOVERY. YOUR COLLEAGUES SEND TO YOU THEIR SINCERE  
BEST WISHES AND HIGH ESTEEM AND HOPE YOU WILL REJOIN  
THEM SOON

Milton R. Young, Secretary of the Republican Conference

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN COM-  
MITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN,  
HONORABLE JOHN W. BRICKER, FOR TUESDAY, JANUARY  
11, 1955, AT 9:30 A.M. IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE  
BUILDING

Chairman John W. Bricker called the meeting to order at 9:40 a.m.  
The Chairman asked the Clerk to call the roll. The Clerk called the  
roll and the following Senators were present:

Present 17:

Bricker	Hruska
Kuchel	Case, New Jersey
Allott	Langer
Purtell	Mundt
Jenner	Watkins
Martin, Iowa	Flanders
Schoeppel	Cotton
Smith, Maine	Bender
Beall	

Absent 1:

McCarthy

Others present: J. Mark Trice and William T. Reed. A quorum was  
present.

The Chairman gave a brief resume of the work that had been done  
by him with the assistance of Messrs. Trice and Reed preparatory  
to holding the meeting of the full committee. A copy of his remarks  
is incorporated with the minutes of today's Conference as Exhibit  
"C."

The Chairman explained how the conflict between Senators Bennett  
and Welker, both of whom had equal seniority, had been resolved  
by Senator Bennett withdrawing in favor of Senator Welker since  
Senator Welker had been bumped from Agriculture and Forestry  
and needed a second major committee assignment.

Since the question had been raised regarding a Senator serving on  
both the Appropriations and Finance Committee, Senator Bricker  
read the Conference rule previously adopted governing service on  
Appropriations and Finance at the same time.

Senator Beall was recognized and asked that a note be made that  
he would like to be reassigned to service on the Public Works Com-

JANUARY 4, 1955

mittee as a third committee assignment at the first opportunity. Without objection it was agreed to.

Senator Langer inquired why Senator Wiley was carried as ranking member of two committees, Foreign Relations and Judiciary. The Chairman explained that when the party was in the minority, committee ranking followed a strict seniority rule.

Senator Schoeppel moved and Senator Purtell seconded the motion that the committee assignments as worked out and presented to the Committee on Committees be accepted and be so submitted to the Conference for its approval when it meets at 11:00 a.m.

Senator Case of New Jersey offered an amendment to Senator Schoeppel's motion, that Senator McCarthy's name be stricken from the membership of the Committee on Government Operations.

The Chairman ruled the amendment out of order on the basis of the existing seniority rule.

The Chairman asked if there was objection to Senator Schoeppel's motion and as there was none it was agreed to unanimously.

Both Senator Margaret Chase Smith and Senator Flanders said they thought that the seniority rule should be adhered to strictly.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 10:05 a.m.

[signed] William T. Reed  
Secretary of the Conference [sic]

[signed] John W. Bricker  
Approved by the Chairman of the Conference

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[January 11, 1955]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 11, 1955, AT 11:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 11:03 a.m. and several minutes later the Secretary called the roll.

The following Senators were present:

Present 43:

Aiken	Dworshak	Mundt
Allott	Flanders	Payne
Barrett	Goldwater	Potter
Beall	Hickenlooper	Purtell
Bender	Hruska	Saltonstall
Bricker	Ives	Schoeppel

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1955–1957)

Bridges	Jenner	Smith, Maine
Butler	Knowland	Smith, N.J.
Capehart	Kuchel	Thye
Carlson	Langer	Watkins
Case, N.J.	Malone	Welker
Cotton	Martin, Iowa	Wiley
Curtis	Martin, Pa.	Williams
Dirksen	Millikin	Young
Duff		

Absent 4:

Bennett	Case, S. Dak.
Bush	McCarthy

The Chairman recognized Senator Bricker, Chairman of the Committee on Committees who reported as to the action taken by that Committee. Senator Bricker moved that the recommendations submitted by his Committee (Exhibits "A" and "B") which had been previously distributed be approved by the Conference. Senator Bricker's remarks relating to the conclusions of his Committee are attached hereto as Exhibit "C."

The Senator also stated that Senator Bennett of Utah, who wished assignment to the Committee on Appropriations, had been prevented from receiving that appointment by reason of a long-standing Conference rule prohibiting Senators from service on both the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Finance.

The Chairman recognized Senator Welker who expressed thanks and appreciation for the kindness of Senator Bennett in waiving his desire to be assigned to Armed Services.

The Chairman put the question of agreeing to the motion of Senator Bricker and it was unanimously adopted.

The Chairman presented for consideration of the Conference an amendment to the rules as follows:

Resolved: That for the duration of the 84th Congress the Policy Committee shall consist of the Officers of the Conference and 18 additional members selected as provided by Rule I of the Republican Conference Rules.

He stated that the change in the rules was suggested as an experiment due to the fact that 17 Republican Senators are up for reelection in 1956 and there were three special cases which warranted consideration, namely those of Senators Smith of Maine, Smith of New Jersey and Senator Bricker.

The Chairman stated that the proposed amendment could be considered only by the consent of all Republican Senators due to a provision in the Conference Rules relating to one week's notice. After a brief discussion it was moved by Senator Knowland and seconded that the amendment be agreed to. The Chairman put the question

JANUARY 11, 1955

and the amendment was agreed to unanimously with the understanding that the four Senators not present would be contacted and that when they gave their approval the amendment would be effective immediately. (Following the meeting Mark Trice, Secretary for the Minority, checked the absentees, Messrs. Bennett, Bush, Case of South Dakota and McCarthy and all were in favor of the amendment.)

The Chairman then stated that without objection he would nominate and ask the Conference to confirm the following persons for membership on the Policy Committee, subject to the previous understanding that all absent members agree to the change in Conference Rules:

George D. Aiken, George H. Bender, Wallace F. Bennett, John W. Bricker, Prescott Bush, John Marshall Butler, Homer E. Capehart, Frank Carlson, Francis Case, S. Dak., Norris Cotton, Everett M. Dirksen, James H. Duff, Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Thomas H. Kuchel, Margaret Chase Smith, Maine, H. Alexander Smith, N.J., Herman Welker, Alexander Wiley.

There was no objection and the Chairman announced that the Members previously named were confirmed by the Conference.

The Chairman nominated the following Senators for membership on the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee:

Barry Goldwater, Chairman; Frank A. Barrett, Carl T. Curtis, Irving M. Ives, George W. Malone, Frederick G. Payne, Charles E. Potter, Edward J. Thye, John J. Williams.

The Chairman recognized Senator Jenner who moved that the nominations be approved. The Chairman put the question, and the nominations were approved unanimously.

The Chairman nominated as an additional member of the Committee on Committees Senator Henry C. Dworshak.

The Chairman stated that without objection the nomination would be agreed to. There was no objection.

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland and he stated that at the White House conference this morning the President expressed the hope that the three treaties now before the Senate, namely, the Manila Pact, Republic of China and the Paris-London agreements would be the first order of Senate business. Senator Knowland also stated that he would like to get the expression of the Conference on the subject matter of Congressional salaries. The questions to be decided were the amount, was it wise to consider the legislation early or late and whether or not on a roll call vote the individual Republican members would vote for it. After discussion the Chairman recognized Senator Beall who recommended that the Conference go on record approving an increase in salary to \$25,000. The

Chairman then recognized Senator Knowland who stated he did not think a motion was necessary as some agreement must be worked out with the Majority as well as with those in authority in the House of Representatives. He stated that he merely wished to ascertain the consensus of opinion of the Republican membership as to what the salary should be and whether or not there might be opposition.

The Chairman requested Senator Beall to withdraw his motion and he suggested that the Minority Leader be instructed to negotiate with the parties involved for a salary increase within the range of \$22,500 to \$25,000. There was no objection voiced as to this method of procedure.

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who spoke on the matter of Senate Floor procedure which he had worked out with the Majority Leader now that the Republicans are in the Minority. It was agreed between the respective leaders that notice would be given to the Minority Leader in order that the ranking Minority member of the committee involved could be contacted before approval was given for the request. The procedure suggested was the same that the Republicans had extended to the Democrats in the 83rd Congress but which now would be reversed in its application to the Republican Minority.

The Chairman suggested that the new Members contact Mark Trice in regard to their prerogatives as new Members.

The Chairman recognized Senator Goldwater who expressed his appreciation and gratitude in being named Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee.

The Chairman recognized Senator Martin, Chairman of the Republican Personnel Committee who announced that his Committee was making progress with the Democratic Majority and that an announcement would be made by him later.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 11:58 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference January 26, 1955

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

JANUARY 11, 1955

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Exhibit "A"

January 11, 1955

(Confidential Work Sheet)

**STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE**

Eighty-fourth Congress

(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

**On Agriculture and Forestry** (Ratio 8-7)

Messrs. AIKEN, YOUNG, THYE, HICKENLOOPER, MUNDT, WILLIAMS, SCHOEPPPEL.

**On Appropriations** (Ratio 12-11)

Messrs. BRIDGES, SALTONSTALL, YOUNG, KNOWLAND, THYE, MCCARTHY, MUNDT, Mrs. SMITH, Maine, Messrs. DWORSHAK, DIRKSEN, POTTER.

**On Armed Services** (Ratio 8-7)

Messrs. BRIDGES, SALTONSTALL, FLANDERS, Mrs. SMITH, Maine, Messrs. CASE, S. Dak., DUFF, WELKER.

**On Banking and Currency** (Ratio 8-7)

Messrs. CAPEHART, BRICKER, IVES, BENNETT, BUSH, BEALL, PAYNE.

**On District of Columbia** (Ratio 5-4)

Messrs. BEALL, HRUSKA, CASE, N.J., ALLOTT.

**On Finance** (Ratio 8-7)

Messrs. MILLIKIN, MARTIN, Pa., WILLIAMS, FLANDERS, MALONE, CARLSON, BENNETT.

**On Foreign Relations** (Ratio 8-7)

Messrs. WILEY, SMITH, N.J., HICKENLOOPER, LANGER, KNOWLAND, AIKEN, CAPEHART.

**On Government Operations** (Ratio 7-6)

Messrs. MCCARTHY, MUNDT, Mrs. SMITH, Maine, Messrs. COTTON, BENDER, MARTIN, Iowa.

**On Interior and Insular Affairs** (Ratio 8-7)

Messrs. MILLIKIN, MALONE, WATKINS, DWORSHAK, KUCHEL, BARRETT, GOLDWATER.

**On Interstate and Foreign Commerce** (Ratio 8-7)

Messrs. BRICKER, SCHOEPPPEL, BUTLER, POTTER, DUFF, PURTELL, PAYNE.

**On the Judiciary** (Ratio 8-7)

Messrs. WILEY, LANGER, JENNER, WATKINS, DIRKSEN, WELKER, BUTLER.

**On Labor and Public Welfare** (Ratio 7-6)

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1955–1957)

Messrs. SMITH, N.J., IVES, PURTELL, GOLDWATER, BENDER,  
ALLOTT.

**On Post Office and Civil Service** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. CARLSON, JENNER, LANGER, CURTIS, MARTIN, Iowa,  
CASE, N.J.

**On Public Works** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. MARTIN, Pa., CASE, S. Dak., BUSH, KUCHEL, COTTON,  
HRUSKA.

**On Rules and Administration** (Ratio 5–4)

Messrs. JENNER, BARRETT, MCCARTHY, CURTIS.

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Exhibit “B”

January 11, 1955

(Confidential Work Sheet)

**COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS OF SENATORS**

Eighty-fourth Congress

(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

Mr. AIKEN .....	Agriculture and Forestry Foreign Relations
Mr. ALLOTT .....	District of Columbia Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. BARRETT .....	Interior and Insular Affairs Rules and Administration
Mr. BEALL .....	Banking and Currency District of Columbia
Mr. BENDER .....	Government Operations Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. BENNETT .....	Banking and Currency Finance
Mr. BRICKER .....	Banking and Currency Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. BRIDGES .....	Appropriations Armed Services
Mr. BUSH .....	Banking and Currency Public Works
Mr. BUTLER .....	Interstate and Foreign Commerce Judiciary
Mr. CAPEHART .....	Banking and Currency Foreign Relations
Mr. CARLSON .....	Finance Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. CASE, N.J. ....	District of Columbia Post Office and Civil Service

JANUARY 11, 1955

Mr. CASE, S. Dak. ....	Armed Services Public Works
Mr. COTTON .....	Government Operations Public Works
Mr. CURTIS .....	Post Office and Civil Service Rules and Administration
Mr. DIRKSEN .....	Appropriations Judiciary
Mr. DUFF .....	Armed Services Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. DWORSHAK .....	Appropriations Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. FLANDERS .....	Armed Services Finance
Mr. GOLDWATER .....	Interior and Insular Affairs Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. HICKENLOOPER .....	Agriculture and Forestry Foreign Relations
Mr. HRUSKA .....	District of Columbia Public Works
Mr. IVES .....	Banking and Currency Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. JENNER .....	Judiciary Post Office and Civil Service Rules and Administration
Mr. KNOWLAND .....	Appropriations Foreign Relations
Mr. KUCHEL .....	Interior and Insular Affairs Public Works
Mr. LANGER .....	Foreign Relations Judiciary Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. MALONE .....	Finance Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. MARTIN, Iowa .....	Government Operations Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. MARTIN, Pa. ....	Finance Public Works
Mr. MCCARTHY .....	Appropriations Government Operations Rules and Administration
Mr. MILLIKIN .....	Finance Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. MUNDT .....	Agriculture and Forestry Appropriations



EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1955–1957)

	Government Operations
Mr. PAYNE .....	Banking and Currency
	Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. POTTER .....	Appropriations
	Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. PURTELL .....	Interstate and Foreign Commerce
	Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. SALTONSTALL .....	Appropriations
	Armed Services
Mr. SCHOEPPEL .....	Agriculture and Forestry
	Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mrs. SMITH, Maine .....	Appropriations
	Armed Services
	Government Operations
Mr. SMITH, N.J. ....	Foreign Relations
	Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. THYE .....	Agriculture and Forestry
	Appropriations
Mr. WATKINS .....	Interior and Insular Affairs
	Judiciary
Mr. WELKER .....	Armed Services
	Judiciary
Mr. WILEY .....	Foreign Relations
	Judiciary
Mr. WILLIAMS .....	Agriculture and Forestry
	Finance
Mr. YOUNG .....	Agriculture and Forestry
	Appropriations

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Exhibit "C"

Under the terms of S. Res. 14, as amended, 84th Congress, the Republican Minority of 47 has 99 Committee spots. Of the 99 spots, 83 are on Major Committees and 16 spots on Minor Committees—District of Columbia, Government Operations and Post Office and Civil Service.

By reason of the change from the Majority to the Minority Party with a resultant change in Committee ratios, Senator Welker was bumped from Agriculture and Forestry and Senator Goldwater from Banking and Currency.

Your Committee was presented with the task of filling the following vacancies caused by expiration of terms, change in ratios and a reduction of third place assignments from 16 to 5:

Appropriations—1

Armed Services—1

JANUARY 11, 1955

District of Columbia—3  
Government Operations—3  
Interior and Insular Affairs—1  
Labor and Public Welfare—2  
Post Office and Civil Service—4  
Public Works—2  
Rules and Administration—1

Senator Welker who was bumped from Agriculture and Forestry was assigned to Armed Services.

Senator Goldwater who was bumped from Banking and Currency was assigned to Interior and Insular Affairs.

Senator Potter selected as a second major committee Appropriations in place of Government Operations and Rules and Administration.

Senator Bender and Senator Allott were assigned to Labor and Public Welfare.

Senators Cotton and Hruska were assigned to Public Works.

Senator Curtis was assigned to Rules and Administration.

Senator Langer requested assignment to Post Office and Civil Service and his request was granted because of seniority as well as a previous commitment.

The five Senators holding third committee assignments were Senator Langer on Post Office and Civil Service, Senator Jenner on Post Office and Civil Service, Senator McCarthy on Government Operations, Senator Mundt on Government Operations and Mrs. Smith on Government Operations.

Your Committee appreciates the release by Senators Dworshak and Carlson of third committee assignments thereby making it possible to pass these committees on to the newly-elected Senators.

Your Committee regrets that all of the newly-elected Senators could not receive at least one major committee assignment. It was with regret that Senators Martin of Iowa and Case of New Jersey were each assigned two minor committees.

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[March 23, 1955]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR MARCH 23, 1955, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:10 a.m. and asked the Secretary to call the roll.

The following Senators were present:

Present 37:

Aiken	Curtis	Millikin
Allott	Dirksen	Mundt
Barrett	Duff	Payne
Bender	Dworshak	Purtell
Bennett	Goldwater	Saltonstall
Bridges	Hruska	Schoeppel
Bush	Ives	Smith, Maine
Butler	Jenner	Smith, N.J.
Carlson	Knowland	Thye
Case, N.J.	Kuchel	Welker
Case, S. Dak.	Langer	Wiley
Cotton	Martin, Iowa	Williams
		Young

Absent 10:

Beall	Flanders	Martin, Pa.
Bricker	Hickenlooper	McCarthy
Capehart	Malone	Potter
		Watkins

Following the call of the roll Chairman Millikin had to leave to attend a Finance Committee hearing so he turned the gavel over to Secretary Milton R. Young, as acting chairman.

Senator Knowland was recognized and briefly discussed the postal pay bill which will soon be up for consideration on the floor and explained the President's views and position, saying the President probably felt stronger about this Bill than any other legislation. He also stated that both the classified pay bill and the military pay bill would be up for consideration not too long after the postal pay bill is acted upon.

At the conclusion of Senator Knowland's remarks the Chair recognized Senator Carlson who discussed S. 1, the Postal Pay Bill of 1955, a copy of which together with its Report No. 41 are attached as Exhibit "A." He also discussed at some length his substitute for the Postal Pay Bill, S. 1489, a copy of which is attached as Exhibit "B." Also attached as Exhibit "C" is a copy of the statement to be made on the floor by Senator Carlson on his substitute Bill No. 1489 which explains the salient elements of the substitute. Following Senator Carlson's remarks there was a general discussion of the principal elements of H.R. 4644, attached as Exhibit "D"; S. 1489, Exhibit "B," and S. 1, Exhibit "A."

Senator Knowland inquired as to the effect of Senator [Harry F.] Byrd's [Democrat of Virginia] proposed amendment, attached as Exhibit "E," and was informed that it made the Act effective the first day of the first pay period which begins after the date of its enactment.

MARCH 23, 1955

Senator Dirksen was recognized and discussed the Postal Pay Bill at some length. He said he felt sure the President would veto S. 1 in its present form but that H.R. 4644 was satisfactory. He also said that while he thought a postal rate increase was needed he did not favor its addition to the pay bill. He spoke highly of the debt reduction job that Postmaster [Arthur E.] Summerfield has done to date and said he thought a further reduction should be made possible by increasing the postal rates on all classes of mail at the earliest opportunity.

Senator Bridges was recognized and reiterated Senator Knowland's statement about the President feeling more strongly about this legislation than any other. He read a telegram received from the heads of several postal associations urging the adoption of Senator Carlson's substitute S. 1489. He also read a list of postal salary facts which explained briefly the various fringe benefits which are being enjoyed by the postal workers. Copies of the mimeographed facts were distributed among those senators present so the facts could be used in replying to inquiries of constituents and one is attached as Exhibit "F."

Senator Thyne was recognized and spoke at length on S. 1 which he would like to see supported. However, he said if Senator Carlson would increase the percentage of pay increase in his substitute from 7.6% to 8.6% he would support the substitute.

A general discussion ensued relative to the percent of increase that should be incorporated in the pay bill and the majority of senators present expressed themselves as being in favor of an 8.6% increase if the President would not veto it.

Senator Knowland asked for a show of hands, without the commitment being binding, as to how many would be in favor of an 8.6% increase and reclassification providing it was acceptable to the President. Of the 27 senators present 23 indicated they would support such an amendment. Four indicated they were committed to vote for a 10% increase.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 12:00.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Acting Chairman of the Conference March 29, 1955

[signed] William T. Reed  
Assistant for the Minority

\* \* \*  
Exhibit "A"

Calendar No. 44

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1955–1957)

1st Session  
84th Congress

SENATE

Report No. 41

POSTAL PAY BILL OF 1955

March 2, 1955 — Ordered to be printed

Mr. Johnston of South Carolina, from the Committee on Post Office  
and Civil Service,  
submitted the following  
REPORT  
together with  
MINORITY VIEWS  
[To accompany S.1]

The Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, to whom was referred the bill (S.1) to increase the rates of compensation of officers and employees in the field service of the Post Office Department, having considered the same, report favorably thereon, with amendments, and recommend that the bill, as amended, do pass.

**[The 12-page full report appears at page 60646 of Vol. 8 of the original minutes.]**

Exhibit "A"

84th Congress  
1st Session

Calendar No. 44

S. 1

[Report No. 41]

**[Full text of the 8-page bill as reported from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service appears at page 60658 of Vol. 8 of the original minutes.]**

\* \* \*

Exhibit "B"

84th Congress  
1st Session

S. 1489

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

March 18 (legislative day, March 10), 1955

Mr. Carlson introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

A BILL

To increase the rates of basic salary of postmasters, officers, supervisors, and employees in the postal field service, to eliminate certain salary inequities, and for other purposes.

**[The full 110-page text of S. 1489 appears at page 60667 of Vol. 8 of the original minutes.]**

MARCH 23, 1955

\* \* \*  
Exhibit "C"

Statement on floor of Senate by Senator Frank Carlson on the substitution of Senate Bill No. 1489 for Senate Bill No. 1, Postal Pay Legislation

MR. PRESIDENT:

I am offering as a substitute for Senate Bill No. 1, Senate Bill No. 1489.

I regret sincerely that I am unable to support Senate No. 1, which was reported by a majority of the members of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

I think I have demonstrated my interest in behalf of our Federal employees, both from the standpoint of securing a substantial wage increase and fringe benefits, which are essential in modern-day employment.

I feel, however, that today we are confronted with a very realistic problem, that is, that the action taken by the Senate should be in accordance with the recommendations of the President in his message of January 11 to the Congress, in which he recommended legislation incorporating a modern and equitable salary plan for the postal service.

The President's proposal provides a substantial increase in the average wage of postal employees, along with a correction of serious inequities in the salary structure.

#### POSTAL SALARIES

The salary plan proposed by the President in his January 11 message would place the wages for postal service positions in proper relationship to each other, and would give effect to the principle of equal pay for equal work.

Senate 1489 embodies the essential features of the President's recommendation and is identical with H.R. 4644, which was reported out by a bi-partisan majority of 17 to 6 of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, except that the salary schedule for rural carriers is adjusted to maintain the present relationship with the salaries for city carriers.

This bill provides a general increase in salary for all postal field service employees averaging 7.6%. For example, the present salary range for letter carriers and clerks, who make up 300,000 of the 500,000 employed in the Postal Field Service, is \$3270 to \$4070 per annum. Under Senate 1489 the range would become \$3640 to \$4360 per annum.

The total annual cost of the salary increases provided by the bill is estimated at \$161,582,000.

#### COST OF LIVING COMPARISON

Since 1945, the cost of living has advanced 48.6%. During the same period the starting salary for clerks and letter carriers has been increased by 92%, from \$1700 in 1945 to \$3270 at present. Senate 1489 would increase this starting salary to \$3640, or 114%.

Since 1945, the top salary for clerks and carriers has increased by 94%, from \$2100 to \$4070. (This does not include longevity payments of \$100

each at the end of 13, 18 and 25 years of service.) Senate 1489 would increase the top rate to \$4360, or 108%.

The clerk or carrier working for the Department in 1945 at \$1700 will earn \$4360 upon passage of Senate 1489, an increase in basic salary of 156%.

#### ELIMINATES INEQUITIES

This bill establishes carefully developed schedules of compensation for each level of work, and these levels are interrelated so that those employees who are doing work of a similar level of difficulty will be paid the same; those who are doing work of a higher level will be paid at commensurately higher rates. Thus present serious inequities are eliminated. No longer would some supervisor salaries be set on the sole basis of cubic feet supervised, or number of employees supervised, but rather on the sound basis of duties and responsibilities.

The bill contains 50 key position descriptions, to which 90% of the postal employees are assigned. The salary level for each key position is set forth in the bill. The 50 key positions are assigned to the Schedule in their ascending importance. Thus, the key position of janitor is in salary level 1, that of regional director is assigned to the top salary level 21.

#### APPEAL RIGHTS PROVIDED

The positions occupied by the relatively few employees who are not in one of the 50 key positions will be ranked by the Post Office Department in relation to the key positions, and placed in the proper salary level of the Schedule by the Department. Appeal rights to the Civil Service Commission are provided for the employee who feels that his position has been assigned to the wrong salary level.

As an employee's duties change, or as new positions are created because of technological improvements in the movement of mail, the Department will be able to assign the position to its proper salary level, and pay the employee accordingly. Under present law, the Department has been limited by the job titles set forth in P.L. 134, and the pay rates established for those job titles.

In addition to the Postal Field service compensation schedule with its 21 salary levels, the bill provides separate compensation schedules adapted to their conditions of service for rural carriers and postmasters of fourth class offices. The schedule for fourth class office postmasters contains eight categories of annual receipts, rather than the 17 now provided. This means that slight changes in cash receipts will not so readily change the postmaster's compensation.

#### ELIMINATES DISCRIMINATION

The bill provides a seven step range of pay rates for each employee, so that he may advance in pay each year until he reaches the top step for his range. Under present law, postmasters and supervisors are paid at single rates and may not advance in the same job; rank and file employees have varying ranges of steps or grades through which they automatically advance. There is no valid reason for this discrimination.

MARCH 23, 1955

The bill provides that when an employee is promoted to a position in a higher salary level, he will receive a substantial guaranteed increase, in contrast to the present system which frequently involves a token increase or no increase at all.

The bill also permits an increase to \$9 in the present per diem allowance of \$6 for railway post office clerks while in travel status.

The bill provides longevity increases for substitutes and hourly-rate employees for the first time. This is particularly important to the many substitutes in third-class offices, whose opportunities for conversion to regular are seriously limited.

The bill relaxes the ratio of classified substitutes to regular employees from the present ratio of one classified substitute for every six regulars, to one for five. This will permit the conversion of several thousand substitutes from indefinite or temporary tenure to career tenure.

#### BI-WEEKLY PAY PERIODS

The bill provides bi-weekly pay periods, in place of the present semi-monthly pay periods. This will permit standardization of the pay day so that it will occur on the same day of each alternate week throughout the year. It also serves to give employees an extra day's pay during the year.

The bill provides new promotion opportunities for postal employees, by the creation of salary levels which permit for the first time the recognition of more responsible duties.

The bill contains safeguards to employees, in the form of appeal rights, prohibition on reduction of present salaries plus six percent, and protection of the employee's salary plus the six percent even if it exceeds the normal range for his position.

#### SUMMARY

In summary, the bill:

1. Provides an average increase of 7.6% along with an equitable basis for compensating postal employees, not only in terms of their own job requirements but also in relation to the duties and compensation of all other postal employees.
2. It establishes salary levels which are proper in relation to each other and in relation to the wage standards of non-governmental enterprises.
3. It provides a number of supplemental benefits to employees, such as the longevity increases for substitutes, and the bi-weekly pay period.
4. It affords safeguards to employees so that no one may be injured by its provisions.
5. The cost is \$161,582,000 a year.

And while removing present inequities, and preventing the introduction of new inequities, it also provides a pay structure which will encourage incentive for advancement and for improvement in the postal service.



EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1955–1957)

\* \* \*

Exhibit “D”

Report No. 224

84th Congress  
1st Session

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**POSTAL FIELD SERVICE COMPENSATION ACT OF 1955**

March 16, 1955—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. Murray of Tennessee, from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, submitted the following

**REPORT**

[To accompany H.R. 4644]

The Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 4644) to increase the rates of basic salary of postmasters, officers, supervisors, and employees in the postal field service, to eliminate certain salary inequities, and for other purposes, having considered the same, report favorably thereon without amendment and recommend that the bill do pass.

**[The text of the 67-page report appears at page 60783 of Vol. 8 of the original minutes.]**

\* \* \*

Exhibit “D”

Union Calendar No. 52

84th Congress  
1st Session

**H.R. 4644**

[Report No. 224]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

March 7, 1955

Mr. Murray of Tennessee introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

March 16, 1955

Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed.

**A BILL**

To increase the rates of basic salary of postmasters, officers, supervisors, and employees in the postal field service, to eliminate certain salary inequities, and for other purposes.

**[The text of the 110-page bill appears at page 60850 of Vol. 8 of the original minutes.]**

\* \* \*

Exhibit “E”

Calendar No. 44

MARCH 23, 1955

84th Congress  
1st Session

**S. 1**  
**IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES**  
March 23 (legislative day, March 10), 1955  
Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed  
**AMENDMENT**

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Byrd to the bill (S.1) to increase the rates of basic compensation of officers and employees in the field service of the Post Office Department, viz: On page 7, beginning with line 23, strike out over through line 24, on page 8, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

Sec. 7. This Act shall become effective on the first day of the first pay period which begins after the date of its enactment.

\* \* \*  
Exhibit "F"

*POSTAL SALARY FACTS*

3-21-55

I. More than 300,000 of the 500,000 postal field service employees are clerks and letter carriers. Increases in basic salary rates of these employees in recent years were as follows:

	<i>Rate Range per Annum</i>
Prior to 1945 .....	\$1700 to \$2100 (82¢ to \$1.01 per hour)
1945 .....	1700 to 2700
1946 .....	2100 to 3100
1948 .....	2550 to 3550
1949 .....	2670 to 3670
1951 .....	3270 to 4070
S.1489 and H.R. 4644 would increase these salaries to .....	3640 to 4360 (\$1.75 to \$2.10 per hour)
Percentage Increase since 1945 .....	92% to 114%
During the same period, the cost of living increased .....	48.6%

II. Other benefits of employment enjoyed by this group include:

A. Liberal vacations ranging from a minimum of 13 working days for new employees to 26 working days, or more than five (5) weeks, for employees with fifteen years and more of service;

B. Thirteen (13) days of paid sick leave each year, which is cumulative if not taken;

C. A 40-hour work week;

D. Civil Service status and retirement benefits. (Letter carriers also will receive a \$100.00 tax free uniform allowance when Congress makes the funds available).

III. In addition to basic salary, these employees receive a \$100.00 further increase after 13 years service, a second \$100.00 increase after 18 years of service and a third \$100.00 increase after 25 years service. Thus, under S. 1489 and H.R. 4644 a long service clerk or letter carrier would receive \$2.24 per hour.

IV. Since July, 1951, when clerks and letter carriers were given a salary increase of from \$400 to \$600 a year, the cost of living has increased slightly more than 3%. The salary increase proposed in S. 1489 and H.R. 4644 for this group of employees averages 8% with a minimum increase of 6%.

V. Annual cost of S. 1489 and H.R. 4644 is estimated at \$161,582,000. Enacted and proposed fringe benefits, including group life insurance, group health insurance, and uniforms, will cost an additional \$37,000,000 per year.

VI. Each 1% increase in postal salaries costs approximately \$20,000,000 per year.

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[May 24, 1955]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR MAY 24, 1955, AT 10:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:37 a.m. and asked the Secretary to call the roll. The roll was called and the following Senators were present:

Present 40:

Aiken	Cotton	Martin, Iowa
Allott	Curtis	Martin, Pa.
Barrett	Dirksen	Millikin
Beall	Duff	Mundt
Bender	Dworshak	Payne
Bennett	Flanders	Potter
Bricker	Goldwater	Purtell
Bridges	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Bush	Hruska	Smith, Maine
Butler	Ives	Smith, N.J.
Capehart	Knowland	Thye
Carlson	Kuchel	Watkins
Case, S. Dak.	Malone	Williams
		Young

Absent 7:

Case, N.J.	Langer	Schoeppel
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MAY 24, 1955

Jenner

McCarthy

Welker  
Wiley

The Chairman recognized Senator Edward Martin, ranking Minority Member of the Committee on Public Works, for the purpose of informing the Conference as to the provisions of S. 1048, a bill to amend and supplement the Federal Road Act, to authorize the appropriations for continuing the construction of highways and for other purposes.

At the request of Senator Martin the Conference permitted Mr. F.B. du Pont, Commissioner of the Bureau of Public Roads, to sit in on the meeting.

Senator Martin explained the various differences between S. 1048, the Gore bill, and the substitute which he intended to offer which represented the views of the Administration. He recommended that the Senate adopt the substitute bill which would give the country a complete road system in ten years with funds to be authorized by corporate bonds and paid for in thirty years. He spoke of the Gore bill as a piece-meal proposition which would create a direct deficit on the Treasury of \$7.0 billion.

The Chairman then recognized Senators Prescott Bush and Francis Case, also members of the Committee on Public Works, to further explain the particular features of the bill.

Senator Martin spoke of the possibility of making a motion to recommit the bill if the substitute amendment failed of passage, because of the \$7.0 billion deficit to be created by the passage of the Gore bill, as well as allowing more time for the Committee to study the matter due to a more favorable reaction by the Members of the House of Representatives to the road plan of the Administration.

Many questions were asked by the members present.

No action was requested of the Conference and none was taken.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 12:02.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference May 27, 1955

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

[January 5, 1956]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, FOR JANUARY 5, 1956, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

In the absence of the Chairman, Senator Milton R. Young, the Secretary of the Conference, called the meeting to order at 10:10 a.m. and he asked that the Secretary for the Minority call the roll.

The following Senators were present:

Present 43:

Aiken	Cotton	Malone
Allott	Curtis	Martin, Iowa
Barrett	Dirksen	Martin, Pa.
Beall	Duff	Mundt
Bender	Dworshak	Potter
Bennett	Flanders	Purtell
Bricker	Goldwater	Saltonstall
Bridges	Hickenlooper	Schoeppel
Bush	Hruska	Smith, Maine
Butler	Ives	Thye
Capehart	Jenner	Watkins
Carlson	Knowland	Welker
Case, N.J.	Kuchel	Wiley
Case, S.Dak.	Langer	Williams
		Young

Absent 4:

McCarthy	Payne
Millikin	Smith, N.J.

The acting Chairman stated that he had been requested by Senator Millikin, who was ill, to assume the Chair. He stated that the purpose of the meeting was to review and discuss the State of the Union Message of the President of the United States, and present a position of unity.

The acting Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who reviewed the individual recommendations of the President of the United States as set forth in the message and stated that there had been prepared by the staff of the Republican Policy Committee statements in regard to the individual recommendations in the message. These were available for the use of Senators as a basis for their individual publicity releases. He stated that he hoped a unified position could be taken by stressing particularly those things which the individual Senators could support. He also listed the dates when the

JANUARY 5, 1956

President would send to the Congress his specific recommendations on certain proposals set forth in his message. The Senator urged good attendance on the Floor while the message was being read by the Clerk and also requested that there be Minority representation at all times at meetings of the various investigating committees. He requested also that during the session of the Senate the Leadership be informed as to individual attendance.<sup>1</sup>

Inquiry was made as to the best time for the customary Lincoln Day period. A vote of hands revealed that 20 Senators were in favor of the period two days prior to and three days following February 12, as against 7 for the week following Lincoln's birthday. He stated that he had been advised that a number of out of the city committee meetings had been planned and he recommended that these be cut to a minimum. Cooperation was asked when it became necessary to conduct a poll of the membership.

The acting Chairman recognized Senator Saltonstall who stated his willingness to be of more assistance and to do anything he could to help. He expressed the theme of optimism and peace and prosperity with faith in the future and the accomplishments of the party during the last three years.

The acting Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who spoke concerning the recent issuance of joint statements which he said caused some embarrassment to those senators who did not sign and which also seemed to reflect disunity in the Party. He recommended in the future an individual approach as best. The Senator also said that all funds for Senate investigations had been exhausted and that the matter should be watched closely. He also spoke about complaints which he had heard in regard to the lack of information on the part of the membership as to Administration plans and that he was endeavoring to work out some means by which the entire membership could know the results of the leadership meetings at the White House. He stated that he would welcome suggestions. He also stated that he and Senator Knowland had been consulted concerning a prospective appointee for Assistant Secretary of State, both Senators considering him at this time to be objectionable. He stated that on major appointments it was most desirable that prior consultation be had with the Republican members of the respective committees, in order that there might not be embarrassment later. On other appointments Senators were still being completely ignored and he asked for suggestions as to how best to meet this issue.

There were several expressions that there should be more frequent Conferences or meetings in order that the membership might be informed but the question of how it should be done was not resolved.

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<sup>1</sup>[In September 1955 a heart attack hospitalized President Eisenhower until November and forced him to curtail his activities for several months. Thus, in January 1956 the president did not deliver his State of the Union address in person.]

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 11:20 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Acting Chairman of the Conference and the Minority Leader January 9, 1956

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[February 28, 1956]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE AND OF THE MINORITY POLICY COMMITTEE, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1956, AT 12:30 P.M., DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COMMITTEE ROOM

Senator Styles Bridges, Chairman of the Minority Policy Committee, called the meeting to order at 1:25 p.m.

The following Senators were present:

Present 35:

Aiken	Curtis	Martin, Pa.
Allott	Dirksen	Mundt
Beall	Dworshak	Potter
Bender	Flanders	Purtell
Bricker	Goldwater	Saltonstall
Bridges	Hickenlooper	Schoeppel
Bush	Hruska	Smith, N.J.
Butler	Ives	Thye
Capehart	Knowland	Watkins
Carlson	Kuchel	Williams
Case, N.J.	Malone	Young
Cotton	Martin, Iowa	

Absent 12:

Barrett	Jenner	Payne
Bennett	Langer	Smith, Maine
Case, S.Dak.	McCarthy	Welker
Duff	Millikin	Wiley

Others 4:

Trice	Reed
Jones	Brownrigg

Senator Bridges stated that as this was a joint meeting of the two Conference Committees he would first ask for a report by Senator Saltonstall on the White House Legislative Conference held this morning.

FEBRUARY 28, 1956

Senator Saltonstall informed the membership that five matters were discussed at the White House meeting, the first being the Agricultural bill on which Senator Aiken made a report to the President. There was discussion as to when a vote might be had on the bill and a discussion of procedural questions after the bill had passed the Senate. The question of a possible veto of the bill should it pass with 90% supports was not discussed. Second the Upper Colorado River project. This bill passed the Senate last session and is now before the House of Representatives. The President expressed his intense interest in this matter and his desire that it be enacted into law. Third, the Central Intelligence Agency. The President again expressed his opinion that legislation to create a joint committee on this subject should not be enacted, and he briefly gave his reasons therefor. Fourth, the Federal Highway bill. This measure now before the House of Representatives was briefly discussed as to financing but no decision was made. The question of taxation of trucks versus automobiles was discussed and whether or not there was enough money to be derived from the taxation features of the bill to put the program on a sound pay-as-you-go basis. It was stated that irrespective of how the bill was passed by the House, the Senate Committee on Finance would be able to look into the matter once again. Fifth, the investigation of the Air Force. There was a brief procedural discussion of this matter.

Senator Saltonstall stated that the President was looking well and bubbling over in spirits.

Senator Bridges recognized Senator Kuchel who stated that he had recently received a number of letters in regard to the defense budget re missiles. He stated that it was his opinion some statement should be made by the President as to the facts in the matter.

Senator Bridges then turned the meeting over to Senator Milton R. Young, as acting Chairman of the Conference, in the absence of the Chairman.

Senator Young called the Conference to order and stated that Senator Millikin had requested him to assume the Chair. He stated that the Senator was feeling much better and was spending some time each day with the members of his staff.

Senator Young stated that the purpose of the Conference was to formally accept the resignation of Senator Barry Goldwater, Chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee, and of Senator Edward J. Thye, a member of the committee. Both Senators have submitted their resignations because of their appointment as members of the Select Committee created under Senate Resolution 219.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>[Special Committee on Political Activities, Lobbying, and Campaign Contributions, established February 22, 1956.]



Senator Young recognized Senator Bush who moved that the resignations be accepted with regret. The motion was agreed to.

Senator Young then recognized Senator Bridges who moved that there be a rising vote in order that the members might express their appreciation for the fine work done by Senator Goldwater as Chairman of the Campaign Committee. Members of the Conference stood and applauded.

Senator Young recognized Senator Goldwater who stated that the job he was relinquishing was a most enjoyable one, and that it had been a real pleasure working with the senatorial candidates. He expressed his thanks to the members of his committee and the staff.

Senator Young then stated that nominations would be in order for the election of a Chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee, and he recognized Senator Saltonstall who placed the name of Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel in nomination. The nomination of Senator Schoeppel was seconded by Senator Carlson. It was moved and agreed to that nominations be closed, and Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel was unanimously elected Chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Senator Young recognized Senator Malone who nominated Senator Henry C. Dworshak as a member of the Committee to fill the existing vacancy. Senator Goldwater seconded the nomination. It was moved and agreed to that nominations be closed and Senator Dworshak was unanimously elected.

Senator Young concluded the meeting of the Conference by turning the gavel over to Senator Bridges.

Senator Bridges recognized Senator Schoeppel who stated he appreciated very much the opportunity to be of service and that it was his hope and aspiration that he could reasonably fulfill the job done by his able predecessors. He stated that he would counsel with all parties for guidance and assistance.

Senator Bridges recognized Senator Butler of Maryland who spoke of an embarrassing situation at this time in his State due to "rioting" of employees in defense plants. Senators Ives and Watkins stated that a similar situation was existing in their States.

Senator Bridges recognized Senator Hickenlooper who spoke at some length on the farm situation and the pending farm bill dealing with 90% of parity versus flexible supports. He particularly called attention to certain amendments which he has pending dealing with the commercial corn areas. He stated that strong Democratic elements do not want an effective farm program and that they would like to see no legislation enacted. He stressed the importance of the Republicans not being charged with blocking the farm legislation.

FEBRUARY 28, 1956

Because of previous engagements Senator Bridges had to leave the meeting and he asked Senator Knowland to preside.

Senator Knowland stated that because of Democratic opposition it was not possible today to obtain a unanimous consent agreement to vote on the farm bill but that another effort would be made tomorrow.

He also stated that the President of Italy would address a joint session of the Congress on Wednesday, February 29, at 12:30.

Senator Knowland recognized Senators Young, Mundt, Carlson, Dworshak, Thye and Capehart who each expressed his opinion as to why a farm bill should be enacted and the political perplexities of the situation.

In response to inquiries as to whether or not the President would sign the bill, Senator Knowland stated that the President has made it very clear on any number of occasions that he is for flexible supports and not for 90% of parity.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 2:25 p.m.

[signed] Styles Bridges  
Chairman of the Policy Committee

Approved by the Chairman of the Policy Committee and the Acting  
Chairman of the Conference

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

## **Eighty-fifth Congress (1957–1959)**

[Editor's Note: In 1956 President Eisenhower easily won reelection, but Congress remained in Democratic hands, with 234 Democrats to 201 Republicans in the House. The Senate continued closely divided between 49 Democrats and 47 Republicans.

Since Eugene Millikin had retired at the end of the previous Congress after leading the Republican Conference for eleven years, the Conference chose a new chairman, Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts, while William Knowland continued as floor leader.

In 1957, for the first time since Reconstruction, Congress passed a civil rights law, designed to ensure enforcement of the right to vote. After the bill passed the House in June, Senator Knowland and other supporters arranged to bypass the hostile Judiciary Committee and send the bill directly to the Senate floor. On August 7 the full Senate voted 72 to 18 to pass the bill, with final passage following in late August after differences with the House were resolved. (During consideration of the bill in August, South Carolina Democratic Senator Strom Thurmond, made the longest speech in Senate history, speaking for just over twenty-four hours.)

When the Soviet Union in October 1957 launched the first artificial satellite, Sputnik, Congress, concerned about both national security and the need for increased research and development, took a number of actions, including hearings by the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee, establishment of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), and passage of the National Defense Education Act.]

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[January 3, 1957]

### **MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE STYLES BRIDGES, FOR JANUARY 3, 1957, AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING**

The Conference was called to order at 9:45 a.m. by Senator Styles Bridges, acting as Temporary Chairman.

Senator Schoeppel was asked to introduce each of the new Republican Senators-elect which he did in the following order:

Senator Cooper of Kentucky  
Senator Revercomb of West Virginia  
Senator Javits of New York, who was not present  
Senator Morton of Kentucky

Senator Bridges then appointed Senator Williams as Temporary Secretary of the Conference and asked him to call the roll.

JANUARY 3, 1957

Present 44:

Aiken	Curtis	Morton
Allott	Dirksen	Mundt
Barrett	Dworshak	Payne
Beall	Flanders	Potter
Bennett	Goldwater	Purtell
Bricker	Hruska	Revercomb
Bridges	Ives	Saltonstall
Bush	Jenner	Schoeppel
Butler	Knowland	Smith, Maine
Capehart	Kuchel	Smith, N.J.
Carlson	Langer	Thye
Case, N.J.	Malone	Watkins
Case, S. Dak.	Martin, Iowa	Wiley
Cooper	Martin, Pa.	Williams
Cotton	McCarthy	

Absent 3:

Hickenlooper	Javits	Young
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A quorum was present.

Also present were J. Mark Trice, Lloyd Jones, William T. Reed and William Brownrigg III.

Senator Bridges announced that the first order of business would be the election of a Conference Chairman and explained the ground rules which were that in case of more than two candidates for any office either a plurality vote could elect or a second ballot could be taken on the two that received the highest votes.

Senator Smith of New Jersey moved that a majority vote prevail in the event of a second ballot and the second ballot be confined to the two highest on the first ballot. The motion was seconded and agreed to.

Senator Smith of New Jersey then nominated Senator Leverett Saltonstall for the position of Chairman of the Conference. Senator Thye seconded the nomination. Senator Goldwater nominated Senator Bricker for Chairman of the Conference but Senator Bricker after thanking Senator Goldwater requested that he be permitted to withdraw his name. His request was granted, nominations were closed and the Chair hearing no objections asked the Secretary to cast a single ballot for Senator Saltonstall. Senator Saltonstall took the Chair and announced that nominations were in order for Secretary of the Conference. Senator Langer nominated his colleague, Senator Young, and it was seconded. Nominations were closed and a single ballot was cast for Senator Young. Senator Young not being present the Chairman requested Senator Williams to continue as Acting Secretary.

Senator Bridges moved and it was seconded and agreed to that a resolution of appreciation be presented to Senator Schoeppel by the Conference for his splendid performance in his position as Chairman of the Campaign Committee.

Senator Cotton nominated Senator Bridges as President Pro Tempore of the Senate. The nominations were seconded, the nominations were closed and the Secretary was instructed to cast a single ballot for Senator Bridges.

Senator Carlson nominated Senator Knowland as Floor Leader, it was seconded, the nominations were closed and the Secretary instructed to cast a single ballot for Senator Knowland.

Senator Bricker nominated Senator Dirksen to be Whip and it was seconded. Senator Ives nominated Senator Thye to be Whip and it was seconded. Nominations were closed and Senators Bricker and Ives were appointed tellers. In the balloting Senator Dirksen received 27 votes, Senator Thye 17. Therefore, Senator Dirksen was elected Minority Whip.

Senator Allott was recognized and moved that the Conference send a letter of appreciation and high regard to Senator Millikin. Senator Martin of Pennsylvania seconded the motion paying high tribute to Senator Millikin. The motion was agreed to unanimously.

Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine nominated Senator Bridges as the Chairman of the Republican Policy Committee. It was seconded, the nominations closed and the Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot.

Senator Ives inquired relative to the nomination of a candidate for the position of Sergeant at Arms of the Senate and was advised by the Chair that no nominations would be made for elective officers at this time.

At this point in the Conference a general discussion took place relative to the organization of the Senate.

Senator Knowland was recognized and requested all newly-elected and reelected Senators to be sure and arrange for a colleague to escort them to the rostrum for their swearing-in. He then outlined the order of business to be taken up in the Chamber today and announced that President Eisenhower would deliver his message on the Middle East to a Joint Session of Congress on Saturday, January 5.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>[On January 5 President Eisenhower addressed a joint session in support of what became known as the "Eisenhower Doctrine." This policy would permit him to grant aid to Middle Eastern countries to resist armed aggression by Communist countries. In July 1958 the United States sent troops to Lebanon under this doctrine to protect the country from possible Iraqi aggression until United Nations forces took over a few months later.]

JANUARY 3, 1957

Senator Thye asked unanimous consent to withdraw his nomination for Whip and make Senator Dirksen's election unanimous. There was no objection.

There being no further business the Conference recessed at 11:15 a.m. subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] John J. Williams  
Acting Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on March 18, 1957

[signed] William T. Reed  
Assistant for the Minority

\* \* \*

January 9, 1957

Honorable Eugene D. Millikin, U.S.S.  
2101 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Gene:

When we Republicans met to organize ourselves this last week, we were poignantly reminded of your absence. Gone was your booming voice and your wit from the head of the table, and gone also was the guiding hand which you have exerted as Chairman of the Republican Conference since the beginning of the 80th Congress.

How do you say that you miss a friend? How do you say that you need his counsel? How do you say in a hundred different times and places yet to come you will wish that he were there with his courage and clear thinking to guide and assist? We do not know how to say these things, but we do know that these thoughts were in everyone's mind as we met the other day; and because they were in our minds, we decided to express to you our appreciation for all you have done; for all you have been.

As your friends we wish you a pleasant trip to sunny Arizona and many happy hours there with renewed strength and your old smile returned in all its vigor and the joy it gives us all.

Sincerely yours,  
Leverett Saltonstall  
Chairman of Senate  
Republican Conference,  
for all of your friends  
and associates in the Conference

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[January 7, 1957]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR JANUARY 7, 1957, AT 3:00 P.M., ROOM 335 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

Chairman Saltonstall called the Conference to order at 3:05 p.m. and asked the Secretary to call the roll.

The following Senators were present:

Present 37:

Aiken	Dirksen	Mundt
Allott	Dworshak	Payne
Barrett	Flanders	Potter
Beall	Hickenlooper	Purtell
Bennett	Hruska	Revercomb
Bricker	Jenner	Saltonstall
Bridges	Knowland	Schoeppel
Bush	Kuchel	Smith, N.J.
Carlson	Malone	Thye
Case, N.J.	Martin, Iowa	Watkins
Case, S. Dak.	McCarthy	Williams
Cooper	Morton	Young
Cotton		

Absent 9:

Butler	Goldwater	Martin, Pa.
Capehart	Ives	Smith, Maine
Curtis	Langer	Wiley

(Senator Javits of New York had not been sworn in as a senator at the time of this conference)

A quorum was present.

Also present were J. Mark Trice, Lloyd Jones, William T. Reed and William Brownrigg III.

There being a quorum present the Chairman announced that the purpose of calling the meeting was to name the members of the Policy Committee, the Committee on Committees, the Personnel Committee and the Senatorial Campaign Committee. He also said that the Minority Floor Leader would have a few words to say.

Before announcing the new committee members the Chairman explained that after much consideration he was returning to the policy used prior to the 84th Congress in setting up the Policy Committee membership which was that it would consist of the Party Officers

JANUARY 7, 1957

plus six appointed members. Since the 84th, 1st, it has been customary to appoint all the candidates up for election at the next election plus the officers which made a very unwieldy committee. Since the weekly Policy luncheons are to be continued to which all the Republican Senators are invited he said he felt a smaller Policy Committee would be better. He then asked if there was any objection to his proposal. There was none. The Chairman then said that if there were no objections, Senator Bricker, Chairman of the Committee on Committees and Senator Schoeppel, Chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee, would be named as ex officio members of the Policy Committee. There were no objections.

The Chairman then read off the names of members of the Committee on Committees in order of seniority with Senator John Bricker continuing as Chairman. List attached. The Committee was approved unanimously. He then read the names of the members of the campaign Committee in order of seniority with Senator Andrew Schoeppel as Chairman. List attached. It was unanimously approved.

The Personnel Committee consisting of Senator Edward Martin, Chairman, Senator Styles Bridges and Senator Carl Curtis was approved as read.

The members of the Policy Committee were then read in the order of their seniority and unanimously approved. List attached.

Senator Knowland was recognized and announced that the customary Policy luncheons, to which all the Republican Senators are invited, would be resumed starting tomorrow, Tuesday, January 8 at 12:30 in Room F-39<sup>2</sup> of the Capitol. Subsequent weekly luncheons will be held each Tuesday at the same time and place.

After this announcement Senator Knowland read and explained a Senate Resolution to be introduced by him, a copy of which accompanies these minutes. He read Senate Rule VIII and explained its relationship to Rule XXII and Chairman Saltonstall then explained the history and reason why it was needed at the time Rule XXII was adopted.

After a general discussion of the proposed resolution, Senator Case of New Jersey, suggested that the last sentence might suffice if it read, "the Rules of the Senate shall continue from one Congress to the next Congress."

Senators Mundt and Jenner suggested that a period of notice should be incorporated in the resolution and expressed doubt as to its acceptance if not incorporated.

In both instances Senator Knowland said he would look into the suggestions.

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<sup>2</sup>[Now Room S-126.]



At this point Senator Knowland made an announcement that after he had completed his present term in 1958 he would not run for reelection. The announcement stunned the members and several, including Senators Thyne, Bridges, Saltonstall, Kuchel and Revercomb expressed their deep regret and hoped that he would reconsider his decision. Senator Malone moved that it be the sense of the Conference that it is the extreme regret of his colleagues that Senator Knowland is retiring and that Senator Bridges should draft the release and give it to the press on behalf of the Conference. This was unanimously approved.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 4:00 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on March 18, 1957

[signed] William T. Reed  
Assistant for the Minority

*85th Congress*  
*Committee on Committees*

Bricker, John W., Chairman; Wiley, Alexander; Langer, William; Aiken, George D.; Hickenlooper, Bourke B.; Flanders, Ralph E.; Jenner, William E.; Ives, Irving M.; McCarthy, Joseph R.; Malone, George W.; Watkins, Arthur V.; Case, Francis (S. Dak.); [Bush, Prescott—crossed out]; Purtell, William A.; Barrett, Frank A.; Beall, J. Glenn; Payne, Frederick G.; Goldwater, Barry; Cotton, Norris; Hruska, Roman L.; Martin, Thomas E.; Allott, Gordon; Revercomb, Chapman [handwritten insert]; Morton, Thruston

*85th Congress*  
*Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee*

Schoeppel, Andrew, Chairman; Capehart, Homer; Smith, Margaret Chase; Dworshak, Henry C.; Bennett, Wallace; Butler, John M.; Bush, Prescott [handwritten insert]; Kuchel, Thomas; Case, Clifford (N.J.); [Revercomb, Chapman—crossed out]; Cooper, John Sherman; Javits, Jacob

*85th Congress*  
*Personnel Committee*

Martin, Edward, Chairman; Bridges, Styles; Curtis, Carl

*85th Congress*  
*Republican Policy Committee*

Bridges, Styles, Chairman; Saltonstall, Leverett; Young, Milton; Knowland, William; Dirksen, Everett M.; Smith, Alexander (N.J.);

JANUARY 7, 1957

Thye, Edward; Williams, John; Mundt, Karl; Carlson, Frank; Potter, Charles

\* \* \*

85th Congress  
1st Session

S. RES. \_\_\_\_\_  
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MR. KNOWLAND submitted the following resolution; which was \_\_\_\_\_

RESOLUTION

That subsection 2 of Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended (1) by striking out "except subsection 3 of rule XXII," and (2) by striking out "two-thirds of the Senators duly chosen and sworn" and inserting in lieu thereof "two-thirds of the Senators present and voting".

Sec. 2. Subsection 3 of Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by striking out "and of subsection 2 of this rule".

Sec. 3. Rule XXXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by inserting "1." immediately preceding "At", and by adding at the end thereof a new paragraph as follows:

"2. The Rules of the Senate shall continue from one Congress to the next Congress unless they are changed as provided in these Rules."

\_\_\_\_\_

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE JOHN W. BRICKER, FOR WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9, 1957, AT 10:00 A.M. IN ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

Chairman Bricker called the meeting to order at 10:15 a.m. and asked the clerk to call the roll. The following Senators were present:

Present 20:

Bricker	Purtell
Aiken	Barrett
Hickenlooper	Beall
Flanders	Payne
Jenner	Cotton
Ives	Hruska
McCarthy	Martin, Iowa
Malone	Allott
Watkins	Revercomb
Case, S. Dak.	Martin

The following Senators were absent:

Wiley  
Langer

Goldwater

Also present: William T. Reed

A quorum being present the Chairman read off the suggested assignments to committee vacancies. He explained that in filling the second vacancy on Armed Services, Senator Thomas Kuchel had agreed to waive his seniority rights for two years in favor of Senator Frank Barrett. He also explained that Senator Joseph McCarthy who became ranking member of the Committee on Rules and Administration when Senator Jenner moved to the Finance Committee had agreed to let Senator Carl Curtis precede him on the Committee and become ranking member for the next two years. Copies of letters are attached explaining these arrangements.

Senator Jenner moved that the Committee assignments as read be approved, it was seconded and unanimously approved. Copies of the approved assignments accompany these minutes.

There being no further business the Committee adjourned at 10:30 a.m.

[not signed] Assistant to the Minority

APPROVED:

[signed] John W. Bricker  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

\* \* \*

United States Senate  
Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

January 8, 1957

Honorable John W. Bricker, USS  
U.S. Senate Office Building  
Washington 25, D.C.

My dear John:

Senator Thomas Kuchel has agreed to waive his request for assignment on the Armed Services Committee in order to permit me to be assigned to that Committee at this time. I appreciate Tommy Kuchel's courtesy very much.

I have agreed with him that in the event he is assigned to the Committee two years from now, and if I am still on the Committee, that he will take seniority over me on the Committee. This is only as it should be.

I am writing you since I want to reduce to writing my understanding on this matter.

With very best wishes and kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely,  
[signed] Frank Barrett  
Frank A. Barrett, USS

JANUARY 7, 1957

cc: Honorable Thomas Kuchel

\*   \*   \*  
United States Senate  
Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

January 9, 1957

Honorable John W. Bricker  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear John:

I have been very glad to waive my request for assignment to the Armed Services Committee to permit our friend Senator Frank Barrett to be assigned it for the 85th Congress. He and I have agreed that two years from now I may exercise my seniority to ask for membership on the Armed Services Committee ahead of Frank. In other words, we have both agreed that I do not waive my seniority in this situation for more than the present Congress.

It may be, of course, that I will not want to exercise this right two years from now. In any event, I was very glad to accede to Frank's request.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,  
[signed] Thomas H. Kuchel  
Thomas H. Kuchel

\*   \*   \*  
United States Senate  
Committee on Government Operations

February 2, 1957

Mr. J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority  
United States Senate  
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mark:

I understand that you desire something in writing in regard to my surrender of seniority on the Rules Committee to Senator Curtis.

This is intended by me to be a permanent surrender of seniority. I do not desire to regain it at the end of two years' time or at any other time.

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,  
[signed] Joe McCarthy  
Joe McCarthy

cc: Senator Carl T. Curtis

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS (1957–1959)

\* \* \*

January 9, 1957

(Confidential Work Sheet No. 1)

**COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS OF SENATORS**

Eighty-fifth Congress

(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

Mr. AIKEN .....	Agriculture and Forestry Foreign Relations
Mr. ALLOTT .....	Interior and Insular Affairs Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. BARRETT .....	Armed Services Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. BEALL .....	Banking and Currency District of Columbia
Mr. BENNETT .....	Banking and Currency Finance
Mr. BRICKER .....	Banking and Currency Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. BRIDGES .....	Appropriations Armed Services
Mr. BUSH .....	Armed Services Banking and Currency
Mr. BUTLER .....	Interstate and Foreign Commerce Judiciary
Mr. CAPEHART .....	Banking and Currency Foreign Relations
Mr. CARLSON .....	Finance Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. CASE, N.J. ....	District of Columbia Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. CASE, S.Dak. ....	Armed Services Public Works
Mr. COOPER .....	Labor and Public Welfare [Public Works—crossed out] Rules and Administration [handwritten insert]
Mr. COTTON .....	Interstate and Foreign Commerce Public Works
Mr. CURTIS .....	Government Operations Rules and Administration
Mr. DIRKSEN .....	Appropriations Judiciary
Mr. DWORSHAK .....	Appropriations Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. FLANDERS .....	Armed Services

JANUARY 7, 1957

	Finance
Mr. GOLDWATER .....	Interior and Insular Affairs Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. HICKENLOOPER .....	Agriculture and Forestry Foreign Relations
Mr. HRUSKA .....	Judiciary Public Works
Mr. IVES .....	Banking and Currency Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. JAVITS .....	District of Columbia Rules and Administration
Mr. JENNER .....	Judiciary Post Office and Civil Service [Rules and Administration—crossed out] Finance [handwritten insert]
Mr. KNOWLAND .....	Appropriations Foreign Relations
Mr. KUCHEL .....	[Finance—crossed out] Interior and Insular Affairs Public Works [handwritten insert]
Mr. LANGER .....	Foreign Relations Judiciary Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. MALONE .....	Finance Interior and Insular Affairs
Mr. MARTIN, Iowa .....	Government Operations Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. MARTIN, Pa. ....	Finance Public Works
Mr. MCCARTHY .....	Appropriations Government Operations Rules and Administration
Mr. MORTON .....	District of Columbia Post Office and Civil Service
Mr. MUNDT .....	Agriculture and Forestry Appropriations Government Operations
Mr. PAYNE .....	Banking and Currency Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. POTTER .....	Appropriations Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mr. PURTELL .....	Interstate and Foreign Commerce Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. REVERCOMB .....	Government Operations Public Works

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS (1957–1959)

Mr. SALTONSTALL .....	Appropriations Armed Services
Mr. SCHOEPPEL .....	Agriculture and Forestry Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Mrs. SMITH, Maine .....	Appropriations Armed Services Government Operations
Mr. SMITH, N.J. ....	Foreign Relations Labor and Public Welfare
Mr. THYE .....	Agriculture and Forestry Appropriations
Mr. WATKINS .....	Interior and Insular Affairs Judiciary
Mr. WILEY .....	Foreign Relations Judiciary
Mr. WILLIAMS .....	Agriculture and Forestry Finance
Mr. YOUNG .....	Agriculture and Forestry Appropriations

\* \* \*

January 9, 1957

(Confidential Work Sheet No. 2)

**STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE**

Eighty-fifth Congress

(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

**On Agriculture and Forestry** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. Aiken, Young, Thye, Hickenlooper, Mundt, Williams, Schoeppel

**On Appropriations** (Ratio 12–11)

Messrs. Bridges, Saltonstall, Young, Knowland, Thye, McCarthy,  
Mundt, Mrs. Smith, Maine, Messrs. Dworshak, Dirksen, Potter

**On Armed Services** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. Bridges, Saltonstall, Flanders, Mrs. Smith, Maine, Messrs.  
Case, S. Dak., Bush, Barrett

**On Banking and Currency** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. Capehart, Bricker, Ives, Bennett, Bush, Beall, Payne

**On District of Columbia** (Ratio 5–4)

Messrs. Beall, Case, N.J., Morton, Javits

**On Finance** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. Martin, Pa., Williams, Flanders, Malone, Carlson, Bennett,  
[Kuchel—crossed out] Jenner [handwritten insert]

**On Foreign Relations** (Ratio 8–7)

JANUARY 7, 1957

Messrs. Wiley, Smith, N.J., Hickenlooper, Langer, Knowland, Aiken, Capehart

**On Government Operations** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. McCarthy, Mundt, Mrs. Smith, Maine, Messrs. Martin, Iowa, Curtis, Revercomb

**On Interior and Insular Affairs** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. Malone, Watkins, Dworshak, Kuchel, Barrett, Goldwater, Allott

**On Interstate and Foreign Commerce** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. Bricker, Schoeppel, Butler, Potter, Purtell, Payne, Cotton

**On the Judiciary** (Ratio 8–7)

Messrs. Wiley, Langer, Jenner, Watkins, Dirksen, Butler, Hruska

**On Labor and Public Welfare** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Smith, N.J., Ives, Purtell, Goldwater, Allott, Cooper

**On Post Office and Civil Service** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Carlson, Jenner, Langer, Martin, Iowa, Case, N.J., Morton

**On Public Works** (Ratio 7–6)

Messrs. Martin, Pa., Case, S. Dak., Kuchel [handwritten insert], Cotton, Hruska, Revercomb, [Cooper—crossed out]

**On Rules and Administration** (Ratio 5–4)

Messrs. [Jenner—crossed out] Curtis [handwritten insert], McCarthy, [Curtis—crossed out] Cooper [handwritten insert], Javits

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[January 9, 1957]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR JANUARY 9, 1957, AT 11:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

Chairman Saltonstall called the Conference to order at 11:08 a.m. and asked the Secretary to call the roll. Thirty-three Senators as follows answering their names, a quorum was present:

Present 33:

Aiken	Cooper	Morton
Allott	Cotton	Mundt
Barrett	Curtis	Purtell
Beall	Dirksen	Revercomb
Bennett	Dworshak	Saltonstall
Bricker	Hruska	Schoeppel
Bush	Jenner	Smith, Maine



EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS (1957–1959)

Capehart	Knowland	Smith, N.J.
Carlson	Kuchel	Watkins
Case, N.J.	Malone	Williams
Case, S. Dak.	McCarthy	Young
Absent 13:		
Bridges	Ives	Payne
Butler	Langer	Potter
Flanders	Martin, Iowa	Thye
Goldwater	Martin, Pa.	Wiley
Hickenlooper		

(Senator Javits of New York had not been sworn in as a senator at the time of this conference)

A quorum was present.

Also present were J. Mark Trice, Lloyd Jones, William T. Reed, William Brownrigg III.

Senator Smith of New Jersey was recognized and explained an amendment to the Conference Rules, copy of which is attached, which he said he would like to propose. He mentioned, however, that unless a one week layover rule relative to amendments could be waived his amendment could not be proposed. He therefore asked unanimous consent that the amendment layover rule of one week be waived in this instance. There was no objection.

Without objection the Smith amendment was adopted. Senator Bricker was then recognized and explained the Committee assignments which had been approved by the Committee on Committees and moved their adoption by the Conference. The motion was seconded and unanimously approved. Copies of the Committee assignments are attached. [See lists on pages 793–96.]

Senator Bricker then explained that a Resolution which had been passed in the 84th Congress, 1st Session, copy attached, called for the appointment of the chairman and members of the Select Committee on Small Business, “in the same manner and at the same time as Chairmen and Members of the standing committees of the Senate at the beginning of each Congress.” He wondered therefore whether the committee was now considered a standing committee and if so whether a major committee or a third committee.

Senator Knowland said the matter would be taken under consideration by the Majority Leader and himself and would be worked out. Senator Knowland then announced that Senator-elect Javits would be sworn in at one p.m. and asked the Senators to be present if possible. He also announced that he would introduce his Resolution amending Rule XXII and suggested that the opposition might raise the question of constitutionality. A brief discussion ensued relative to various aspects of the proposed changes in the Rule and what the parliamentary approach to them would be.

JANUARY 9, 1957

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 11:37 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on March 18, 1957

[signed] William T. Reed  
Assistant for the Minority

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#### AMENDMENT TO CONFERENCE RULES

Senator Smith of New Jersey proposes the following amendments to the Republican Conference Rules:

Paragraph 2 of the Republican Conference Rules is amended by inserting the following language after the phrase “, the Chairman of the Policy Committee,” :

the Chairman of the Committee on Committees, the Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, the Chairman of the Republican Personnel Committee

The caption “A Policy Committee of Twelve Senators” shall be amended to read “A Policy Committee of Fifteen Senators”

\* \* \*

84th Congress  
1st Session

#### **S. RES. 120**

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

June 30, 1955

Mr. Green, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported the following resolution; which was ordered to be placed on the calendar

July 1, 1955

Considered and agreed to

#### **RESOLUTION**

*Resolved*, That the chairman and members of the Select Committee on Small Business, created by S. Res. 58, Eighty-first Congress, second session, shall be appointed in the same manner and at the same time as the chairmen and members of the standing committees of the Senate at the beginning of each Congress.

[March 12, 1957]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR TUESDAY, MARCH 12, 1957, AT 4:30 P.M., ROOM F-41,<sup>3</sup> SENATE WING OF THE CAPITOL

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 4:35 p.m. and stated that the Minority Leader had prepared a suggested resolution for the consideration of the Members of the Conference. He suggested that in order to save time the roll would not be called at this time by the Secretary. There was no objection.

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who distributed to the Members the suggested resolution in regard to the budget. A copy of the resolution as presented is attached hereto as Exhibit "A." Senator Knowland stated that included in the draft were suggestions which had been made at the Republican Policy meeting held earlier in the day. The Senator also read for the information of the Members of the Conference a resolution which Senator McNamara had offered in the Senate today on the subject of the budget.

The Chairman recognized Senator Hickenlooper who moved to strike from Section 4 of the resolved clause of the resolution the following words: "in its appropriation bills".

The Chairman, due to the absence of Senator Young, the Secretary, appointed Senator Gordon Allott as Acting Secretary and asked that the roll be called. The roll was called.

The following Senators were present:

Present 36:

Allott	Curtis	Martin, Iowa
Barrett	Dirksen	Martin, Pa.
Beall	Dworshak	Morton
Bennett	Flanders	Mundt
Bricker	Goldwater	Payne
Bridges	Hickenlooper	Revercomb
Bush	Hruska	Saltonstall
Butler	Ives	Schoeppel
Carlson	Javits	Smith, Maine
Case, N.J.	Knowland	Smith, N.J.
Case, S. Dak.	Kuchel	Thye
Cooper	Malone	Wiley

<sup>3</sup>[Now S-124.]

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Absent 11:

Aiken	Langer	Watkins
Capehart	McCarthy	Williams
Cotton	Potter	Young
Jenner	Purtell	

Also present: J. Mark Trice, William T. Reed, Lloyd Jones

General discussion followed and suggestions were offered in regard to phraseology and the Chairman recognized Senators Case of New Jersey, Goldwater, Allott, Case of South Dakota, Javits, Bricker, Cooper, Revercomb, Martin of Pennsylvania and Flanders.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Dirksen who offered a substitute for the third whereas clause of the resolution as follows: "*Whereas* tax reduction wherever practicable will strengthen the economy and increase the purchasing power of every citizen; and".

The Chairman then recognized Senator Revercomb who moved to strike the language of the third whereas clause of the resolution.

There being no further discussion the Chairman put the question of the adoption of the substitute of Senator Dirksen and it was agreed to by voice vote.

The Chairman then stated that the pending question was the motion of Senator Revercomb to strike from the resolution the substitute language. On a division vote of 9 "yeas" and 16 "nays" the Chairman announced that the language of the substitute prevailed with the clause remaining in the resolution.

The Chairman then requested action on the other whereas clauses of the resolution and the first whereas clause was agreed to by voice vote.

The second whereas clause was taken up for consideration and the Chairman recognized Senator Smith of New Jersey who moved to strike the following language "and requires high taxes to avoid deficit financing, and". The Chairman put the question and after a voice vote the Chairman announced that the motion was not agreed to.

The Chairman stated that paragraph 3 of the whereas clause had been previously adopted.

Paragraph 4 of the whereas clause was then considered and agreed to by voice vote.

The Chairman then stated that paragraph 5 of the whereas clause would be considered and he recognized Senator Allott who suggested the following substitute: "*Whereas* the President has expressed his desire that the budget be reduced wherever possible:". This language was first agreed to and then withdrawn in favor of the text finally agreed to.

The Chairman recognized Senator Curtis who moved that paragraph 5 of the whereas clause as amended be stricken but the Senator later withdrew his motion.

The Chairman recognized Senator Kuchel who suggested the following amendment but withdrew it: “*Whereas* the President and this Conference are agreed that no Federal spending should be approved in the absence of full consideration and justification by the Congress:”.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Mundt who suggested that the language be changed to read as follows: “*Whereas* the Republican Conference has heard with approval the President’s recommendation that Congress reduce the budget wherever possible:”.

This clause had been discussed previously and the Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who offered the following language which had been tentatively agreed to: “*Whereas* the Republican Conference of the Senate is in accord with the President’s recommendation that the Congress reduce the budget wherever possible:”

The Chairman put the question and the substitute of Senator Knowland was agreed to by voice vote.

The Chairman then stated that Section 1 of the resolving clause which had been previously discussed was agreed to by voice vote as follows: “That the Congress reduce the budget wherever possible consistent with the security of the national defense and the essential functioning of the Government; and”.

The Chairman stated that Section 2 of the resolved clause was open for discussion and after suggestions by Senators Butler, Case of South Dakota and Bricker it was agreed to by voice vote as follows: “That the Appropriations Committee of the Senate consider carefully each appropriation with a view to keeping expenditures within the lowest practicable bounds; and”.

The Chairman stated that Section 3 of the resolved clause was the next order of business and after suggestions by Senators Barrett, Dirksen and Knowland the section was agreed to as follows: “That hereafter each legislative committee of the Senate, in reporting a bill to the Senate, include in its report a statement of the estimated initial and projected cost of any activity authorized by the legislation which requires expenditure of funds; and”.

The Chairman then stated that Section 4 of the resolved clause was before the Conference for action and suggested that the following language be substituted: “That the Congress by its appropriations limit civilian employment to the lowest levels consistent with the authorized operation of the Department or Agency involved.”

The Chairman recognized Senator Case of South Dakota who suggested that the following language be substituted: “That the Con-

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gress in each appropriation bill place a ceiling on civilian Federal employment for the Department or individual Agency for which appropriations are made.”

The Chairman recognized Senator Barrett who suggested that the following language be substituted: “That the Appropriations Committee restrict Federal employment for each Department to the 1957 federal year level wherever possible.”

The Chairman then put the question on the substitute of Senator Barrett and announced that the substitute was not agreed to.

The Chairman then put the question on the substitute of Senator Case of South Dakota and announced that the substitute was not agreed to.

The Chairman then put the question as to the language of the substitute offered by Senator Saltonstall and announced that it was agreed to.

The Chairman then announced that the individual paragraphs of the resolution having been acted upon the question resolved itself as to the adoption of the resolution, as amended. A voice vote was had and the Chairman announced that the resolution was agreed to. There were no “nays.” A copy of the resolution as adopted is attached hereto as Exhibit “B.”

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 5:55 p.m.

[signed] Gordon Allott

Acting Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on March 14, 1957

[signed] J. Mark Trice

Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*

Exhibit “A”

#### RESOLUTION

*Whereas* it is necessary to preserve a sound, stable economy which avoids inflation and deflation, which maintains the purchasing power of the dollar, and which encourages growth and expansion, and

*Whereas* excessive Federal spending under present conditions adds to inflationary pressure and requires high taxes to avoid deficit financing, and

*Whereas* through present high levels of taxation the Federal Government is siphoning off funds that otherwise could go into private business investment needed to provide continuing economic growth and the creation of new jobs, and

*Whereas* the appropriation of funds for Federal Government activities is the Constitutional responsibility of the Congress, and

*Whereas* the President of the United States has invited the Congress to exercise such responsibility, to reduce the budget wherever possible:

*Therefore*, be it resolved that the Republican Conference of the Senate (organization of all Republican Senators) recommends

1. That the Congress accept the invitation of the President to reduce the budget wherever possible; and
2. That the Appropriations Committees scrutinize carefully each request for appropriations with a view to keeping such requests within the lowest practical bounds; and
3. That each legislative committee of the Senate in reporting a bill to the Senate include in its report a statement of the bill's estimated initial and projected costs, if any; and
4. That the Congress in its appropriation bills place a ceiling on Federal employment for each Department and agency.

\* \* \*

Exhibit "B"

Resolution adopted by Republican Conference of the Senate (organization of all Republican Senators) at a meeting Tuesday afternoon, March 12, 1957.

RESOLUTION

*Whereas* it is necessary to preserve a sound, stable economy which avoids inflation and deflation, which maintains the purchasing power of the dollar, and which encourages growth and expansion; and

*Whereas* excessive Federal spending under present conditions adds to inflationary pressure and requires high taxes to avoid deficit financing; and

*Whereas* tax reduction wherever practicable will strengthen the economy and increase the purchasing power of every citizen; and

*Whereas* the appropriation of funds for Federal Government activities is the Constitutional responsibility of the Congress; and

*Whereas* the Republican Conference of the Senate is in accord with the President's recommendation that the Congress reduce the budget wherever possible:

*Therefore*, be it resolved that the Republican Conference of the Senate recommends

1. That the Congress reduce the budget wherever possible consistent with the security of the national defense and the essential functioning of the Government; and
2. That the Appropriations Committee of the Senate consider carefully each appropriation with a view to keeping expenditures within the lowest practicable bounds; and
3. That hereafter each legislative committee of the Senate, in reporting a bill to the Senate, include in its report a statement of the estimated initial

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and projected cost of any activity authorized by the legislation which requires expenditure of funds; and

4. That the Congress by its appropriations limit civilian employment to the lowest levels consistent with the authorized operation of the Department or Agency involved.

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE JOHN W. BRICKER, FOR TUESDAY, MAY 21, 1957, AT 12:00 P.M., ROOM P-55,<sup>4</sup> SENATE WING, CAPITOL BUILDING

Chairman Bricker called the meeting to order at 12:00 noon. The following members of the Committee were present:

Present:

Wiley	Hruska
Hickenlooper	Martin, Iowa
Ives	Allott
Purtell	Morton
Beall	

The following Senators were absent:

Langer	Case, S.D.
Aiken	Barrett
Flanders	Payne
Jenner	Goldwater
Malone	Cotton
Watkins	Revercomb

Also present:

J. Mark Trice	William T. Reed
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The Chairman then read for the information of the meeting the following statement which represented the conclusions which the Chairman had reached in regard to filling the three vacancies caused by the death of Senator Joseph McCarthy, namely the Committees on Appropriations, Rules and Administration and Government Operations.

The death of Senator McCarthy caused the following three vacancies: Appropriations, Rules and Administration and Government Operations.

Senator Capehart being number seven in seniority requested a third Committee and was therefore assigned to Government Operations.

Senators Ives and Watkins both being in class fourteen and each requesting assignment to Appropriations, a drawing was

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<sup>4</sup>[Now S-240.]



required and Senator Ives won. He was therefore assigned to Appropriations releasing the Committee on Banking and Currency.

No request having been received by the Committee on Committees for assignment to either Banking and Currency or Rules and Administration, Senator Case of New Jersey who had expressed an interest in being assigned to any Committees other than the two which he now has was assigned to the Committee on Banking and Currency and the Committee on Rules and Administration. He therefore released District of Columbia and Post Office and Civil Service.

District of Columbia and Post Office and Civil Service will be reserved for the new Senator from Wisconsin.

After a brief discussion it was moved by Senator Purtell that the recommendations of the Chairman be approved. The motion was unanimously adopted.

It was suggested that the Republican leadership be contacted by the Chairman in regard to reviewing at some future date at a meeting of all Republican Senators the method by which Committee assignments are made.

There being no further business the Committee adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

APPROVED:

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary to the Minority

[signed] John W. Bricker  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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[May 21, 1957]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR MAY 21, 1957, AT 12:30 P.M., ROOM F-41, SENATE WING, CAPITOL BUILDING

Senator Saltonstall called the Conference to order at 1:17 p.m. at the conclusion of the Policy Committee luncheon and asked the Secretary to call the roll.

The following Senators were present:

Present 37:

Aiken	Cotton	Morton
Allott	Curtis	Mundt

MAY 21, 1957

Beall	Dirksen	Potter
Bennett	Dworshak	Purtell
Bricker	Goldwater	Revercomb
Bridges	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Bush	Hruska	Schoeppel
Butler	Ives	Smith, N.J.
Capehart	Knowland	Thye
Carlson	Kuchel	Wiley
Case, N.J.	Malone	Williams
Case, S.D.	Martin, Iowa	Young
Cooper		
Absent 9:		
Barrett	Jenner	Payne
Flanders	Langer	Smith, Maine
Javits	Martin, Pa.	Watkins

A quorum was present.

Also present were J. Mark Trice, Lloyd Jones, William T. Reed and William Brownrigg III.

The Chairman announced that the purpose of the meeting was to act on the Committee vacancies caused by the death of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bricker, Chairman of the Republican Committee on Committees to present the recommendations of his Committee. Senator Bricker made the following statement which is attached hereto. At the conclusion of which it was moved and seconded that the Report of his Committee be adopted. The motion was agreed to by unanimous action.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 1:20 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference May 22, 1957

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*

#### COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES—1957

The death of Senator McCarthy caused the following three vacancies: Appropriations, Rules and Administration and Government Operations.

Senator Capehart being number seven in seniority requested a third Committee and was therefore assigned to Government Operations.

Senators Ives and Watkins both being in class fourteen and each requesting assignment to Appropriations, a drawing was required and Senator Ives

won. He was therefore assigned to Appropriations releasing the Committee on Banking and Currency.

No request having been received by the Committee on Committees for assignment to either Banking and Currency or Rules and Administration, Senator Case of New Jersey who had expressed an interest in being assigned to any Committees other than the two which he now has was assigned to the Committee on Banking and Currency and the Committee on Rules and Administration. He therefore released District of Columbia and Post Office and Civil Service.

District of Columbia and Post Office and Civil Service will be reserved for the new Senator from Wisconsin.

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[June 18, 1957]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, IN THE COURSE OF A REPUBLICAN POLICY MEETING ON JUNE 18, 1957, AT 1:18 P.M., ROOM F-41, SENATE WING, CAPITOL BUILDING

Senator Saltonstall called the Conference to order at 1:18 p.m. and asked the Secretary for the Minority to call the roll. The call of the roll was dispensed with on the motion of Senator Goldwater.

The following Senators were present:

Present 26:

Allott	Dirksen	Morton
Bennett	Dworshak	Potter
Bricker	Goldwater	Purtell
Bush	Hickenlooper	Revercomb
Butler	Javits	Saltonstall
Carlson	Jenner	Schoeppel
Case, N.J.	Knowland	Watkins
Cooper	Kuchel	Wiley
Cotton	Martin, Pa.	

The Chairman announced that a quorum was present.

Also present were J. Mark Trice, Lloyd Jones and William T. Reed.

The Chairman announced that the purpose of the meeting was to fill the vacancy existing on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

After discussion Senator Bricker, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, moved that the Conference approve the appointment of Senator Martin of Pennsylvania to temporary membership on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. The Chairman asked if there was any objection to the motion and there being none, the motion was unanimously adopted.

JUNE 18, 1957

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 1:21 p.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on June 18, 1957

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[July 17, 1957]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL FOR WEDNESDAY, JULY 17, 1957, AT 9:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

Senator Saltonstall called the Conference to order at 9:10 a.m. and asked the Secretary to call the roll. the Secretary called the roll and the following Senators were present:

Present 40:

Aiken	Case, S.D.	Ives	Potter
Allott	Cooper	Javits	Purtell
Barrett	Cotton	Jenner	Revercomb
Beall	Curtis	Knowland	Saltonstall
Bennett	Dirksen	Kuchel	Smith, Maine
Bricker	Dworshak	Malone	Smith, N.J.
Bush	Flanders	Martin, Iowa	Watkins
Capehart	Goldwater	Martin, Pa.	Wiley
Carlson	Hickenlooper	Morton	Williams
Case, N.J.	Hruska	Mundt	Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, Lloyd Jones, William T. Reed and William Brownrigg III.

The Chairman recognized Senator Carlson who moved that the Chairman on behalf of the Conference write a note to Senator Andrew F. Schoepel expressing the hope that the recent operation of the Senator was a success, extending to him their love and affection and expressing the hope that he would shortly return. The motion was seconded and unanimously agreed to.

The Chairman stated that the purpose of the meeting was to ascertain from the members their forthright expressions and views on the subject of Civil Rights and he recommended that the Minority Leader, Senator William F. Knowland, lead the discussion.

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland who stated that the Policy Committee meeting of yesterday had been postponed because

of the Senate sessions requiring the attendance of Senators on the Floor, as well as a desire on the part of the leadership not to discuss possible amendments until after the vote making the Civil Rights bill the pending business before the Senate.

He stated that at the White House Conference with the Congressional leaders on yesterday there was a discussion of the budget with Budget Director [Percival F.] Brundage present. There followed a discussion of Civil Rights legislation. The Senator then read a recent White House release on the subject and a copy is attached hereto as Exhibit A.

Senator Knowland discussed the various ramifications of the bill and spoke of the conflicting interpretations which had been placed thereon.

The Senator read for information a possible substitute for Section 3. It required that a request be made by local authorities for the Attorney General to act before the institution by him of injunction or restraining proceedings. Also Section 1993 of the Code would be repealed.

After much discussion of the various provisions of the bill, requests made for interpretations, and the expression of personal opinions there was an informal showing of hands in three particulars:

1. By those favoring Section 3 as it now stands,
2. By those favoring the Anderson motion to strike Section 3, and
3. By those against striking Section 3 if amended.

It was suggested that within the next few days another Conference be called to further discuss the matter and resolve differences of opinion.

There being no further business the Conference recessed at 11:15 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference July 18, 1957

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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IMMEDIATE RELEASE

July 16, 1957

James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

*THE WHITE HOUSE*  
*STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT*

I am gratified that the Senate, by a vote of 71 to 18 has now made H.R. 6127 the pending business before that body.

JULY 17, 1957

This legislation seeks to accomplish these four simple objectives:

1. To protect the constitutional right of all citizens to vote regardless of race or color. In this connection we seek to uphold the traditional authority of the Federal courts to enforce their orders. This means that a jury trial should not be interposed in contempt of court cases growing out of violations of such orders.

2. To provide a reasonable program of assistance in efforts to protect other constitutional rights of our citizens.

3. To establish a bi-partisan Presidential commission to study and recommend any further appropriate steps to protect these constitutional rights.

4. To authorize an additional Assistant Attorney General to administer the legal responsibilities of the Federal Government involving civil rights.

The details of language changes is a legislative matter. I would hope, however, that the Senate, in whatever clarification it may determine to make, will keep the measure an effective piece of legislation to carry out these four objectives—each one of which is consistent with simple justice and equality afforded to every citizen under the Constitution of the United States.

I hope that Senate action on this measure will be accomplished at this session without undue delay.

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[July 19, 1957]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR FRIDAY, JULY 19, 1957, AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

Senator Saltonstall called the Conference to order at 9:37 a.m. and suggested that as the Secretary of the Conference had made an informal check of those Senators present a formal calling of the roll would be dispensed with. There was no objection. The following Senators were present.

Present 35:

Aiken	Curtis	Mundt
Allott	Dirksen	Potter
Barrett	Dworshak	Purtell
Beall	Flanders	Revercomb
Bennett	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Bricker	Ives	Smith, Me.
Bush	Javits	Smith, N.J.
Carlson	Knowland	Thye
Case, N.J.	Kuchel	Watkins
Case, S.D.	Malone	Wiley
Cooper	Martin, Pa.	Young
Cotton	Morton	

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland for the purpose of giving a preliminary report to the Conference, as well as leading an open discussion on the Civil Rights legislation pending in the Senate.

Senator Knowland stated that there would be no Saturday session of the Senate, that the debate would continue today on Section 3 of the bill, that there was hope of obtaining a unanimous consent agreement to vote on this Section some time Monday and even if there was an objection he thought that it would be disposed of not later than Tuesday.

He stated that several amendments had been prepared by him to Part I of the bill and after discussion of the practical problems faced insofar as Section 3 of the bill was concerned, he requested that Senator Dirksen present to the members of the Conference amendments in the form of three suggestions to Section 3.

Senator Dirksen was recognized and read for the information of the Conference certain alternative language for Section 3.

Senator Watkins was recognized and read for the information of the Conference an amendment which he had also prepared.

Later Senator Cooper was recognized who suggested a further amendment to Section 3.

There was full and complete discussion in regard to the various amendments suggested and there was no request made for a consensus of opinion on the matter presented. It was generally agreed that following action on the pending Knowland-Humphrey amendment that the Minority Leader would present clarifying amendments to Section 3, as well as to other Sections of the bill.

There being no further business the Conference recessed at 11:37 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference July 22, 1957

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

JULY 19, 1957

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[July 26, 1957]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL FOR FRIDAY, JULY 26TH, 1957, AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 9:36 a.m. and suggested that no roll call be made at this time, but that the Secretary check Members as they entered. There was no objection. The following senators were present.

Present 38:

Aiken	Case, N.J.	Kuchel	Revercomb
Allott	Cooper	Langer	Saltonstall
Barrett	Cotton	Malone	Smith, Me.
Beall	Curtis	Martin, Iowa	Smith, N.J.
Bennett	Dirksen	Martin, Pa.	Thye
Bricker	Dworshak	Morton	Watkins
Bush	Ives	Mundt	Wiley
Butler	Javits	Potter	Williams
Capehart	Jenner	Purtell	Young
Carlson	Knowland		

Also present were J. Mark Trice, Lloyd Jones, William T. Reed and William Brownrigg III.

The Chairman recognized Senator Knowland for a statement on the Civil Rights legislation now under consideration by the Senate. Senator Knowland emphasized that now is the decisive phase of the Civil Rights bill, that is Part 4 to protect voting rights.

He discussed the several jury trial amendments proposed to Part 4. He reported that at a meeting earlier today with President Eisenhower that the President reaffirmed his position in favor of Part 4 without amendment.

Senator Dirksen was recognized by the Chairman for a historical explanation of jury trials and the adverse effect of jury trials on this legislation, and on the prerogatives of the Courts.

Senator Knowland on question said a vote on Part 4 was expected next Tuesday.

There was a general discussion of the Civil Rights proposal and a detailed discussion of jury trial amendments and their effect on the merits of the bill and on the political situation.



After discussion on this subject there being no further business the Conference was adjourned at 11:06 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, July 29, 1957

[signed] William Brownrigg III  
Assistant Secretary for the Minority

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[January 7, 1958]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR TUESDAY, JANUARY 7TH, 1958, AT 2:30 P.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

Senator Saltonstall called the Conference to order at 2:35 p.m. and requested that the Secretary call the roll. The Secretary called the roll and the following Senators were present:

Present 39:

Aiken	Cooper	Jenner	Revercomb
Allott	Cotton	Knowland	Saltonstall
Barrett	Curtis	Kuchel	Schoeppel
Beall	Dworshak	Langer	Smith, Maine
Bennett	Flanders	Malone	Smith, N.J.
Bricker	Goldwater	Martin, Iowa	Thye
Bush	Hickenlooper	Mundt	Wiley
Capehart	Hruska	Payne	Williams
Carlson	Ives	Potter	Young
Case, S.D.	Javits	Purtell	

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III, and Lloyd Jones.

The Chairman moved that the Secretary send a telegram to those Republican Senators detained from the opening Session of the Senate by temporary illness. The motion was unanimously agreed to, and a copy of the telegram sent to Senators Bridges, Martin of Pennsylvania and Morton is attached hereto as Exhibit A.

Senator Saltonstall also stated that Senator Dirksen could not be present at the Conference due to a slight illness.

There is also attached as Exhibit B a letter addressed to the Chairman by Mrs. Mamie D. Eisenhower in regard to flowers sent by the Republican members during her illness and which was read.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bricker, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, who informed the members present of two

JANUARY 7, 1958

existing vacancies, one temporarily filled on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and the other vacancy existing on the Committee of the District of Columbia. He asked that if any Senator was interested in a third Committee assignment to please contact him.

Senator Saltonstall stated that there were two items on the Conference agenda for today, first being the report by the Minority Leader on the White House Conference, and the second being the report by the members of the Armed Services Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee.

Senator Saltonstall then recognized Senator Knowland who stated that at the White House meeting with the Republican leaders today the President participated throughout the meeting and was in fine spirits and good humor.

The meeting constituted a preview of the President's State of the Union Message which he will deliver to the Congress on Thursday. He stated that the message would differ from previous ones in that it will deal solely with the United States in the world situation today and how to deal with the present situations confronting this country.

Presidential recommendations on the domestic situation will be covered in the economic message to be submitted later. The budget message will be sent to the Congress on January 13th, with other special messages following at later dates.

He also stated that the President would submit a supplemental budget for Defense in an additional sum of 1.5 billion.

The Chairman stated that after conferences with Senators Bridges and Knowland it was deemed wise to have a Conference on the subject matter of defense and missiles, and present to the Republican membership the latest information available in a similar manner that the information was presented to the Democratic Conference early today.

There being no objection Mr. Edwin L. Weisl, Mr. Cyrus R. Vance and Mr. Stuart P. French, staff members of the Armed Services Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee, were escorted into the Conference Room and introduced to the membership.

Senator Saltonstall then covered the past and present actions of the Subcommittee and laid the foundation for the specific presentations which were to follow.

The Chairman recognized Senator Flanders who spoke on the I.R.B.M. Program; Senator Case of South Dakota who addressed himself to the I.C.B.M.<sup>2</sup> Program and outer space satellites; Senator

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<sup>2</sup>[Intermediate-range ballistic missile and intercontinental ballistic missile.]

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS (1957–1959)

Bush who covered “Forces in Being”; and Senator Barrett who discussed the operations of the Strategic Air Command.

At the conclusion of the individual presentations a number of questions were asked of the speakers as well as of the staff.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 5:10 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference, January 10, 1958

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*  
Exhibit “A”

January 7, 1958

This telegram is to be sent to:

Honorable Styles Bridges  
18 School Street  
Concord, New Hampshire

Honorable Edward Martin  
147 Le Moyne Avenue  
Washington, Pennsylvania

Honorable Thruston Morton  
Glenview, Kentucky

THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE AT ITS MEETING TODAY REQUESTED THAT THE SECRETARY EXPRESS TO YOU DEEP REGRET THAT YOU COULD NOT BE PRESENT BECAUSE OF YOUR TEMPORARY ILLNESS.

YOUR COLLEAGUES SEND TO YOU THEIR SINCERE BEST WISHES AND HIGH ESTEEM AND WITH THIS HOPE THAT YOUR RECOVERY WILL BE RAPID AND THAT YOU WILL REJOIN THEM SOON.

Charge: Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Republican Conference  
Official Business  
United States Senate

\* \* \*  
Exhibit “B”  
The White House  
Washington

September 6, 1957

JANUARY 7, 1958

Dear Senator Saltonstall,

I want to extend my very warmest thanks to you and your colleagues for your very thoughtful remembrance of me. The arrangement of flowers which you sent to me at the hospital was just lovely. I wish you all might have seen how beautiful they looked in my room.

Please extend my kindest regard to all

[signed] Mamie Doud Eisenhower

The Honorable Leverett Saltonstall  
Chairman, Republican Conference of  
the United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

## Eighty-Sixth Congress (1959–1961)

[Editor's Note: A recession combined with scandals uncovered in the Eisenhower administration helped the Democrats make substantial gains in the 1958 congressional elections. The Senate, which had been narrowly divided since 1951, became almost two-to-one Democratic, with 64 Democrats to 34 Republicans, while the House had 283 Democrats to 153 Republicans, and one independent.<sup>1</sup>

Reflecting the shrinking number of Republican senators, the party ratios on committees changed to provide fewer Republican slots, obliging the Committee on Committees to spend considerable time attempting to satisfy all Conference members. Since William Knowland had retired at the end of the previous Congress, the Conference elected Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois as floor leader. Thomas Kuchel of California replaced him as whip.

With so few Republicans in the House and Senate, President Eisenhower became more confrontational with Congress as he sought to control expenditures, vetoing a number of congressional initiatives that he considered too expensive. As the civil rights movement gathered momentum, Congress took up the Civil Rights Act of 1960, designed to strengthen voting rights provisions of the 1957 act. This time, however, the measure faced a full-scale filibuster that lasted nine days in February and March of 1960 before a compromise was finally reached.

The 1960 presidential campaign saw a number of Democratic senators vying for their party's nomination to face the Republican choice, Vice President Richard M. Nixon. The eventual winners were John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts as presidential nominee and Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas for the vice-presidency.]

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[January 7, 1959]

### MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 7, 1959, AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Conference was called to order at 9:37 a.m. by the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, Chairman of the Republican Conference for the 85th Congress, who requested that Senator Styles Bridges act as Temporary Chairman.

Senator Bridges assumed the Chair and recognized Senator Andrew F. Schoepel, Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign

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<sup>1</sup>[In the 86th and 87th congresses, after Alaska and Hawaii entered the Union in 1959, the House had a total of 437 voting members.]

JANUARY 7, 1959

Committee, who introduced to the members of the Conference the newly-elected Republican Senators in the following order:

Senator Kenneth B. Keating of New York  
Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania  
Senator Winston Prouty of Vermont

Senator Bridges appointed Senator Thruston B. Morton as Temporary Secretary of the Conference and requested that the roll be called.

The following Senators answered "Present."

Present 34:

Aiken	Cooper	Langer
Allott	Cotton	Martin
Beall	Curtis	Morton
Bennett	Dirksen	Mundt
Bridges	Dworshak	Prouty
Bush	Goldwater	Saltonstall
Butler	Hickenlooper	Schoeppel
Capehart	Hruska	Scott
Carlson	Javits	Smith
Case, N.J.	Keating	Wiley
Case, S.D.	Kuchel	Williams
		Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Arthur E. Burgess.

Senator Bridges announced the appointment of Senators George D. Aiken and Barry Goldwater to act as Tellers in any disputed election.

Senator Bridges then announced that the first order of business would be the election of a Conference Chairman and he recognized Senator Francis Case of South Dakota, who nominated Senator Saltonstall for the position of Chairman of the Conference. The nomination of Senator Saltonstall was seconded by Senator Clifford P. Case of New Jersey, Senator Margaret Chase Smith and Senator John J. Williams.

It was moved and seconded that nominations be closed and after an affirmative vote the Secretary was authorized to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Saltonstall as Chairman of the Conference. The Secretary announced that he had cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Saltonstall.

Senator Saltonstall then assumed the Chair and after expressing words of appreciation to the Members of the Conference he announced that nominations would be in order for the office of Secretary of the Conference.

The Chairman recognized Senator William Langer who placed in nomination the name of Senator Milton R. Young as Secretary. The nomination of Senator Young was seconded by Senators Bridges and Carlson. It was moved and seconded that nominations be closed and after a vote in the affirmative the Secretary was authorized to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Young as Secretary of the Conference. The Secretary announced that he had cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Young.

The Chairman suggested a motion be made by some member of the Conference to the effect that the Secretary prepare a resolution of appreciation for the services rendered by Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel as Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. The Chairman recognized Senator Prescott Bush who, after speaking words of appreciation in behalf of Senator Schoeppel, made a recommendation that a resolution be so prepared. The motion was seconded by Senators Jacob K. Javits, Barry Goldwater, J. Glenn Beall, Bourke B. Hickenlooper, George D. Aiken and Francis Case of South Dakota, and unanimously adopted.

The Chairman recognized Senator Schoeppel who expressed words of appreciation for the action taken. The Chairman then requested the Secretary to prepare a suitable resolution, copy of which is attached hereto marked Exhibit "A."

The Chairman then announced that nominations were in order for Chairman of the Policy Committee and Senator Smith was recognized and placed in nomination the name of Senator Bridges. The nomination of Senator Bridges was seconded by Senators Norris Cotton and Jacob K. Javits. It was moved, seconded and agreed to that nominations be closed and after a vote in the affirmative the Secretary was authorized to cast a unanimous vote for Senator Bridges for Chairman of the Policy Committee. The Secretary announced that he had cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Bridges.

The Chairman then announced that nominations were in order for Floor Leader and Senator Hickenlooper was recognized. He placed in nomination the name of Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen. The nomination of Senator Dirksen was seconded by Senator John Marshall Butler. The Chairman then recognized Senator Bush who placed in nomination the name of Senator John Sherman Cooper for Floor Leader and this nomination was seconded by Senators Thruston Morton and George D. Aiken. It was then moved and seconded that nominations be closed and after an affirmative vote nominations were closed. The Chairman instructed the Clerk to distribute ballots to those members present and after the ballots were distributed and collected the results were supervised by the two Tellers previously appointed, Senators Aiken and Goldwater. They informed the Chairman of the results as follows:

JANUARY 7, 1959

Senator Dirksen—20

Senator Cooper—14

The Chairman announced that Senator Dirksen had been elected Floor Leader.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Cooper who moved that the vote be made unanimous and after the request was put the motion was unanimously carried.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dirksen who expressed his deep appreciation for the action taken by his colleagues.

The Chairman then announced that nominations would be in order for Whip and recognized Senator Schoeppel who placed in nomination the name of Senator Karl E. Mundt. This nomination was seconded by Senator Case of South Dakota. The Chairman then recognized Senator Carlson who placed in nomination the name of Senator Thomas H. Kuchel and this nomination was seconded by Senators Smith, Javits, Scott and Case of New Jersey. It was moved and seconded that nominations be closed and after an affirmative vote the motion prevailed. The Chairman instructed the Clerk to distribute ballots and after they were distributed and collected under the supervision of the two Tellers previously appointed, Senators Aiken and Goldwater, the Chairman was informed that the vote was as follows:

Senator Kuchel—20

Senator Mundt—14

The Chairman recognized Senator Mundt who moved that the vote be made unanimous and after the request was put the motion was unanimously carried.

The Chairman recognized Senator Kuchel who expressed his appreciation to the members of the Conference for the action taken.

The Chairman requested that any Senator desiring to do so make recommendations to him in writing within 24 hours with regard to nominations for the Policy Committee. He also stated that he is awaiting word from the Democratic Leadership as to Committee ratios.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dirksen who informed the Membership as to the Senate program for today.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who stated that an agreement had been reached with the Democratic Membership in regard to Minority patronage and that it will amount to approximately the same number of places which had been allocated to the Republicans last year. He stated that shortly a canvass would be made of the Membership by the Secretary for the Minority in regard to individual selections.



Senator Bridges also stated that he hoped it might be possible to obtain more Committee places for assignment by the enlargement of several Committees.

The Chairman recognized Senator Cooper who spoke of the desirability of the President receiving an expression of the viewpoint of all Members of the Republican Conference and he stated it was his opinion that all members would work together and cooperate for a stronger Republican program.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 11:37 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on January 14, 1959

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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Exhibit "A"

(Conference of January 7, 1959)

86th Congress  
1st Session

**Andrew F. Schoeppel**

Senator Prescott Bush moved that the following resolution be adopted, and the motion was seconded by Senators Javits, Goldwater, Beall, Hickenlooper, Aiken, and Case of South Dakota. The resolution was then adopted by the unanimous action of the Republican Minority Conference on Wednesday, January 7, 1959:

**Resolved,** That the individual members of the Republican Minority Conference of the United States Senate express to their esteemed colleague, the Honorable Andrew F. Schoeppel, United States Senator from the State of Kansas, their high regard and sincere appreciation for his inspiring and able leadership, his tireless efforts and his dedicated devotion to them and to the Republican Party as Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee from February 28, 1956, to January 7, 1959.

Attest:

Chairman, Republican Conference

Attest:

Secretary, Republican Conference

JANUARY 7, 1959

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[January 14, 1959]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1959, AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Conference was called to order at 9:35 a.m. by the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, Chairman of the Republican Conference, and he requested that the Secretary call the roll:

The following Senators answered "Present"

Present 31:

Aiken	Cooper	Langer
Allott	Cotton	Martin
Beall	Curtis	Morton
Bennett	Dirksen	Mundt
Bridges	Dworshak	Prouty
Bush	Goldwater	Saltonstall
Butler	Hickenlooper	Schoeppel
Carlson	Hruska	Scott
Case, N.J.	Keating	Smith
Case, S.Dak.	Kuchel	Wiley
		Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III, and Arthur E. Burgess.

The Chairman stated that the purpose of the Conference was to present to the Conference an amendment by Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper in regard to a proposed change in Article 5 of the Republican Conference Rules. Attached is a copy of the proposed amendment as well as a copy of the required notice.

The Chairman recognized Senator Hickenlooper who explained the reasons for the proposed change, and he asked unanimous consent that the amendment be considered at this meeting of the Conference.

The Chairman recognized Senator William Langer who objected to the immediate consideration of the amendment, but reserved his objection in order that Senators might speak.

The Chairman recognized Senators George D. Aiken, Clifford P. Case, New Jersey, Gordon Allott, Frank Carlson, Roman L. Hruska, Thomas H. Kuchel, Karl E. Mundt, Andrew F. Schoeppel, Francis Case, South Dakota, Margaret Chase Smith, Wallace F. Bennett,

Prescott Bush and Styles Bridges for the purpose of speaking and asking questions concerning the proposed amendment.

During the course of the discussion the Chairman ruled that under Conference Rule 5 a motion would not be in order to instruct the Chairman of the Conference to appoint a Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Committee, nor would it be good procedure to “instruct the Chair.”

The Chairman also ruled that any amendment of substance would be in order if presented in writing today to the Secretary. Incidental amendments would be in order at the time of consideration.

In response to a question of procedure, should there be three nominees, the Chairman stated that if on the first ballot one nominee did not receive a majority of the votes cast, a second ballot would be taken on the names of those two nominees who had received the highest number of votes on the first ballot. A majority vote would decide the winner.

The Chairman also stated that under the terms of the proposed amendment the nominations for the office of Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee would have to come either from a meeting of the candidates held for that purpose or from any candidate who did not attend the meeting. All nominations would be submitted to him prior to the Conference meeting, and any nomination made in the Conference would not be in order.

After all discussion had been concluded the Chairman asked if unanimous consent might be given to consider the proposed amendment.

The Chairman recognized Senator Langer and he objected to its immediate consideration.

The Chairman presented to the Conference for its approval the following nominations:

Policy Committee:

Styles Bridges, Chairman	Margaret Chase Smith
Leverett Saltonstall	George D. Aiken
Milton R. Young	Karl E. Mundt
Everett McKinley Dirksen	Carl T. Curtis
Thomas H. Kuchel	Thomas E. Martin
Andrew F. Schoeppel	John Sherman Cooper
Barry Goldwater	Kenneth B. Keating

Committee on Committees:

Andrew F. Schoeppel, Chairman	Gordon Allott
William Langer	Clifford P. Case, N.J.
Bourke B. Hickenlooper	Thruston B. Morton
John J. Williams	Jacob K. Javits
Henry Dworshak	Winston L. Prouty
Francis Case, S. Dak.	Hugh Scott

JANUARY 14, 1959

Roman L. Hruska

Personnel Committee:

Margaret Chase Smith, Chairman     John Marshall Butler  
Styles Bridges

The Chairman asked for a vote on the confirmation of the respective nominees to the three previously listed Committees and when the question was put the nominations were unanimously confirmed by a "yea" vote.

The Chairman then announced the membership of the Calendar Committee, as follows:

Thomas E. Martin, Chairman     Kenneth B. Keating  
Thruston B. Morton

The Chairman recommended that the Minority Floor Leader reexamine the Conference Rules with particular attention to Rule 5, with the idea in mind that possible changes might be recommended for the purpose of clarification.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dirksen who made a brief report on the White House meeting held today with the Leadership.

Senator Dirksen also spoke of the various standing committee ratios and said that the recommendations of the Majority Leader would be made at noon. Senator Hickenlooper expressed the hope that the present committee ratio on the Joint Atomic Energy Committee would not be changed.

The Chairman recognized Senator Barry Goldwater who spoke briefly about the Administration Labor Bill and he was requested by the Chairman to call the matter to his attention when the message was received in order that a Republican Conference might be called.

The question having been previously raised as to who might represent the Republican members of the Senate at the National Committee Meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, next week, the Chairman designated the former Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Committee, Senator Schoeppel, for that purpose.

The Chairman announced that a Republican Conference would be called next week and there being no further business the Conference adjourned at 11:12 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on February 6, 1959

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS (1959–1961)

\* \* \*

UNITED STATES SENATE

Washington, D.C.

*N O T I C E*

January 13, 1959

An amendment to the Republican Conference Rules as set forth in Annex I hereof has been proposed, and pursuant to Article VII of said rules a Conference of the Republican Senators is hereby called for Wednesday, January 14, 1959, at 9:30 in the morning at Room 335, Senate Office Building, for the consideration of or action on the subject matter covered by said amendment, provided that unanimous consent is given for its immediate consideration, and for the consideration of or action on such other matters as may properly come before the meeting.

It is the announced purpose of the Chairman of the Conference that should the said proposed amendment be adopted by the Conference on Wednesday, then a Conference of the Republican Senators will be called for Thursday, January 15, 1959, at 9:30 in the morning at Room 335, Senate Office Building, for the purpose of confirming those nominations made by the Chairman for the various Conference Committees, the election of a Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, and for the consideration of or action on such other matters as may properly come before the meeting.

The Chairman regrets that it is not possible to give to the Membership more notice of the meeting, but it was deemed wise to proceed immediately in order to expedite the organization of the Senate.

By order of the Chairman

[signed] Milton R. Young

Secretary of the Republican Conference

\* \* \*

ANNEX I

AMENDMENT TO REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE RULES

Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper proposed that Article 5 be amended by the addition of the following language:

Provided, that the Chairman of said committee shall be chosen by the Conference from one or more nominations made by those Senators whose terms expire on January 3, 1961, and that the said nominations shall be handed to the Chairman of the Conference prior to the meeting at which confirmation of said Committee shall be determined.

JANUARY 14, 1959

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE ANDREW F. SCHOEPPPEL, FOR SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1959, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:10 a.m. and the Secretary called the roll. The following Senators answered their names:

Schoeppel	Hruska
Langer	Allott
Hickenlooper	Case, N.J.
Williams	Morton
Dworshak	Prouty
Case, S. Dak.	Scott

Senator Javits arrived at 10:20 a.m.

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III, and John M. McElroy.

A quorum being present, the Chairman explained that he had received no instructions from the Leadership and was following the precedence of previous committees by making tentative appointments on the basis of seniority. The Chairman stated that the members of special committees such as Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Select Committee on Small Business, Joint Committee on Economic Report and Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee had been appointed by the Vice President but that future appointments to Select Committee on Small Business and Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee will be controlled by this Committee.

Senators Allott, Case (S.D.), Morton and Javits discussed the disadvantages of the seniority rule and pointed out the political advantages the Democrats have had in this regard by giving freshmen Senators good assignments.

Senator Langer moved to compliment the Chairman for his work. He also moved to recommend the acceptance of the report to the full committee. More discussion followed.

Senator Allott objected to waiving of the rule that no two Senators from the same State serve on the same committee.

Senators Allott and Williams discussed the disadvantages of the Floor Leader and Whip serving on Appropriations Committee because of heavy work load they would carry.

Senator Dworshak questioned the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee being classified as a third Committee and suggested that

some committees be further increased in size to afford additional openings.

Senator Hickenlooper expressed his opposition to a change in the law regarding the 5–4 ratio on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy Committee.

Senators Javits and Scott moved to be taken off District of Columbia Committee. Senator Case (S.D.) seconded the motion. Senator Hickenlooper objected to this as a “bad precedent.” Senator Javits withdrew his motion.

Senator Case (S.D.) said he would exercise his seniority and ask to be assigned to the District of Columbia Committee (to help Senator Javits).

The Chairman suggested and Senator Allott moved to adjourn until 2:00 p.m. and asked the attendance of the Leadership, Senators Bridges, Saltonstall, Dirksen and Kuchel. It was so ordered and the committee adjourned at 11:50 a.m. until 2:00 p.m.

[signed] William Brownrigg III  
Assistant Secretary for the Minority

Approved:

[signed] Andrew F. Schoeppel  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL, FOR SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1959, AT 2:00 P.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 2:45 p.m. The following Senators were present:

Schoeppel	Allott
Hickenlooper	Case (N.J.)
Williams	Morton
Dworshak	Javits
Case (S. Dak.)	Prouty
Hruska	Scott

Absent:

Langer

In accordance with previous agreement, Senator Bridges, Chairman, Policy Committee, Senator Saltonstall, Chairman, Republican Conference, Senator Dirksen, Floor Leader and Senator Kuchel, Whip, were present.

JANUARY 14, 1959

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and John M. McElroy.

The Chairman explained the problems encountered at the previous meeting and the Leadership was requested to be present for their suggestions.

Senator Dirksen suggested that the Select Committee on Small Business appointments be made by this Committee. It was agreed that the present membership of the Select Committee on Small Business be maintained. Various committee assignments were discussed and the Chairman reported that his efforts to get members to waive the seniority rule were unproductive.

Senator Allott emphasized the need of good committee assignments for those Senators up for reelection in 1960.

Senator Dirksen agreed to relinquish Appropriations.

Senator Kuchel agreed to relinquish the Select Committee on Small Business.

Senator Saltonstall agreed to relinquish the Select Committee on Small Business and Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee.

Senator Case (S.D.) moved and it was agreed that the Select Committee on Small Business be classified with other third committees for future assignments.

Senator Williams suggested that the committee assignments be tentatively approved as is.

In accordance with the discussion, the Chairman suggested that he would meet with the Leadership on Monday, January 19, 1959, in Senator Dirksen's office, #204 Senate Office Building, to discuss with certain Senators their particular need of better Committee assignments.

Senator Javits raised the question, in view of the Leadership meeting on Monday, that nothing further be done on the tentative committee assignments. The Chairman ruled that all suggested assignments be held in abeyance until after the Leadership meeting on Monday.

Senator Case (S.D.) gave his proxy on the Monday meeting to Senator Dirksen.

Senator Williams gave his proxy on the Monday meeting to Senator Schoeppel.

The meeting was adjourned at 3:45 p.m. until Monday January 19, 1959, at 4:00 p.m.

[signed] William Brownrigg III  
Assistant Secretary for the Minority



Approved:

[signed] Andrew F. Schoepfel  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE ANDREW F. SCHOEPPPEL, FOR MONDAY, JANUARY 19, 1959, AT 4:00 P.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 4:10 p.m., and the Secretary called the roll.

The following Senators answered their names:

Schoepfel	Hruska
Langer	Allott
Hickenlooper	Morton
Williams	Javits
Dworshak	Prouty
	Scott

The following Senators were absent: Case, S. Dak. Case, N.J.

Also present were J. Mark Trice and William Brownrigg III.

The Chairman reported on the morning meeting with the Leadership and Senators Jacob K. Javits, Hugh Scott, Winston L. Prouty, Kenneth B. Keating and Gordon Allott.

The Chairman presented to the Committee two proposals of the Leadership. The first is as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Republican Conference that the present unwritten rules of seniority now applicable to the assignment of Republican Senators to the respective standing committees of the Senate are hereby interpreted to be as follows:

Each Republican Senator shall be listed in accordance with his seniority standing in the Senate, and beginning with the No. 1 Senator on said list, and proceeding through the list in its entirety, each Senator shall first select one committee of his choice. When choice No. 1 has been exercised by each Senator on the seniority list, choice No. 2 shall be exercised by the same process used in the selection of Committee No. 1.

Provided further, that any Senator now serving on a Committee of the Senate shall maintain his seniority standing on that Committee or Committees should he by his new selection of committees select the same Committee or Committees.

Senators Thruston B. Morton, John J. Williams, Roman L. Hruska, Javits and Bourke B. Hickenlooper discussed the proposal.

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The Chairman presented to the Committee the second proposal of the Leadership which was:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Republican Conference that no Republican Senator who serves on three standing committees of the Senate shall receive the recommendation of the Committee on Committees for appointment to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, the Joint Economic Committee, Select Committee on Small Business or any other Joint, Select or Special Committee.

Senators Hickenlooper, Scott, Hruska, Allott and Javits discussed the proposal.

Senator Williams suggested that the two proposals be tabled and the Committee proceed to accept the present assignments.

Senator Hickenlooper offered under certain conditions known to all to give up Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

Senator Williams offered under certain conditions known to all to give up his request for Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

The Chairman reported that Senator Kuchel offered to give up his request for Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

Senators Scott, Javits, Allott and Morton discussed various solutions of the Committee assignments.

It was agreed that the Chairman continue negotiations with individual Senators to solve the problem rather than try to adopt new rules for Committee assignments.

The meeting was adjourned at 5:30 p.m.

[signed] William Brownrigg III  
Assistant Secretary for the Minority

Approved:

[signed] Andrew F. Schoeppel  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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[January 20, 1959]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1959, AT 10:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Conference was called to order at 10:32 a.m. by the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, Chairman of the Republican Conference, and he requested that the Secretary call the roll:

The following Senators answered "Present."

Present 32:

EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS (1959–1961)

Aiken	Cotton	Martin
Allott	Curtis	Morton
Beall	Dirksen	Mundt
Bennett	Dworshak	Prouty
Bridges	Goldwater	Saltonstall
Bush	Hickenlooper	Schoeppel
Butler	Hruska	Scott
Carlson	Javits	Smith
Case, N.J.	Keating	Williams
Case, S.Dak.	Kuchel	Young
Cooper	Langer	

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Arthur E. Burgess.

The Chairman recognized Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, who stated that after several meetings with members of his Committee and after two conferences with the Republican Leadership of the Senate, he wished to make a report not only to the Conference but also to the Members of his Committee, in regard to assignment of Republican Senators to the Standing Committee vacancies. The report was made to the Members of the Committee on Committees due to the fact that they had not been contacted on the conclusions reached. At the last session of the Committee, it was left up to the Chairman to make a further survey in regard to the Committee assignments and because it was necessary for the Chairman to be at the White House this morning, it was not possible for him to contact the Members of his committee.

Senator Schoeppel suggested that there be distributed to the members of the Conference the lists showing the Committee assignment which had been recommended. He also stated that he was not recommending the filling of vacancies on special and joint committees as those appointments were within the jurisdiction of the Vice President, upon the recommendation of the Republican Leadership.

Senator Schoeppel stated that Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen had agreed to be released from the Committee on Appropriations in order that it might help out in the difficulty and that Senators Saltonstall and Bourke B. Hickenlooper would release their assignments on the Space Committee, if by so doing the situation could be worked out.

Senator Schoeppel then proceeded to read the individual assignments.

The Chairman of the Conference then recognized Senators Thomas E. Martin, Iowa, Jacob K. Javits, Kenneth B. Keating, Clifford P. Case, New Jersey, and Francis Case of South Dakota.

JANUARY 20, 1959

From conversations that ensued it appeared that it might be possible to further adjust the Committee assignments. In order that this might be done the Chairman suggested a recess until 11:45 am.

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At 11:48 a.m. the Chairman of the Conference reconvened the meeting and he requested that the Secretary call the roll.

The following Senators answered "Present."

Present 34:

Aiken	Cooper	Langer
Allott	Cotton	Martin
Beall	Curtis	Morton
Bennett	Dirksen	Mundt
Bridges	Dworshak	Prouty
Bush	Goldwater	Saltonstall
Butler	Hickenlooper	Schoeppel
Capehart	Hruska	Scott
Carlson	Javits	Smith
Case, N.J.	Keating	Wiley
Case, S. Dak.	Kuchel	Williams
		Young

The Chairman recognized Senator Schoeppel, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, who again read for the information of the Members of the Conference the list of assignments previously submitted.

It was moved and seconded that the Committee assignments as submitted be approved and submitted to the Senate for action.

The Chairman of the Conference put the motion to a vote and it was unanimously agreed to. The Committee assignments as agreed to are attached hereto as Exhibit A.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dirksen who expressed his thanks to Senator Schoeppel for the difficult task he had assumed and accomplished.

The Chairman recognized Senator Allott who expressed his appreciation to Senator Dirksen for releasing his assignment on the Committee on Appropriations.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 12:05 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on February 6, 1959

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*

Exhibit “A”

(Conference of January 20, 1959)

*AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE SCIENCES*

Messrs. BRIDGES, WILEY, Mrs. SMITH, Messrs. JAVITS, CASE, New Jersey

*AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY*

Messrs. AIKEN, YOUNG, HICKENLOOPER, MUNDT, WILLIAMS, SCHOEPEL

*APPROPRIATIONS*

Messrs. BRIDGES, SALTONSTALL, YOUNG, MUNDT, Mrs. SMITH, Messrs. DWORSHAK, KUCHEL, HRUSKA, ALLOTT

*ARMED SERVICES*

Messrs. [SALTONSTALL—crossed out] BRIDGES [typed insert], [BRIDGES—crossed out] SALTONSTALL [typed insert], Mrs. SMITH, CASE, S. Dak., BUSH, BEALL

*BANKING AND CURRENCY*

Messrs. CAPEHART, BENNETT, BUSH, BEALL, KEATING

*DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA*

Messrs. BEALL, [JAVITS—crossed out] CASE, S. Dak. [typed insert], PROUTY

*FINANCE*

Messrs. WILLIAMS, CARLSON, BENNETT, BUTLER, COTTON, CURTIS

*FOREIGN RELATIONS*

Messrs. WILEY, HICKENLOOPER, LANGER, AIKEN, CAPEHART, CARLSON

*GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS*

Messrs. MUNDT, CURTIS, CAPEHART

*INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS*

Messrs. DWORSHAK, KUCHEL, GOLDWATER, ALLOTT, KEATING

*INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE*

Messrs. SCHOEPEL, BUTLER, COTTON, CASE, N.J., MORTON, SCOTT

*JUDICIARY*

Messrs. WILEY, LANGER, DIRKSEN, HRUSKA, MARTIN

*LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE*

Messrs. GOLDWATER, COOPER, DIRKSEN, CASE, N.J., JAVITS, PROUTY

JANUARY 20, 1959

*POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE*

Messrs. CARLSON, LANGER, MORTON

*PUBLIC WORKS*

Messrs. CASE, S. Dak., MARTIN, COOPER, SCOTT, PROUTY

*RULES AND ADMINISTRATION*

Messrs. CURTIS, JAVITS, MORTON

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE ANDREW F. SCHOEPPPEL, FOR TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1959, AT 11:20 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 11:20 a.m.

The following Senators were present:

Schoeppel	Allott
Langer	Case, N.J.
Hickenlooper	Morton
Williams	Javits
Dworshak	Prouty
Case, S. Dak.	Scott
Hruska	

Also present were J. Mark Trice and William Brownrigg III.

The Chairman stressed the need for resolving the Committee assignment problems at this time so the Republican Conference, which is adjourned until 11:45 a.m., could act on this Committee's recommendations and the Committee slate be presented to the Senate at 12:00 noon today.

Senators Francis Case, South Dakota, Roman L. Hruska, Jacob K. Javits and Gordon Allott discussed the Martin-Keating proposed switch of Judiciary and Interior and Insular Affairs Committees. After the discussion the Chairman stated it appeared that such a committee trade would result in more difficulties.

Senator Javits expressed his dissatisfaction with his assignments.

Senator William Langer moved to adopt the proposed slate.

Senator John J. Williams seconded the motion.

Senator Javits moved to amend the Langer motion by the addition of "Any future change in committee assignments be referred back to the Committee on Committees."

The Chairman ordered the roll be called on the Langer motion as amended by Senator Javits. The results were announced, 13 yeas, 0 nays.

The proposed committee membership thus was approved as amended.

The Committee adjourned at 11:55 a.m.

[signed] William Brownrigg III  
Assistant Secretary for the Minority

Approved:

[signed] Andrew F. Schoeppel  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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[January 21, 1959]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1959, AT 3:00 P.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Conference was called to order at 3:05 p.m. by the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, Chairman of the Republican Conference, and he requested that the Secretary call the roll:

The following Senators answered "Present":

Present 28:

Aiken	Cotton	Kuchel
Allott	Curtis	Martin
Beall	Dirksen	Morton
Bennett	Dworshak	Mundt
Bridges	Goldwater	Prouty
Bush	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Carlson	Hruska	Schoeppel
Case, N.J.	Javits	Smith
Case, S. Dak.	Keating	Williams
		Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Arthur E. Burgess.

The Chairman then read for the information of the members of the Conference the notice dated January 15, 1959, together with amendments, which is attached hereto as Exhibit I. He stated that the Conference had been called for the purpose of considering these amendments. The amendment proposed by Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper was now pending.

After general comment on the three propositions and recognition by the Chairman of Senators Hickenlooper, Prescott Bush, Gordon Allott, George D. Aiken, Norris Cotton, Karl E. Mundt, Wallace F.

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Bennett and Everett McKinley Dirksen, there was no objection registered to the Hickenlooper amendment being modified by the Allott amendment. The Hickenlooper amendment was accordingly modified. During the discussion Senator Bush modified his amendment to read as follows:

Chairman of Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee to [be] elected within 30 days from the beginning of the Congress.

The Chairman then stated that if there was no objection, the next question to be decided would be "Shall the Bush amendment as modified be substituted for the Hickenlooper amendment, as modified?" There being no objection, the Chairman then called for a show of hands on the proposition and the Secretary reported to the Chairman as follows: Yeas 14, Nays 13.

The Chairman announced that the Bush amendment, as modified, had displaced the Hickenlooper amendment, as modified, and it was the pending question.

Prior to the vote the Chairman ruled upon inquiry by Senator Aiken, who held the proxy of Senator John Sherman Cooper, that a proxy vote in the Conference was not in order, as proxy voting had never been used in the Conference either by custom or rule.

The Chairman then put the question, "Shall the Bush amendment as modified be agreed to?" After a show of hands the Secretary reported to the Chair as follows: Yeas 9, Nays 18.

The Chairman announced that the Bush amendment, as modified, had been rejected, and the Conference rules remained unchanged.

The Chairman then presented to the Conference the names of his nominees for service on the Republican Campaign Committee. They were as follows:

Barry Goldwater, Chairman	Wallace F. Bennett
Alexander Wiley	Prescott Bush
Homer E. Capehart	J. Glenn Beall
Frank Carlson	Norris Cotton

The Chairman then asked for a vote of confirmation and by a unanimous affirmative vote the nominations submitted were confirmed.

The Chairman recognized Senator Barry Goldwater who stated that he would do his utmost and give as much financial assistance as he could to all.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dirksen who asked about speaking commitments of Republican Senators during the Lincoln Day period in order that the customary arrangements might be made with the Democratic Leadership. He also spoke about the employment of persons for the Agricultural Census in the Fall of 1959 and the general census in 1960. He stated that he would follow through on the matter by contacting the Administrative Assistants. The Senator



also expressed the hope that the Republican Senators would accept assignments when called on to participate in a new plan for monitoring debate on the Senate floor.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 3:58 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on February 6, 1959

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*

Exhibit #1  
(Conference of January 21, 1959)  
NOTICE

January 15, 1959.

Notice is hereby given of two amendments to the Republican Conference Rules as set forth in Annexes I and II hereof.

Annex I is an amendment by Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper to Article V restated as modified.

Also stated is the language of an amendment to the Hickenlooper amendment proposed by Senator Gordon Allott.

Annex II is an amendment by Senator Prescott Bush to amend Article I.

Notice of these amendments is given under Article VII of the Conference Rules and action will be sought upon the subject matter covered by the said amendments at a Conference to be called after at least a week's time by the Chairman.

By order of the Chairman,  
[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Republican Conference

ANNEX I  
AMENDMENT TO REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE RULES

Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper proposes that Article 5 be amended by the addition of the following language:

Provided, that the Chairman of said committee for the 86th Congress shall be chosen by the Conference from one or more nominations made by those Senators whose terms expire on January 3, 1961, and that the said nominations shall be handed to the Chairman of the Conference prior to the meeting at which confirmation of said Committee shall be determined.

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AMENDMENT TO THE AFORESAID AMENDMENT SUBMITTED TO  
THE SECRETARY OF THE CONFERENCE

Senator Gordon Allott proposes the following amendment:

Strike the words "on January 3, 1961" and insert in lieu thereof the following words: "prior to the beginning of the next succeeding Congress".

ANNEX II  
AMENDMENT TO REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE RULES

Senator Prescott Bush proposed that Article I be amended by the addition of the following language.

Insert following the words "Chairman of Policy Committee" which constitute line 8, a new line 9, to read as follows:

Chairman of Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee to be elected within 30 days from the beginning of the Congress.

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE ANDREW F. SCHOEPPPEL, FOR TUESDAY, JANUARY 27, 1959, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Acting Chairman, Senator Hickenlooper, called the meeting to order at 10:10 a.m. The Secretary called the roll. The following Senators answered their names:

Hickenlooper	Allott
Williams	Morton
Dworshak	Javits
Case (S.D.)	Hruska

Absent:

Schoeppel	Prouty
Langer	Scott
Case (N.J.)	

Also present were J. Mark Trice and William Brownrigg III.

Senator Hickenlooper read the following letter from the Chairman, Senator Schoeppel:

January 23, 1959

The Honorable Bourke B. Hickenlooper  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bourke:

I am writing you today to request you, as the ranking Republican of the Committee on Committees, to take charge

of the meeting of our Committee, on Tuesday, January 27, at 10 o'clock a.m.

I understand that an agreement has been reached among all interested parties, as follows:

Senator Martin is agreeable to taking

Public Works

Interior and Insular Affairs

Space

Senator Javits will take

Banking and Currency

Labor and Public Welfare

Senator Keating will accept

Judiciary

Rules and Administration

which would leave Senator Prouty with

Labor and Public Welfare

Public Works

District of Columbia

I further understand that it is the desire of the interested parties to expedite this matter in order that subcommittee assignments can be made as early as possible, and I hope you can take charge of this meeting and report the results of the final decision of the Committee on Committees to the full Conference for its determination and confirmation.

If by any chance my information with reference to the general agreement above referred to is incorrect or different circumstances or proposals arise, contrary to the above suggested assignments, then I request that any further action of our Committee on Committees be deferred until my return from Kansas.

Thanking you in advance for taking care of this for me, I beg to remain

Sincerely,  
(signed) Andrew [F.] Schoeppel  
Chairman  
Committee on Committees  
Republican Conference  
United States Senate

Senator Hickenlooper read the proposed committee assignment changes:

Ordered, that the junior Senator from Iowa (Mr. Martin) be released from further service on the Committee on the Judiciary; that the senior Senator from New York (Mr. Javits) be released from further service on the Committee on Aeronautical and Space

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Sciences and on the Committee on Rules; and that the junior Senator from New York (Mr. Keating) be released from further service on the Committee on Banking & Currency and on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

And be it further ordered, that the junior Senator from Iowa (Mr. Martin) be assigned to service on the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences and to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs; that the senior Senator from New York (Mr. Javits) be assigned to service on the Committee on Banking & Currency; and that the junior Senator from New York (Mr. Keating) be assigned to service on the Committee on the Judiciary and on the Committee on Rules.

Senator Javits made known his desire to be assigned to the Joint Economic Committee. The Acting Chairman (Senator Hickenlooper) stated that this committee did not have jurisdiction in this matter. Senator Javits said he would discuss his request with the Minority Leader.

The proposed changes were adopted as offered.

The Committee adjourned at 10:18 a.m.

[signed] William Brownrigg III  
Assistant Secretary for the Minority

Approved:

[signed] Bourke B. Hickenlooper  
Acting Chairman, Committee on Committees

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[February 6, 1959]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1959, AT 10:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10:42 a.m. and stated that the purpose of the meeting was to consider S. 1, a bill to amend the Federal Airport Act.

He stated that without objection the Conference would proceed without a call of the roll, but the following Senators were present:

Aiken	Cotton	Morton
Allott	Curtis	Mundt
Bennett	Dirksen	Prouty
Bridges	Dworshak	Saltonstall
Capehart	Hickenlooper	Schoeppel
Carlson	Hruska	Scott

Case, S. Dak.

Keating

Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III, Arthur E. Burgess as well as John M. McElroy, Assistant Chief Clerk, Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, Roger W. Jones of the Budget Bureau, Edward McCabe of the White House staff, Daggett Howard, Gordon Bennett and John R. MacKenzie of the Federal Aviation Agency.

The Chairman stated that without objection messages of greetings as well as flowers would be sent to Senators Thomas H. Kuchel and J. Glenn Beall, who are temporarily incapacitated.

The Chairman recognized Senator Andrew F. Schoepfel, ranking Minority member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to analyze the reported bill and to present for the consideration of the minority the recommendations of the Republican members of the Committee. Senator Schoepfel stated that the Republican members of the Committee recommended, first, the offering of a complete substitute for the Monroney bill which would propose primarily the continuation of the provisions of the present law, second, an amendment to be offered by Senator Norris Cotton referred to as the "gate to gate" proposal and, third, one or two amendments to be presented by Senator Morton to cut the Monroney bill dollar-wise.

After discussion of the various phases of the bill, the Chairman recognized Senator Carl T. Curtis who commended the Leadership for calling a conference to consider the matter, as well as expressing thanks to the Minority members of the Committee and to those persons of the Executive Departments who were present.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 11:24 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on March 2, 1959

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[April 20, 1959]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR MONDAY APRIL 20, 1959, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman at 10:13 a.m. and the Secretary was requested to call the roll.

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Present 26:

Allott	Dworshak	Prouty
Beall	Goldwater	Saltonstall
Bennett	Hickenlooper	Schoeppel
Bush	Hruska	Scott
Butler	Javits	Smith
Carlson	Keating	Wiley
Case, N.J.	Kuchel	Williams
Cooper	Langer	Young
Dirksen	Mundt	

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III, Arthur E. Burgess and Michael J. Bernstein, Minority Counsel for the Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

The Chairman recognized the Minority Floor Leader, Senator Everett Dirksen, who after informing the membership of several matters relating to the legislative situation in the Senate, raised the question concerning an award of merit which might be presented to Honorable Foster Dulles who recently resigned as Secretary of State. After a brief discussion of how best to proceed in the matter the Chairman recognized Senator Gordon Allott who made the following motion: That it is the sense of the Republican Minority Conference that action be initiated immediately by resolution of the Senate in regard to an award of merit to Foster Dulles. The motion was unanimously agreed to. The Chairman requested the Staff director of the Policy Committee to prepare the proper resolution.

Senator Dirksen then proceeded to discuss S. 1555, the pending Labor bill. The Senator recommended that Section 6 be retained in the pending bill as it had the support of the White House, the Department of Labor and labor generally and by the retention of this section it could be used as a vehicle for the offering of other amendments. He also stated that the chances were against another bill at this session of the Congress dealing with changes in the Taft-Hartley law.

It was first suggested that Title 5 of the Administration bill, known as S. 748, be offered as a substitute for Title 6 of the pending bill, and that a vote be had by the Senate thereon before the Senate had expressed itself on the pending motion to strike by Senator Erwin.<sup>2</sup> After discussion of the matter it was decided that it would be better to first vote on the pending [Ervin] motion and at some later time offer Title 5.

The Chairman recognized Senator Barry Goldwater who asked first that Senators keep in mind the date of June eighth as that time had been set for a dinner to be given by the Joint Congressional and Senatorial Campaign Committees.

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<sup>2</sup>[Samuel J. Ervin, Jr., Democrat of North Carolina]

Senator Goldwater had previously distributed to the membership a summary of the Minority Report which is attached hereto as Exhibit “A.” The Senator expressed his main objection to the bill because of its being imperfectly prepared, full of gimmicks, and, in his opinion, would not get the job done. He stated that the normal approach to the matter was the position taken by the Administration and Senator McClellan.

The Chairman recognized a number of Senators in their own right who made brief statements about certain specific provisions of the bill. After general discussion, the Conference adjourned at 12:07 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on April 21, 1959

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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Exhibit “A”

BRIEF SUMMARY OF MINORITY REPORT ON THE COMMITTEE  
BILL, S. 1555

The committee bill, S. 1555, which has been reported to the Senate floor, contains many “gimmicks” (set forth in Appendix B of the Minority Report) which render the committee bill inadequate to accomplish the job of eliminating or even substantially diminishing abuses, corruption and racketeering in the labor-management field.

The most important “gimmicks” in the committee bill are the following:

(1) *Fiduciary obligation of union officials.* The bill gives the impression that a fiduciary status is placed upon union officials by inserting the word “fiduciary” in the bill’s preamble. But the minority amendment imposing a true fiduciary status on union officials and giving the members a right to sue the union officials for a breach thereof was rejected.

(2) *Definition of “union officer.”* There is no definition of a union “officer” in the committee bill and yet the Supreme Court has held that “officers” are only those officials who are so designated in union constitutions. A union can rewrite its constitution so as to have only one officer, thus freeing all other union officials from the bill’s requirements and sanctions. The minority amendment defining “union officers” was rejected.

(3) *Exemption of small unions.* Having agreed in subcommittee to delete the provision authorizing the Secretary to exempt small unions from reporting, the majority reinstated the exemption in the full committee. Such a provision would make it possible for some of the most corrupt unions, such as the Johnny Dio paper locals, to escape the reporting requirements of the bill.

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(4) *Preservation of basic union records.* The bill requires the basic records on which reports are based to be preserved but the minority amendment giving members a right to see these records was rejected.

(5) *Suits by union members to recover embezzled union funds.* The appearance is given that members may sue union officers convicted of embezzling union funds for the recovery of such funds. But so many obstacles are placed in the way of the members' suing, that the whole provision becomes a nullity.

(6) *"Probable Cause" in connection with the secretary's authority to bring suit to enforce the trusteeship and election provisions of the bill.* Because of the insistence of the minority, an amendment was adopted giving the Secretary investigatory powers similar to that of other regulatory agencies. The minority amendment deleted the words "probable cause to believe" and substituted "believes" that violations had or are about to be committed. The term "probable cause" would have completely hamstrung the Secretary in making investigations. But this restrictive phrase still remains in the trusteeship and election provisions of the bill.

In addition, the committee bill fails to achieve the following objectives:

1. Impose fiduciary obligations, enforceable by union members, on the officials of labor unions.
2. Impose the effective sanctions of denial of tax immunity and of access to the National Labor Relations Board, the National Mediation Board, etc., on unions which violate the bill's provisions.
3. Solve the problems arising out of the "no-man's land" by permitting the States to exercise jurisdiction in those classes of labor cases which the Federal Labor Board would refuse to entertain.
4. Limit organizational and recognition picketing by unions which clearly do not represent a majority of the employees of the picketed employer.
5. Close the loopholes in the present law dealing with secondary boycotts.
6. Limit effectively political expenditures and contributions by labor unions.

It is the intention of the minority to offer amendments designed to achieve the above objectives as well as amendments to wipe out the "gimmicks" now contained in the committee bill.



Attached hereto is a copy of the minority report. Appendix B analyzing the “gimmicks” in the committee bill begins on page 95. [Not included in minutes.]

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[April 25, 1959]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR SATURDAY, APRIL 25, 1959, AT 10:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

Senator Saltonstall called the Conference to order at 10:37 a.m. and due to the fact that the Senate would convene at 11:00 o'clock the roll was not called. However, the following Senators were present.

Present 27:

Aiken	Cooper	Keating
Allott	Cotton	Kuchel
Beall	Curtis	Mundt
Bennett	Dirksen	Prouty
Bush	Dworshak	Saltonstall
Butler	Goldwater	Schoeppel
Capehart	Hickenlooper	Scott
Case (N.J.)	Hruska	Smith
Case (S.D.)	Javits	Williams

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Arthur E. Burgess.

The Chairman stated that the decision to hold today's Conference was made after a meeting held the previous evening at which was present the Minority Floor Leader and the Chairman of the Policy Committee. The purpose of today's Conference was to discuss what action should be taken in regard to the pending appeal from the decision of the Chair re the Kuchel et al. amendment to the pending labor bill, and to inform the Conference as to the discussions which [led] up to the offering of the Kuchel et al. amendment.

The Chairman recognized Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, the Minority Floor Leader, who informed the members of the Conference as to discussions which had taken place between members on both sides in the hope of finding a satisfactory substitute for the previously adopted McClellan (bill of rights) amendment.

Senator Dirksen stated that in his opinion the Chair was correct in its ruling on the point of order and that some decision should be made to dispose of it in a satisfactory manner. After discussion it was decided that the Minority Leader should contact Senator Styles Bridges before any steps were taken to proceed with disposing

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of the point of order. Senator Bridges had made the appeal and was unavoidably detained.

There was general discussion as to the differences between the pending Kuchel et al. amendment and the original McClellan amendment which had been previously adopted.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 11:43 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on April 28, 1959

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[January 6, 1960]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 6, 1960, AT 2:30 P.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

Senator Saltonstall called the Conference to order at 2:38 p.m., and after the roll was called by the Secretary, Senator Milton R. Young, the Chairman announced that a quorum was present.

The following Senators were present (34):

Aiken	Case, S.D.	Keating
Allott	Cooper	Kuchel
Beall	Cotton	Morton
Bennett	Curtis	Mundt
Bridges	Dirksen	Prouty
Brunsdale	Dworshak	Saltonstall
Bush	Fong	Schoeppel
Butler	Goldwater	Scott
Capehart	Hickenlooper	Smith
Carlson	Hruska	Wiley
Case, N.J.	Javits	Williams
		Young

Senator Saltonstall extended words of greetings to the Members and thanked them for the great spirit of unity shown during the last session of the Congress, and he stated that in his opinion the Party Conferences and Policy luncheons held throughout the year had been most helpful.

The Chairman then introduced to the Members of the Conference the newly appointed Senator from North Dakota, the Honorable Norman Brunsdale.

The Chairman recognized Senator Young who presented to the Conference a resolution of condolence in regard to the death of Senator William Langer. The resolution is attached hereto as Exhibit "A" and was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

The Chairman recognized Senator Styles Bridges who stated that after consultation with Senator Carl Hayden [Democrat of Arizona] a resolution would be offered in the Senate modifying the rule in regard to Senate Pages to cover those boys in their senior year. He also stated that the Policy Committee had prepared and distributed the individual voting records of each Senator by subjects for the first session of the Congress. He stated that the Senate Republican Memo was in its eighth year of publication and asked for suggestions and complaints. He also called attention to the fact that on two large boards at the rear of the room Senators could find samples of the work done by the staff of the Policy Committee.

The Chairman recognized Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel who stated that as Chairman of the Committee on Committees he had sent letters to the Republican Senators asking for any new Committee requests due to the vacancies caused by the death of Senator Langer. He stated that he hoped replies would be received promptly and that his Committee could meet tomorrow.

The Chairman recognized Senator Barry Goldwater, Chairman of the Senatorial Committee, who stated that he had written a letter to each Republican Senator concerning the operations of his Committee. He expressed hope that the Republican Members would become a little more articulate, and now that more funds were available a greater use would be made of TV facilities.

The Chairman recognized Senator Thruston B. Morton who endorsed the statements made by Senator Goldwater and he stated that he believed it would be most helpful if more speaking commitments were accepted.

The Chairman called to the attention of the Conference the recent death of Mrs. Jean Thurmond, wife of Senator Strom Thurmond, and moved that the Secretary draft a letter of condolence to the Senator which was unanimously approved. A copy of the letter is hereto attached as Exhibit "B."

The Chairman also spoke of the tragic death of the son of Senator George D. Aiken and expressed to him on behalf of all of the Members of the Conference their sympathy.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen who stated that his report would be long and sketchy and he would endeavor to state what he thought might happen during the Session

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in the way of legislative accomplishments. He stated that he had requested of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue a decision in regard to taxability of political contributions. He stated that he had received a reply to the effect that once a Senator is elected to office he is considered to be always a candidate and therefore political contributions received at any time are tax free. Senator Bridges requested that photostatic copies be made of the letter in order that each Senator might have a copy.

Senator Dirksen spoke of his recent illness and the enforced cancellation of his speaking schedule following last Session but stated he now felt quite good and hoped to follow his doctor's advice to watch his health. He stated that the President on the 11th would have a bipartisan luncheon to report on his European trip and that the first Conference of the Republican Leadership at the White House would be held on the morning of the 12th. The Senator also spoke of the last illness of Senator Langer and "welcomed aboard" Senator Brunsdale. In doing so he spoke of him as a great Governor and citizen of the State of North Dakota.

He informed the Conference of the illness of [Representative Richard M.] Simpson [Republican of Pennsylvania] and on motion made by Senator Hugh Scott which was seconded by Senators Francis Case and Kenneth B. Keating, it was unanimously approved that a letter be sent to him expressing the hope that he would soon recover his health and return to his duties. (Due to the fact that Representative Simpson died the following day before the letter could be prepared, the attached resolution, Exhibit "C," was substituted.)

Senator Dirksen then presented for the consideration of the Conference a resolution in regard to the permanent assignment of the seat in the Senate Chamber which has been customarily used by the Floor Leader as the seat of the Floor Leader while he occupies that office. The resolution reads as follows:

Resolved, That the seat on the Republican side of the Senate Chamber usually referred to as the seat of the Floor Leader, be assigned to that Senator holding the office of Floor Leader as his seat while occupying that office, and should he cease to be Floor Leader he shall be assigned a seat in accordance with his seniority rights.

There being no objection, the resolution was unanimously agreed to.

Senator Dirksen then presented a resolution in regard to making the seat in the Senate Chamber to the right of the Floor Leader's seat the permanent seat of the Whip. Following a brief discussion it was moved that the resolution be adopted. The Chairman put the question, the vote was unanimous, and the resolution was agreed to. The resolution reads as follows:

Resolved, That the seat on the Republican side of the Senate Chamber to the right of the Floor Leader shall be assigned to that Senator holding the office of Whip as his seat while occupying that office, and should he cease to be Whip he shall be assigned a seat in accordance with his seniority rights.

Senator Dirksen said that it would soon be time to name a Republican member for service on the Joint Inaugural Committee and that he would suggest the naming of Senator Styles Bridges who had served in that capacity on a number of occasions. He stated that he would suggest action be taken on the matter at the next meeting of the Conference. Due to the fact that the Republican Convention will be held in Chicago, Senator [Dirksen] stated that he would like to know of the desires of the Senators in regard to accommodations there, because he wanted to make certain that appropriate rooms were assigned.

He also stated that if any difficulties were being encountered in regard to the coming census he would be glad to assist in any way he could.

He stated that he had talked with [Senate Majority Leader] Lyndon B. Johnson [Democrat of Texas] in regard to what the legislative timetable might be. While the Democratic Steering Committee would determine the order of the bills to be considered, the following legislation was mentioned:

In regard to the bill to make the Reorganization Act permanent, no action was expected.

There was some likelihood that the Mine Safety bill would be considered.

The Box Car Bill was listed as “maybe.”

The bill on the Calendar in regard to Oleomargarine was listed as “could be.”

There is possible consideration of the Bill to amend the Federal Corrupt Practices Act.

Legislation in regard to Juvenile Delinquency could be considered.

The Aid to Education Bill was listed as one that could be first for consideration.

Senator Dirksen also stated that legislation re Loans to Students for College Education was a possibility.

There was likelihood that Minimum Wage legislation would be acted upon at an early date.

The Senator stated that there was some discussion regarding the ending of the Session at an early date and because of it he expected late sessions of the Senate to begin early in the Session.

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He released the following list of dates and occasions which affect the timetable:

January 27—Eisenhower dinners  
Jackson-Jefferson Day dinners—Around January 30  
Assurances to the four Democratic Presidential candidates  
for speaking commitments, and the Lincoln Day dinners  
from February 9 through the following Monday.

Other bills mentioned for consideration later in the session were the Appropriation Bills, legislation from the Space Committee in the form of a "package" in space exploration, Agriculture legislation, Extension of the Sugar Act, possibility of Equal Rights for Women, Federal Labor Standards of Compensation, an effort to get out the Fair Trade Bill, an Omnibus Judges Bill, a Pre-Merger Bill and amendments to the Robinson-Patman Act. Civil Rights legislation was scheduled around February 15.

The Chairman recognized Senator Jacob K. Javits who suggested that a Conference be held prior to consideration of the Civil Rights Bill to which the Chairman responded that if the Senator would notify him in regard to the exact time, he would proceed in the matter.

Senator Dirksen also listed the Interest Rate Long-Term Bond Bill, the Simpson-Keough Bill, and the Foreign Aid Bill. He also stated he expected a number of bills to be introduced in regard to the recent steel dispute.

Senator Dirksen stated that he had outlined the agenda as he saw it, but that from time to time alterations would be made.

The Chairman thanked the Floor Leader for his explanation of the Legislative program, and there being no further business the Conference adjourned at 4:07 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on January 13, 1960

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*  
Exhibit "A"

86th Congress  
2d Session

**William Langer**

Senator Milton R. Young offered the following resolution in the Republican Minority Conference on Wednesday, January 6, 1960, which was adopted by unanimous action:

EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS (1959–1961)

**Whereas** Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from us our beloved colleague, the Honorable William Langer, late senior Senator from the State of North Dakota, and

**Whereas** throughout his nineteen years in the United States Senate he rendered to our Nation and to his State a most distinguished service, and

**Whereas** he was our affectionate friend and our esteemed colleague, ever ready to give of himself, of his efforts, and of his judgment,

*Now, therefore,*

**Be It Resolved**, That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the Honorable William Langer, express our sense of loss at his passing, and

**Further**, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the family of the deceased, that they may be assured of our deep respect for them and of our condolences to them upon the passing of our friend, their father.

Attest:

Chairman of the Conference  
Secretary of the Conference

\* \* \*

Exhibit "B"

January 9, 1960

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senator  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Thurmond:

By unanimous action of the Republican Conference on Wednesday, January 6, 1960, I was asked on behalf of our individual members to express to you their deepest sympathy on the sudden passing of your dear wife.

In this dark hour they wanted you to know that their thoughts were with you, and that they were standing resolutely by your side in the hope that it might lighten your future burden.

Believe me when I say "Have faith and carry on."

Sincerely yours,  
/s/ Leverett Saltonstall  
Chairman  
Republican Conference

\* \* \*

Exhibit "C"

86th Congress  
2d Session

JANUARY 6, 1960

**Richard M. Simpson**

Senator Hugh Scott offered the following resolution in the Republican Minority Conference which was seconded by Senators Francis Case and Kenneth Keating, and adopted by unanimous action:

**Whereas** Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from us our beloved member, the Honorable Richard M. Simpson, late a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania, and

**Whereas** through his twenty-three years in the House of Representatives he rendered to our Nation and to his State a most distinguished service, and

**Whereas** he was our affectionate friend and an esteemed member, ever ready to give of himself, of his efforts, and of his judgment,

*Now, therefore,*

**Be It Resolved,** That we, the Republican Members of the United States Senate, express our sense of loss at his passing, and

**Further,** That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Mrs. Mae Cox Simpson, that she may be assured of our deep respect for her and of our condolences to her upon the passing of our friend, her husband.

Attest:

Chairman of the Conference  
Secretary of the Conference

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE ANDREW F. SCHOEPPPEL, FOR FRIDAY, JANUARY 8, 1960, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:20 a.m.

The following Senators were present:

Schoeppel	Hruska
Hickenlooper	Allott
Williams	Prouty
Dworshak	Scott
Case (S.D.)	

The following Senators were absent:

Case (N.J.)	Javits
Morton	

Also present were J. Mark Trice and William Brownrigg III.

The Chairman stated that due to the death of Senator William Langer the following Committees had vacancies: Senate Foreign Relations, Judiciary, Post Office and Civil Service. The Chairman explained that after all requests by the Republican Senators for Com-



mittee assignments had been assimilated, the following assignments were proposed:

Senator Williams assigned Senate Foreign Relations, release Agriculture and Forestry

Senator Case (S.D.) assigned Post Office and Civil Service, release District of Columbia

Senator Cotton assigned Judiciary, release Finance

Senator Cooper assigned Agriculture and Forestry, release Labor and Public Welfare

Senator Morton assigned Finance, release Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Senator Prouty assigned Interstate and Foreign Commerce, release Public Works

Senator Capehart release Government Operations

Senator Fong assigned Government Operations

Senator Brunsdale (having no committees) would be assigned Public Works, Labor and Public Welfare, and District of Columbia

The Chairman then read a letter just received from Senator Javits requesting assignment on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, releasing Banking and Currency.

Senator Prouty expressed his need for assignment to Interstate and Foreign Commerce and his release of Public Works to aid Senator Brunsdale. It was agreed that it was important that Senator Brunsdale be given committee assignments helpful to him in North Dakota.

Senator Williams recalled that Senator Vandenberg had released Finance Committee only if it were to be assigned to him although other Senators with more seniority were desirous of it.

This was discussed by Senators Cotton, Prouty, Dworshak, Case (S.D.), Hickenlooper.

It was stated by the Chairman that Senator Javits' request would necessitate a complete reshuffle of the proposed assignments and that the originally proposed slate was worked out by obtaining releases of some committees to help other members who in turn released committees to aid Senators at the end of the seniority list.

Senator Allott suggested that the Committee should modify its rules regarding assignments to major committees as some Senators are overburdened and are not able to attend all their committee meetings while others have relatively minor assignments. Senators Case (S.D.) and Dworshak discussed need for such a rule.

JANUARY 6, 1960

Senator Scott suggested need for a rule whereby members of the Appropriation Committee not be allowed another major committee assignment.

After further discussion of possible assignments, Senator Schoeppel observed that further consultation with members not now present would be necessary.

The meeting was recessed subject to call of the Chairman at 11:20 a.m.

[signed] William Brownrigg III  
Assistant Secretary for the Minority

[signed] Andrew F. Schoeppel  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE ANDREW F. SCHOEPPPEL, FOR MONDAY, JANUARY 18, 1960, AT 10:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:40 a.m.

The following Senators were present:

Schoeppel	Case (N.J.)
Dworshak	Javits
Case (S.D.)	Prouty
Hruska	

The following Senators were absent:

Williams	Morton
Hickenlooper	Scott
Allott	

Also present were J. Mark Trice and William Brownrigg III.

The Chairman stated that he had held further consultations with members since the last meeting.

Senator Case (South Dakota) requested to stay on District of Columbia Committee and give up Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Senator Fong was then assigned Post Office and Civil Service.

The Chairman then presented the following resume and recommended its adoption:

Republican committee vacancies and releases totaling 9 are as follows:

Vacancies:	Foreign Relations
	Judiciary
	Post Office and Civil Service

Releases:

Capehart	Government Operations
Williams	Agriculture and Forestry
Cotton	Finance
Cooper	Labor and Public Welfare
Morton	Post Office and Civil Service and Rules and Administration

Recommended Assignments:

Williams	Foreign Relations
Cotton	Judiciary
Cooper	Agriculture and Forestry
Morton	Finance
Javits	Government Operations
Fong	Post Office and Civil Service
Brunsdale	Labor and Public Welfare, Post Office and Civil Service, and Rules and Administration

Recapitulation:

Capehart releases Government Operations.  
Williams releases Agriculture and Forestry and is assigned to Foreign Relations.  
Cotton releases Finance and is assigned to Judiciary.  
Cooper releases Labor and Public Welfare and is assigned to Agriculture and Forestry.  
Morton releases Post Office and Civil Service and Rules and Administration and is assigned to Finance.  
Javits is assigned to Government Operations.  
Fong is assigned to Post Office and Civil Service.  
Brunsdale is assigned to Labor and Public Welfare, Post Office and Civil Service, and Rules and Administration.

Senator Hruska moved that the proposed assignments be confirmed. Senator Javits seconded the motion.

The roll was called with the Chairman casting proxy votes for Senators Hickenlooper, Williams, Morton and Scott. The slate was unanimously agreed to.

Senator Javits stressed the need for flexibility in committee assignments in the future for newly elected members.

Senator Dworshak and Case (South Dakota) discussed the problem.

Senator Javits moved that this committee request the Republican Conference to appoint a subcommittee to study the committee assignment problem and make recommendations.

Senator Case (South Dakota) seconded the motion.

The Chairman moved the question and it was unanimously agreed to.

JANUARY 6, 1960

Senator Dworshak suggested special project assignments might take care of Senators with poor committee assignments.

The meeting was adjourned at 11:05 a.m.

[signed] William Brownrigg III  
Assistant Secretary for the Minority

Approved:

[signed] Andrew F. Schoeppel  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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[January 18, 1960]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR MONDAY, JANUARY 18, 1960, AT 11:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

Senator Saltonstall called the Conference to order at 11:07 a.m. and after the roll was called by the Secretary, Senator Milton R. Young, the Chairman announced that a quorum was present.

The following Senators were present (25):

Aiken	Case, N.J.	Javits
Beall	Case, S.D.	Kuchel
Bennett	Cooper	Mundt
Bridges	Curtis	Prouty
Brunsdale	Dirksen	Saltonstall
Bush	Dworshak	Schoeppel
Butler	Fong	Smith
Carlson	Hruska	Wiley
		Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Arthur E. Burgess.

The Chairman stated that the purpose of the Conference was to receive a report from Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel, Chairman of the Committee on Committees in regard to Committee assignments. The Chairman recognized Senator Schoeppel who read for the information of the Members of the Conference the recommendations of his Committee in regard to the vacancies which had been caused by the death of Senator William Langer as well as other releases and assignments as a result thereof.

Attached hereto is Exhibit "A" which lists recommendations made by the Chairman of the Committee as well as Exhibit "B" showing the Republican membership on the various standing committees of the Senate as a result of the recommendations.

Senator Schoeppel moved that the recommendations submitted be approved by the Conference.

The Chairman asked if there was any discussion on the recommendations and there being none the question of adoption of the report was put and the “yeas” were unanimous. The Chairman announced that the report was approved.

Senator Schoeppel announced that his Committee had recommended that a special committee be appointed by the Conference to study the matter of the assignment of Republican Senators to various standing committees of the Senate and report its recommendations thereon. The Senator stated that in his opinion it would be best for a special committee to make a study rather than the Committee on Committees.

The Chairman recognized Senator Jacob K. Javits who spoke of the discussion and action taken by the Committee on Committees and he introduced the following resolution:

That the Chairman of the Conference is authorized to appoint a special committee for the purpose of studying the question of Republican appointments to the various standing Committees of the Senate and that the said committee shall report its recommendations to the Republican Conference at this session of the Congress with the understanding that such action as may be taken by the Conference thereon shall not be effective until the beginning of the next session of the Congress.

After brief discussion of the motion which was duly seconded, the Chairman put the question and announced that the resolution was adopted.

The Chairman stated that members of the committee would be announced in due course and upon inquiry of the Chairman it was decided that the size of the special committee would be left up to the Chairman as well as the selection of the members thereof, and it was not necessary that they be confirmed by the Conference.

The Chairman recognized Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, Floor Leader, who spoke of trying to find a solution of the problem of Republican Senators receiving advance copies of the President's messages.

Senator Dirksen, at the suggestion of Senator Barry Goldwater, Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Committee, moved that the Conference extend to John A. Reilly its gratitude and appreciation for the fine job which he has done as Treasurer of the Republican Senatorial Committee. The motion was seconded by Senator Schoeppel. The Chairman put the question and announced that it was adopted unanimously with enthusiasm.

JANUARY 18, 1960

Senator Dirksen also announced that there would not be a luncheon meeting of the Policy Committee on Tuesday of this week due to several conflicts in the schedule.

He stated that it had been suggested that the name "Policy Committee" be changed to "Steering Committee," and he asked that Senator Styles Bridges, Chairman of the Policy Committee, be recognized.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who stated that he had been contacted by Senators Carl Hayden and Lyndon B. Johnson in regard to making such a change. Senator Bridges stated that the suggested change was a result of the recent conflict in Democratic ranks, that he had studied the matter and found that a number of changes would have to be made in the Republican Conference rules. He requested opinions from the membership as to their desires in the matter. After pro and con discussion it was moved, seconded and agreed to that Senator Styles Bridges be appointed as a committee of one to confer with Senators Hayden and Johnson and to report back to the Conference the results of his discussion with them for whatever action, if any, be necessary to be taken by the Conference.

Senator Bridges stated that while he preferred that the name "Policy Committee" be retained, the Democrats have the votes if they want to insist on the change.

Senator Dirksen also stated that the file of select clippings about which he referred at the last Conference would be kept in his Capitol office for general use.

He also stated that he had conferred with the Majority Leader about speaking time needed for the Republican Senators around the Lincoln Day period and it was generally agreed that there would be no votes that week as well as through the following Monday. He stated that they also discussed a one-week period around the end of May during the time of Commencement speeches and found him agreeable to time off then. The Majority Leader also agreed to no votes around the period of the Eisenhower dinners on January 27.

He stated that the legislative schedule would probably be Juvenile Delinquency legislation after the Clean Elections bill, to be followed by the bill authorizing Governors of the States to fill vacancies in the House of Representatives and then perhaps Aid to Education.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 11:55 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on January 21, 1960

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*

Exhibit “A”

(Confidential Worksheet No. 1)

**STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE**

Eighty-sixth Congress—2d Session

(To be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

**Aeronautical and Space Sciences** (Ratio 10–5)

Messrs. BRIDGES, WILEY, Mrs. SMITH, Messrs. MARTIN, CASE,  
N.J.

**On Agriculture and Forestry** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. AIKEN, YOUNG, HICKENLOOPER, MUNDT, SCHOEPPPEL,  
COOPER

**On Appropriations** (Ratio 18–9)

Messrs. BRIDGES, SALTONSTALL, YOUNG, MUNDT, Mrs. SMITH,  
Messrs. DWORSHAK, KUCHEL, HRUSKA, ALLOTT

**On Armed Services** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. SALTONSTALL,\* BRIDGES, Mrs. SMITH, Messrs. CASE, S.  
Dak., BUSH, BEALL

**On Banking and Currency** (Ratio 10–5)

Messrs. CAPEHART, BENNETT, BUSH, BEALL, JAVITS

**On District of Columbia** (Ratio 4–3)

Messrs. BEALL, PROUTY, MORTON

**On Finance** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. WILLIAMS, CARLSON, BENNETT, BUTLER, CURTIS, MOR-  
TON

**On Foreign Relations** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. WILEY, HICKENLOOPER, AIKEN, CAPEHART, CARLSON,  
WILLIAMS

**On Government Operations** (Ratio 6–3)

Messrs. MUNDT, CURTIS, JAVITS

**On Interior and Insular Affairs** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. DWORSHAK, KUCHEL, GOLDWATER, ALLOTT, MARTIN,  
FONG

**On Interstate and Foreign Commerce** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. SCHOEPPPEL, BUTLER, COTTON, CASE, N.J., MORTON,  
SCOTT

**On the Judiciary** (Ratio 10–5)

Messrs. WILEY, DIRKSEN, HRUSKA, KEATING, COTTON

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\* By agreement

JANUARY 18, 1960

**On Labor and Public Welfare** (Ratio 9–6)

Messrs. GOLDWATER, DIRKSEN, CASE, N.J., JAVITS, PROUTY,  
BRUNSDALE

**On Post Office and Civil Service** (Ratio 6–3)

Messrs. CARLSON, CASE, S.Dak., BRUNSDALE

**On Public Works** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. CASE, S. Dak., MARTIN, COOPER, SCOTT, PROUTY, FONG

**On Rules and Administration** (Ratio 6–3)

Messrs. CURTIS, KEATING, BRUNSDALE

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Exhibit "B"

January 18, 1960

(Confidential)

REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES

Republican Committee vacancies and releases totaling 9 are as follows:

Vacancies:

Foreign Relations  
Judiciary  
Post Office and Civil Service

Releases:

Capehart .....	Government Operations
Williams .....	Agriculture and Forestry
Cotton .....	Finance
Cooper .....	Labor and Public Welfare
Morton .....	Post Office and Civil Service and Rules and Administration

The Committee on Committees recommends the following assignments:

Williams .....	Foreign Relations
Cotton .....	Judiciary
Cooper .....	Agriculture and Forestry
Morton .....	Finance
Javits .....	Government Operations
Fong .....	Post Office and Civil Service
Brunsdale .....	Labor and Public Welfare, Post Office and Civil Service, and Rules and Administration

Recapitulation:

Capehart releases Government Operations.  
Williams releases Agriculture and Forestry and is assigned to Foreign Relations.  
Cotton releases Finance and is assigned to Judiciary.  
Cooper releases Labor and Public Welfare and is assigned to Agriculture and Forestry.  
Morton releases Post Office and Civil Service and Rules and Administration and is assigned to Finance.  
Javits is assigned to Government Operations.  
Fong is assigned to Post Office and Civil Service.  
Brunsdale is assigned to Labor and Public Welfare, Post Office and Civil Service, and Rules and Administration.



[March 3, 1960]

MINUTES OF THE LUNCHEON MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR MARCH 3, 1960, AT 12:30 P.M., ROOM F-39,<sup>3</sup> SENATE WING, GROUND FLOOR, NORTH CORRIDOR OF THE CAPITOL

The Chairman, Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the Conference to order after luncheon had been served and stated that the Conference had been called to discuss the pending Civil Rights matter as he deemed it a proper time to do so. He also stated that he had previously discussed calling the Conference with the Minority Leader, Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen.

The Chairman asked the Secretary, Senator Milton R. Young, to call the roll. The following Senators answered "Present":

Present 29:

Aiken	Cooper	Keating
Allott	Cotton	Kuchel
Beall	Curtis	Mundt
Bennett	Dirksen	Prouty
Brunsdale	Dworshak	Saltonstall
Bush	Fong	Schoeppel
Capehart	Goldwater	Scott
Carlson	Hickenlooper	Wiley
Case, N.J.	Hruska	Young
Case, S.D.	Javits	

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Arthur E. Burgess.

The Chairman stated that a quorum was present.

The Chairman said that the analyses of various amendments requested of the Staff of the Policy Committee were ready and would be delivered to the Floor later today.

He stated that the views of all Republican Senators were desired and that there would be sufficient time to discuss the subject.

The Chairman then called on Minority Leader Dirksen who stated he was gratified for the fidelity of attendance on the part of the Republican Senators. He also stated that he thought it was an appropriate time for the Members to chart a course and arrive at a sense of direction. He spoke of the misrepresentations in the press concerning a substitute sponsored by the Majority Leader, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, and stated he had no knowledge of it and the Majority Leader stated to him that there was no substitute. He stated

<sup>3</sup>[Now S-126.]

MARCH 3, 1960

that during the past week there had been a number of conferences between himself and other Republican Members as well as with the Majority Leader and others.

He also spoke of the legislative situation in the House of Representatives in regard to its Civil Rights Bill, and compared the four sections of the House bill with the provisions of the pending Dirksen Package in the Senate.

He stated that it was his desire that everyone speak freely concerning their individual views in regard to:

1. The Dirksen Package
2. Cloture
3. The more liberal proposals to be presented

In the course of the discussion which followed the Chairman recognized the following Senators who expressed various views in regard to the pending legislation and procedure in general:

Javits	Aiken	Allott
Goldwater	Curtis	Keating
Cotton	Kuchel	Prouty
Scott	Bush	Schoeppel
Case, S.D.	Carlson	Mundt
Cooper	Dworshak	Hickenlooper
Case, N.J.		

At the conclusion of the meeting it was decided that the Secretary for the Minority would prepare a list of four questions to be presented to the Republican Senators for their individual answers. This questionnaire was to be treated as confidential and the individuals were requested not to sign it. (This was done later by Mark Trice).

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 3:04 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on March 7th, 1960

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[March 30, 1960]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR MARCH 30, 1960, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman, Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the Conference to order at 10:15 a.m. and it started informally with 13 Sen-

ators present. After a short period of time 25 Senators appeared. The roll was not called but the following Senators were present:

Present 25:

Aiken	Cooper	Keating
Allott	Cotton	Kuchel
Bennett	Dirksen	Prouty
Brunsdale	Dworshak	Saltonstall
Bush	Fong	Schoeppel
Butler	Goldwater	Scott
Carlson	Hruska	Smith
Case, N.J.	Javits	Williams
Case, S.D.		

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Arthur E. Burgess.

The Chairman first recognized Senator Barry Goldwater, Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Committee, who suggested that whenever possible the Republican Members should eulogize their Republican incumbents on the Senate Floor for the performance of some special work performed or for birthday celebrations.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, the Minority Floor Leader, who presented to the Members of the Conference an accounting of the action taken by the Committee on the Judiciary in considering the reporting of H.R. 8601, the Civil Rights bill.

Senator Dirksen stated that there were four major amendments adopted by the Committee out of 32 presented. They were:

1. The inclusion of the Lausche amendment to Section 1.
2. Striking the language of the Cramer amendment in regard to false information by telephone.
3. The inclusion of the Kefauver amendment in regard to all parties present at referee hearings.
4. The school aid amendment in regard to military personnel.

In addition to the four major amendments of the Committee there were 11 other minor amendments approved with 17 rejected.

Senator Dirksen stated that it would be desirable if there was a solid party vote if there was a move to strike Section 1; that the FBI was against the Cramer amendment; that the Kefauver amendment should be defeated, and in regard to the school aid amendment the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare would prefer to have that amendment eliminated.

There was some discussion as to whether or not Sections 4 and 6 of the original Dirksen proposal should be offered on the Senate Floor as amendments to the pending bill.

MARCH 30, 1960

Senator Dirksen stated that it might be necessary to present a second cloture petition, that several of the Southern Senators are still very much opposed to the legislation and that if one were required, he and Senator Lyndon Johnson would present it.

He expressed the hope that the Republican Members would go along with the bill in the hope of getting through some legislation for he feared that if a bill could not be passed before the adjournment of Congress in July there was a likelihood that the President might call an extra session of Congress for this purpose.

The Chairman, on behalf of Senator Goldwater, asked that the Members give support to a rally to be given by the Republican Women at Uline Arena on April fourth.

The Chairman thanked the Minority Leader for his excellent presentation.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 11:30 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on April 1, 1960

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[June 30, 1960]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR JUNE 30, 1960, AT 9:15 A.M. IN THE CAPITOL OFFICE OF THE MINORITY FLOOR LEADER, P-48,<sup>4</sup> SENATE WING OF THE CAPITOL BUILDING

The Chairman, Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the Conference to order at 9:22 a.m. and a few minutes thereafter the Chairman announced a quorum was present.

The following Senators were present:

Present 24:

Aiken	Case, N.J.	Keating
Allott	Case, S.D.	Kuchel
Beall	Dirksen	Mundt
Bennett	Dworshak	Saltonstall
Brunsdale	Fong	Schoeppel
Bush	Goldwater	Scott

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<sup>4</sup>[Now S-231.]

Capehart  
Carlson

Hickenlooper  
Hruska

Smith  
Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Arthur E. Burgess.

The Chairman stated that the meeting had been called at the request of the Minority Leader and he recognized Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen. The Senator stated there were several odds and ends to consider before the business of the meeting, the Presidential veto of the pay bill.

The Senator stated that previously in this session a Republican Conference Committee had been appointed to make recommendations in regard to future assignments of Republican Senators to the various standing Committees of the Senate and he had been informed that the Chairman of the Committee, Honorable George D. Aiken, had submitted a letter to the Conference Chairman recommending that the matter be held in abeyance until later in the session or that it be deferred until January.

The Chairman recognized Senator Aiken who had just arrived and he stated that a tentative proposal of his committee had been sent to each Republican Senator but that few replies had been received in regard to his request for comments, showing there was very little interest. It was his recommendation that if more interest was not shown it would be best to defer the matter. He also stated that he would write a letter to the Chairman of the Republican Conference. The Chairman stated that he would consider the recommendation of Chairman Aiken as the committee's report and that the matter would be closed for this session.

Senator Dirksen was again recognized and informed the Membership that if the Congress adjourned or recessed over 30 days all pending nominations would fall and that only by unanimous consent could they be held in their present status. Senator Dirksen stated that he would ask the Majority Leader to make the unanimous request or have it come from the Democratic side.

Senator Dirksen then spoke concerning the possible recess of the Congress from this Saturday until some time in August. The Chairman recognized a number of Senators who discussed various aspects of the matter as well as various reconvening dates together with the possibility of obtaining a consensus of opinion as to whether or not it should be Republican policy to vote solidly against the adjournment resolution. After a good bit of discussion and an informal showing of hands on various proposals, it was generally agreed that the matter stay fluid with everybody left on his own. Statements were to be made by those in opposition.

JUNE 30, 1960

The Chairman turned the Chair over to the Secretary, Senator Milton R. Young, in order that the Chairman might attend another conference committee meeting.

Senator Dirksen then stated that the real business of the Conference was to discuss the matter of the Presidential veto on the pay bill. He read excerpts from the veto of the President and stated that the President was right insofar as this matter was concerned. It was his opinion that the Senate would not sustain the veto in its present mood and that if the vote on the veto could be put over to August there might be some difference in the result.

After a general discussion of the matter and with the general conclusion reached that a vote could not be deferred, the Conference adjourned at 10:55 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on July 1, 1960

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

## **Eighty-seventh Congress (1961–1963)**

[Editor's Note: The 1960 election that sent John F. Kennedy to the White House also kept the Democrats firmly in control of Congress. In the Senate 35 Republicans faced 65 Democrats, while the House had 174 Republicans to 263 Democrats.

Foreign affairs held the spotlight during the first year of the Congress. In April 1961, three months after the Kennedy administration took office, the United States suffered the embarrassing debacle of the failed Bay of Pigs invasion against Fidel Castro's Cuba. In May the United States supported formation of a coalition government in Laos, receding from the Eisenhower administration's support for the right-wing faction in that country. In Europe, the Communists in East Berlin, with the support of Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, began in August to erect the Berlin wall, sealing the border between the eastern and western portions of the city. All three of these incidents raised concerns among Republican senators that were reflected in the party's Declaration of Republican Principle and Policy adopted in June 1962 in preparation for that year's congressional elections.

Domestic issues included a continuing U.S. interest in space exploration, marked by President Kennedy's support for the goal of sending a man to the moon within a decade. This interest stimulated a number of Republican senators to seek appointment to the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee. Congress and the Republican Conference in 1962 devoted considerable time and effort to consideration of ways to provide medical care to the elderly, an effort that would come to fruition three years later in passage of Medicare legislation.

Since Policy Committee Chairman Styles Bridges had died in November 1961, the Conference at the beginning of the second session voted to replace him with Bourke Hickenlooper of Iowa.]

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[January 3, 1961]

### **MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR TUESDAY, JANUARY 3, 1961, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING**

The Conference was called to order at 10:12 a.m. by the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, Chairman of the Republican Conference for the 86th Congress, and he requested that the retiring Secretary of the Conference, the Honorable Milton R. Young, call the roll in order that a quorum might be established.

The following Senators answered "Present."

Present 33:

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Aiken	Cooper	Kuchel
Allott	Cotton	Miller
Beall	Curtis	Morton
Bennett	Dirksen	Mundt
Boggs	Dworshak	Saltonstall
Bridges	Fong	Schoeppel
Bush	Goldwater	Scott
Butler	Hickenlooper	Smith
Carlson	Hruska	Wiley
Case, N.J.	Javits	Williams
Case, S.D.	Keating	Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Arthur E. Burgess.

Senator Saltonstall requested that Senator Styles Bridges act as Temporary Chairman of the Conference and Senator Bridges assumed the Chair.

The Temporary Chairman suggested that Senator Barry Goldwater, Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, might be recognized for the purpose of introducing to the Members of the Conference the two newly-elected Senators. Senator Goldwater suggested that the two newly-elected Senators be introduced to the Conference by their respective colleagues.

The Temporary Chairman recognized Senator John J. Williams who introduced to the Members of the Conference newly-elected Senator J. Caleb Boggs, and Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper was recognized in order that he might introduce to the Conference Senator-elect Jack R. Miller.

The Temporary Chairman then appointed Senator Roman L. Hruska to act as Temporary Secretary.

The Temporary Chairman announced that the first order of business would be the election of a Conference Chairman and he recognized Senator Francis Case of South Dakota who nominated Senator Leverett Saltonstall for the position of Chairman of the Conference. The nomination of Senator Saltonstall was seconded by Senators Styles Bridges, John J. Williams and Bourke B. Hickenlooper.

It was moved by Senator Jacob K. Javits that nominations be closed, the motion was seconded, and after an affirmative vote the Secretary was authorized to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Saltonstall as Chairman of the Conference. The Secretary announced that he had cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Saltonstall.

Senator Saltonstall then assumed the Chair and after expressing words of appreciation to the Members of the Conference for the honor of being once again elected as their Chairman, he announced that nominations would be in order for the office of Secretary of the



Conference. The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who placed in nomination the name of Senator Milton R. Young to be Secretary of the Conference.

The nomination of Senator Young was seconded by Senator Frank Carlson. It was moved and seconded that nominations be closed and after a vote in the affirmative the Secretary was authorized to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Young as Secretary of the Conference. The Secretary announced that he had cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Young.

The Chairman then announced that nominations were in order for Chairman of the Policy Committee and the Chairman recognized Senator Hugh Scott. Senator Scott placed in nomination the name of Senator Styles Bridges.

The nomination of Senator Bridges was seconded by Senators Norris Cotton and Jacob K. Javits. It was moved by Senator Kenneth B. Keating, seconded and agreed to that nominations be closed and after a vote in the affirmative the Secretary was authorized to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Bridges for Chairman of the Policy Committee. The Secretary announced that he had cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Bridges.

The Chairman announced that nominations were in order for Floor Leader and Senator Hickenlooper was recognized. He placed in nomination the name of Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen.

The nomination was seconded by Senator Prescott Bush and Senator John Marshall Butler. Senator Bush moved and it was seconded that nominations be closed and after a vote in the affirmative the Secretary was authorized to cast a unanimous vote for Senator Dirksen. The Secretary announced that he had cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Dirksen to be Floor Leader.

The Chairman then announced that nominations were in order for Whip and Senator Carlson was recognized. He placed in nomination the name of Senator Thomas H. Kuchel.

The nomination was seconded by Senator George D. Aiken. It was then moved and seconded that nominations be closed and after a vote in the affirmative the Secretary was authorized to cast a unanimous vote for Senator Kuchel to be Whip. The Secretary announced that he had cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Kuchel.

The Chairman suggested that there be a resolution expressing the appreciation of the Members of the Conference for the fine work of Senator Barry Goldwater, Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee. In order that there be a proper resolution the Chairman requested that Senator Karl E. Mundt prepare one for presentation at the next meeting of the Conference.

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The Chairman recognized Senators Gordon Allott and Clifford P. Case of New Jersey who expressed words of appreciation for the wonderful work which had been done by Senator Barry Goldwater during the last campaign. The Chairman announced that without objection the resolution would be prepared.

The Chairman also called to the attention of the Members of the Conference birthdays this week of Senators Goldwater, Allott and Dirksen.

The Chairman recognized Senator Aiken who presented a resolution expressing condolences in the death of Mrs. Winston L. Prouty. Members of the Conference stood and the resolution was agreed to unanimously by a standing vote. A copy of the resolution is appended.

The Chairman suggested that a resolution be prepared expressing the condolences of the Members of the Conference with respect to the death of Senator-elect Keith Thomson of Wyoming. It was unanimously agreed that it should be presented at the next Conference and the Chairman asked Senator Francis Case of South Dakota to prepare the resolution.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bridges who suggested that a telegram be sent to Senator Homer E. Capehart who is temporarily confined in the Bethesda Naval Hospital and could not be present, expressing the regrets of the Members that he was unable to be with them and also containing the hope that he would soon be restored to good health and return to join them. A copy of the telegram is appended.

The Chairman recognized Senator Javits who asked the question as to when the Conference would receive the nomination of Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee because he wishes to discuss the matter. The Chairman stated that under the Conference Rules the nomination would be submitted by him to the next Conference.

The Chairman recognized Senator Thruston B. Morton who spoke of the responsibilities on the part of the Republican Members of the standing Committees when hearings are held on Cabinet Members-designate. He said that research into their backgrounds was in process now and that the focal point of the information would be the Republican Policy Committee. He requested that possible hearings on the various nominations should not be held until next Monday so that the research material would be available.

The Chairman recognized Senators Dworshak, Javits, Butler, Francis Case, Scott, Cotton, Bush, Hickenlooper and Williams who commented on the suggestion of Senator Morton.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dirksen who first expressed his appreciation for the action of the Conference in electing him as Floor

Leader. He called attention to a party to be given on Thursday, January 5th, at the Statler for the President to which all Republican Senators are invited.

He stated that it was his information that the State of the Union message of the President would be delivered on January 12th, the Budget on the 16th and the Economic Report on the 18th or 19th.

Senator Dirksen stated that the new Majority Leader, Senator Mike Mansfield [Democrat of Montana], had expressed the hope that there would be no record votes after six o'clock each day. He also stated that there was a possibility that the Committee on Rules and Administration might be made a third committee and that the Republican representation might be increased on Judiciary and Appropriations.

The Senator stated that he did not believe the Republicans could pursue a course of blind opposition to any Democratic programs but that an effort should be made to modify them where it was necessary.

He stated that consideration was being given to the formation of an advisory group composed of members of the Senate and House of Representatives but that the matter was in the formative stage and discussion of the matter would probably be gone into at the next Conference.

Senator Dirksen also stated that when the Senate met today the question would be raised once again as to modification of Senate Rule 22 with various propositions offered by the respective sides.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 11:45 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on January 11, 1961

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Majority

\* \* \*

87th Congress  
1st Session

Senator George D. Aiken offered the following resolution in the Republican Minority Conference on Tuesday, January 3, 1961, which was adopted by unanimous action:

**Whereas** Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from our colleague, the Honorable Winston L. Prouty, his beloved wife, Mrs. Frances Hearle Prouty.

*Now, therefore,*

JANUARY 3, 1961

**Be It Resolved,** That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the Honorable Winston L. Prouty, express our sense of loss of the passing of his wife, and

**Further,** That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Honorable Winston L. Prouty, that he may be assured of our deep respect for him and of our condolences to him.

Attest:

Chairman  
Secretary

\* \* \*

January 3, 1961

Honorable Homer E. Capehart  
United States Senator  
Bethesda Naval Hospital  
Bethesda, Maryland

THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE AT ITS MEETING TODAY REQUESTED THAT THE SECRETARY EXPRESS TO YOU DEEP REGRET THAT YOU COULD NOT BE PRESENT BECAUSE OF YOUR TEMPORARY ILLNESS  
YOUR COLLEAGUES SEND TO YOU THEIR SINCERE BEST WISHES AND HIGH ESTEEM AND WITH THE HOPE THAT YOUR RECOVERY WILL BE RAPID AND THAT YOU WILL REJOIN THEM SOON

/s/ Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Republican Conference

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[January 5, 1961]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR THURSDAY, JANUARY 5, 1961, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Conference was called to order at 10:07 a.m. by the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, Chairman, and he requested that the Secretary call the roll. The Secretary, Senator Milton R. Young, called the roll which established the following:

Present 32:

Aiken	Cooper	Miller
Allott		Morton
Beall	Cotton	Mundt
Bennett	Dirksen	Prouty
Boggs	Dworshak	Saltonstall

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS (1961–1963)

Bridges	Goldwater	Schoeppel
Bush	Hickenlooper	Scott
Butler	Hruska	Smith
Carlson	Javits	Wiley
Case, N.J.	Keating	Williams
Case, S.D.	Kuchel	Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Arthur E. Burgess.

The Chairman recognized Senator Karl E. Mundt who presented and read a resolution praising the services of Senator Barry Goldwater, Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, and moved its adoption. The Chairman recognized Senator Prescott Bush who commented favorably on the outstanding service rendered by Senator Goldwater during the campaign and he seconded the motion. The Chairman put the question on agreeing to the resolution and it was adopted unanimously with a round of applause.

The Chairman recognized Senator Goldwater who thanked his colleagues for the expressions contained in the resolution. He stated that he had an excellent group of candidates to work with, there was better organization and work done which purports well for 1962 and that it was an honor and pleasure to help his colleagues. A copy of the resolution is appended.

The Chairman again recognized Senator Mundt who read a resolution of praise for Senator Thruston B. Morton, Chairman of the National Republican Committee, and moved its adoption. The Chairman recognized Senator John Sherman Cooper who joined in the praise of his colleague and seconded the motion. The Chairman put the question and the resolution was agreed to unanimously with a round of applause. A copy of the resolution is appended.

The Chairman recognized Senator Francis Case of South Dakota who read a resolution of condolence for the late Senator-elect Keith Thomson of Wyoming and moved its adoption. The Chairman recognized Senator Goldwater who seconded the motion. The Chairman put the question of adoption of the resolution and it was unanimously approved by a standing vote. A copy of the resolution is appended.

The Chairman stated that Senator Jacob K. Javits had requested that he be recognized at this time and the Chairman recognized the Senator from New York. Senator Javits stated that he had requested recognition of the Chair before various committee nominations were made by the Chairman of the Conference, in order that he might put into focus the campaign for 1962.

Senator Javits stated that he had talked with Senator Barry Goldwater concerning the matters which he would raise and said that

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after he had presented them to the Conference he would appreciate the Senator from Arizona making reply.

The Chairman recognized Senator Goldwater who thanked the Senator from New York for keeping the matters discussed on a friendly basis. He made reply to the inquiries which had been made and after doing so stated that one of the great difficulties is the confusion arising in the press as to whether he is speaking for himself or in his capacity as Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

The Chairman recognized Senator Javits who thanked the Senator from Arizona for the replies which he had given, the feeling of friendship enunciated, and that the Senator's remarks had given to him great confidence in the future.

The Chairman recognized Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen who commented upon the issues raised and he referred briefly to some of his experiences as a former Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Committee.

The Chairman then read to the Members of the Conference his nominations for the Policy Committee, the Committee on Committees, the Campaign Committee, the Personnel Committee and the Calendar Committee.

The Chairman recognized Senator Winston L. Prouty who asked that he be relieved of his assignment on the Calendar Committee. The Chairman stated that if the Senator did not wish to continue service on that Committee he would name in his place Senator Jack R. Miller.

The Chairman put the question of approval of the nominations made by him and they were approved unanimously. The nominations made and approved are appended.

The Chairman recognized Senator Styles Bridges who spoke of the helpfulness of the Policy Committee staff and of the research work they are now doing; namely, carding important statements made by President-elect Kennedy during the campaign, and preparing voting records and statements of the 15 Republican Senators up for reelection in 1962. Also, the staff is preparing material on Democratic Senators up for reelection, and historical background information on the Democratic Presidential nominees.

The Chairman recognized Senator George D. Aiken who said that in his opinion the personnel of the Committee staff was the best ever and he moved that the Conference extend a vote of thanks and appreciation to Mr. Arthur C. Burgess and his entire staff for the fine work they had done in the past years with the hope that they will continue the good work in the future. The motion was seconded, the Chairman put the question, and it was agreed to unanimously with applause.

The Chairman asked Senator Dirksen, the Floor Leader, if any information was available concerning new committee places to be assigned to the Republicans. Senator Dirksen stated that he had not been informed as to the new assignments and Senator Andrew F. Schoepel, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, stated that he hoped the information might be obtained promptly so that letters could be sent to the Republican members asking their requests.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dirksen who again called attention to the party to be given in honor of the President at the Statler at 5 o'clock. He said that the State of the Union Message would be sent to the Congress by the President on the 12th, and that the first order of business in his opinion would be the Depressed Areas Bill. He stated that he would today introduce the Eisenhower bill on the subject with a statement and that he would leave the bill on the desk for co-sponsors.

Senator Dirksen also stated that the President was sending to Congress a balanced budget.

He also stated that he was still working on some plan that would carry the Republican story to the public.

Inquiry was made of the Senator concerning the Lincoln Day period and his reply was that he would talk with the Majority Leader and attempt to reach an agreement on the week following the 12th of February.

Senator Dirksen stated that in his opinion if the pending resolution now before the Senate was not disposed of quickly there would probably be a motion made to table.

The Chairman recognized Senators Schoepel and Allott who spoke concerning the 3 minute limitation in the morning hour. Senator Dirksen replied that he would attempt to work out the matter with the Majority Leader.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper who informed the Members of the Conference concerning the recent atomic reactor explosion in Idaho.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 11:45 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on January 11, 1961

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

JANUARY 5, 1961

**Barry Goldwater**

Senator Karl E. Mundt moved that the following resolution be adopted. The resolution was then adopted by the unanimous action of the Republican Minority Conference on Thursday, January 5, 1961.

**Resolved,** That the individual members of the Republican Minority Conference of the United States Senate express to their esteemed colleague, the Honorable Barry Goldwater, United States Senator from the State of Arizona, their high regard and sincere appreciation for his inspiring leadership, his tireless efforts, and his dedicated devotion to them and to the Republican Party as Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee from January 21, 1959 to January 3, 1961: Be it further

**Resolved,** That this Republican Conference express its congratulations to Senator Barry Goldwater for the fact that during his leadership of the National Republican Senatorial Committee in 1960, a noteworthy record was established by virtue of the fact that every Incumbent Republican Senatorial candidate seeking reelection, was reelected in the political campaign ending on November 8, 1960.

Attest:

*Chairman, Republican Conference*

Attest:

*Secretary, Republican Conference*

87th Congress  
1st Session

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**Thruston Morton**

Senator Karl E. Mundt moved that the following resolution be adopted, and the motion was seconded by Senator John Sherman Cooper. The resolution was then adopted by the unanimous action of the Republican Minority Conference on Thursday, January 5, 1961:

**Resolved,** That the individual members of the Republican Minority Conference of the United States Senate express to their esteemed colleague, the Honorable Thruston Morton, United States Senator from the State of Kentucky, their high regard and sincere appreciation for his inspiring leadership, his tireless efforts, and his dedicated devotion to them and to the Republican Party as Chairman of the National Republican Committee during the national political campaign of 1960: Be it further

**Resolved,** That this Republican Conference express its congratulations to Senator Thruston Morton for the fact that during his leadership of the National Republican Committee in 1960, the Republican Party increased its membership both in the House of Representatives and in the United States Senate and that in all other contests involving Republican candidates for high office there was a gratifying demonstration of Republican unity, of Republican strength, and of Republican purpose that augurs well for the future success of the Republican Party. This conference takes pride in the fact that one of its own members is serving the Nation and the Party so ably in the important position of Chairman of the Republican National Committee.



*Attest:*

*Chairman, Republican Conference*

*Attest:*

*Secretary, Republican Conference*

\* \* \*

87th Congress

1st Session

**Keith Thomson**

Senator Francis Case of South Dakota moved that the following resolution be adopted and the motion was seconded by Senator Barry Goldwater. The resolution was then unanimously adopted by the Republican Minority Conference on Thursday, January 5, 1961:

**Whereas** Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from us our beloved colleague and Senator-elect, the Honorable Keith Thomson of the State of Wyoming, and

**Whereas** throughout five years of wartime service as an officer of the Army and six years of service as a Member of the House of Representatives, he rendered brave and distinguished service as a soldier and statesman to our Nation and to his State, and

**Whereas** he was our affectionate friend and esteemed colleague of the Congress ever ready to give of himself, of his efforts, and of his wise judgment,

*Now, therefore,*

**Be It Resolved,** That we, the Members of the Republican Conference in the United States Senate, express our sense of great loss at his passing, and

**Further,** That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Mrs. Thyra G. Thomson and her sons, that they may be assured of our deep respect for them and of our condolences to them upon the passing of our friend, their husband and father.

*Attest:*

Chairman of the Conference  
Secretary of the Conference

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NOMINATIONS MADE BY HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL,  
CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE, AND APPROVED

*Policy Committee (14)*

*Ex officio*

Styles Bridges, Chairman  
Leverett Saltonstall  
Everett McKinley Dirksen  
Thomas H. Kuchel  
Milton R. Young

Policy Committee  
Chairman of the Conference  
Floor Leader  
Whip  
Secretary of the Conference

JANUARY 5, 1961

*Policy Committee (14)—Continued*

Andrew F. Schoeppel	Chairman of the Committee on Committees
Barry Goldwater	Chairman of Campaign Committee
Margaret Chase Smith	Chairman of Personnel Committee
The following six members nominated and confirmed today:	
George D. Aiken	Homer E. Capehart
John Sherman Cooper	John Marshall Butler
Thruston B. Morton	Wallace F. Bennett

*Committee on Committees (13)*

Andrew F. Schoeppel, Chairman	Frank Carlson
Bourke B. Hickenlooper	Prescott Bush
Francis Case	Norris Cotton
Gordon Allott	Carl T. Curtis
Kenneth B. Keating	Hiram L. Fong
Jacob K. Javits	J. Caleb Boggs
Alexander Wiley	

*Campaign Committee (10)*

Barry Goldwater, Chairman	Karl E. Mundt
J. Glenn Beall	Roman L. Hruska
John J. Williams	Hugh Scott
Henry Dworshak	Winston L. Prouty
Clifford P. Case	Jack Miller

*Personnel Committee (3)*

Margaret Chase Smith, Chairman  
Styles Bridges  
John Marshall Butler

*Calendar Committee (3)*

Kenneth B. Keating, Chairman  
Hiram L. Fong  
Jack Miller

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL, FOR THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 1961, AT 3:00 P.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel, at 3:15 p.m.

The following Senators were present:

Schoeppel	Javits
Carlson	Allott
Cotton	Wiley

Boggs  
Keating

Hickenlooper  
Case (S.D.)  
Curtis

The following Senators were absent:

Bush  
Beall

Also present were J. Mark Trice and William Brownrigg III.

The Chairman stated that Senator Mike Mansfield had requested that the Republican committee assignments be ready for Senate action on Friday, January 13.

Senator Case (S.D.) requested that he not be assigned District of Columbia.

Senator Javits stated that he wanted the record to show that in 1959 he gave up Aeronautical and Space Sciences at the request of the Leadership to Senator Martin (Iowa). He stated also that Aeronautical and Space Sciences should be a major committee rather than a minor.

Senator Allott said although Atomic Energy Committee members were appointed by the Vice President this Committee should exercise its right to make the selections. He explained he was not suggesting any change in present membership.

Senators Allott, Hickenlooper, Javits and Schoeppel discussed problems of satisfactory assignments for new members.

Senator Schoeppel reviewed the findings of the Aiken Committee who could not find any acceptable way of changing the seniority rule system in regard to committee assignments.

Senator Case (S.D.) moved that the leadership seek to increase membership of Government Operations and Rules Committees. Make Rules a minor committee and make Government Operations a major committee. Explore the possibility of making Aeronautical and Space Sciences a major committee in respect to new assignments to it.

Senator Javits seconded the motion. The motion was unanimously agreed to.

Senator Allott suggested as a possible solution for more equitable committee assignments that each Senator by seniority make one committee choice. After each had made one choice then start at the top of the list and make a second choice.

Senator Schoeppel stated that the Aiken Committee considered that but found little support for it.

Senator Schoeppel asked that the committee assignments made in accordance with the established seniority rule be approved as submitted.

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Senator Javits stated that he reserved the right to oppose the rule of seniority in the Republican Conference and that he be free to move changes in the assignments if the Republican Conference made any seniority rule changes.

Senator Allott seconded the motion to approve the assignments with the same reservation as Senator Javits.

The roll was called with the Chairman casting proxy votes for Senators Wiley, Carlson, Cotton and Beall.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:20 pm.

[signed] William Brownrigg III  
Assistant Secretary for the Minority

Approved:

[signed] Andrew F. Schoeppel  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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[January 13, 1961]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR FRIDAY, JANUARY 13, 1961, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Conference was called to order at 10:13 a.m. by the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, Chairman of the Conference.

In the absence of the Secretary of the Conference the Chairman requested that the Secretary for the Minority, Mr. J. Mark Trice, call the roll.

The roll was called and the following Senators answered "Present."

Present 20:

Aiken	Cooper	Javits
Allott	Cotton	Kuchel
Boggs	Dirksen	Miller
Bridges	Dworshak	Saltonstall
Carlson	Fong	Schoeppel
Case, N.J.	Goldwater	Smith
Case, S. Dak.	Hruska	

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Arthur E. Burgess.

The Chairman stated that the purpose of the meeting today was to receive the recommendations of the Committee on Committees in regard to committee assignments of the Republican Senators.

The Chairman recognized Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel, Chairman of the Committee on Committees. Senator Schoeppel stated that lists showing the changes to be recommended by the Committee were available to each Senator and he read to the Conference the various releases of present assignments and the new assignments recommended by his Committee.

Senator Schoeppel stated that after discussion the recommendations submitted were unanimously agreed to by his committee.

He further stated that his committee had passed a motion that the Leadership request of the Majority that there be an increase of membership on the Committee on Government Operations and the Committee on Rules and Administration; that the Committee on Rules and Administration be changed to a minor committee and that Government Operations be made a major committee. Also, that the Leadership be requested to explore the possibility of making the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences a major committee in respect to new assignments to it.

Senator Schoeppel stated that the recommendations made by his Committee were on the basis of the existing seniority rules.

He then moved that the assignments be approved by the Conference.

A copy of the recommended changes are appended.

The Chairman recognized Senator Barry Goldwater who stated that in his opinion once again the Republican Party was using the wrong approach in following its rules on seniority. He stated that the Party should take advantage of the specialized knowledge of its members and make assignments accordingly.

The Chairman recognized Senator Gordon Allott who also expressed the opinion that some new way should be found. He recommended the system used by the Minority of the Committee on Appropriations in filling their subcommittee spots, namely, each member making one selection in turn.

The Chairman recognized Senator Jacob K. Javits who stated that the assignments recommended were absolutely wrong in principle, that any action taken would merely be a “rubber stamp” on the recommendations presented. He then proceeded to offer the following motion: That the Republican Conference go on record in authorizing the Committee on Committees to consult with the Republican Leadership, comprising the Chairman of the Conference, the Chairman of the Policy Committee, the Floor Leader and the Whip, when the latter are unanimously agreed, to suspend the existing seniority rules to make new committee assignments where it would be in the best interests of the Party.

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The Chairman stated that such a motion would have to go over under the rules until the next meeting of the Conference. He accepted the motion for the record.

The Chairman recognized Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen who stated that this matter merits consideration and that the Members of the Conference should come to grips with it.

The Chairman recognized Senator Francis Case of South Dakota who suggested that the Committee on Government Operations should be made a major committee and increased to 13 with Interior and Insular Affairs and Public Works reduced by two members each.

The Chairman put the question of the adoption of the motion of Senator Schoeppel to approve the recommendations of his Committee. The Chairman announced that the motion was agreed to. Senator Javits requested that the minutes show that he voted "Present" on said motion.

The Chairman announced that at a future Conference the suggestions of Senator Javits and Senator Case of South Dakota would be considered.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned at 10:45 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on January 16, 1961

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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January 13, 1961

(Confidential Worksheet No. 1)

**STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE**

Eighty-seventh Congress—1st Session

(To Be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

**Aeronautical and Space Sciences** (Ratio 10–5)

Messrs. BRIDGES, WILEY, Mrs. SMITH, Messrs. CASE, N.J.,  
HICKENLOOPER

**On Agriculture and Forestry** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. AIKEN, YOUNG, HICKENLOOPER, MUNDT, COOPER,  
BOGGS

**On Appropriations** (Ratio 17–10)

Messrs. BRIDGES, SALTONSTALL, YOUNG, MUNDT, Mrs., SMITH,  
Messrs. DWORSHAK, KUCHEL, HRUSKA, ALLOTT, SCHOEPPEL

**On Armed Services** (Ratio 11–6)

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS (1961–1963)

Messrs. BRIDGES, SALTONSTALL, Mrs. SMITH, Messrs. CASE, S. Dak., BUSH, BEALL

**On Banking and Currency** (Ratio 10–5)

Messrs. CAPEHART, BENNETT, BUSH, BEALL, JAVITS

**On District of Columbia** (Ratio 4–3)

Messrs. BEALL, PROUTY, MILLER

**On Finance** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. WILLIAMS, Del., CARLSON, BENNETT, BUTLER, CURTIS, MORTON

**On Foreign Relations** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. WILEY, HICKENLOOPER, AIKEN, CAPEHART, CARLSON, WILLIAMS, Del.

**On Government Operations** (Ratio 6–3)

Messrs. MUNDT, CURTIS, JAVITS

**On Interior and Insular Affairs** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. DWORSHAK, KUCHEL, GOLDWATER, ALLOTT, FONG, MILLER

**On Interstate and Foreign Commerce** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. SCHOEPPPEL, BUTLER, COTTON, CASE, N.J., MORTON, SCOTT

**On the Judiciary** (Ratio 10–5)

Messrs. WILEY, DIRKSEN, HRUSKA, KEATING, COTTON

**On Labor and Public Welfare** (Ratio 10–5)

Messrs. GOLDWATER, DIRKSEN, CASE, N.J., JAVITS, PROUTY

**On Post Office and Civil Service** (Ratio 6–3)

Messrs. CARLSON, FONG, BOGGS

**On Public Works** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. CASE, S. Dak., [MARTIN—crossed out] COOPER, SCOTT, PROUTY, FONG, BOGGS [handwritten insert]

**On Rules and Administration** (Ratio 6–3)

Messrs. CURTIS, KEATING, MILLER

\* \* \*

January 13, 1961

(Confidential)

**REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES**

Republican committee vacancies and releases totaling eight are as follows:

*Vacancies*

Appropriations

Interior and Insular Affairs

Aeronautical and Space Sciences

Agriculture and Forestry

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Public Works	Post Office and Civil Service
Rules and Administration	District of Columbia
<i>Releases</i>	
Case, S. Dak.	District of Columbia
Schoeppel	Agriculture and Forestry
Young	Post Office and Civil Service
The Committee on Committees recommends the following assignments:	
Hickenlooper	Aeronautical and Space Sciences
Schoeppel	Appropriations
Boggs	Agriculture and Forestry, Public Works, and Post Office and Civil Service
Miller	Interior and Insular Affairs, Rules and Administration, and District of Columbia

*Recapitulation:*

Young releases Post Office and Civil Service.  
Case, S. Dak., releases District of Columbia.  
Hickenlooper is assigned to Aeronautical and Space Sciences.  
Schoeppel releases Agriculture and Forestry and is assigned to Appropriations.  
Boggs is assigned to Agriculture and Forestry, Public Works, and Post Office and Civil Service.  
Miller is assigned to Interior and Insular Affairs, Rules and Administration, and District of Columbia

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[May 16, 1961]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1961, AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Conference was called to order at 9:42 a.m. by the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, Chairman of the Conference.

The Secretary, the Honorable Milton R. Young, called the roll. The following Senators answered "Present."

Present 29:

Aiken	Case, S. Dak.	Miller
Allott	Curtis	Mundt
Beall	Dirksen	Prouty
Bennett	Dworshak	Saltonstall
Boggs	Goldwater	Schoeppel
Bridges	Hickenlooper	Smith, Me.
Bush	Hruska	Wiley
Capehart	Javits	Williams, Del.
Carlson	Keating	Young, N.D.
Case, N.J.	Kuchel	



Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III, Arthur E. Burgess, Michael J. Bernstein and Raymond D. Hurley. (The latter two members of the Minority staff of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.)

The Chairman stated that the purpose of the meeting today was to consider:

1. Federal Aid to Education
2. The four Reorganization Plans recently submitted by President Kennedy

The Chairman recognized Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen who first discussed the four Reorganization Plans and stated that the customary resolutions had been drawn. Two had been already introduced, one by Senator Karl E. Mundt, cosponsored by Senator Francis Case, and the other introduced by Senator Francis Case, cosponsored by Senator Karl E. Mundt.

The Senator stated that the resolution relating to the plan dealing with the Securities & Exchange Commission was in the hands of Senator Homer E. Capehart who intends to introduce it today and that the resolution relating to the Federal Trade Commission would probably be introduced by Senator Roman L. Hruska.

The Senator stressed that prompt hearings should be held before the time runs out, and it was the understanding that the legislative committees having jurisdiction over these agencies would hold the hearings.

The Conference was informed that the expiration date for action on the various plans was as follows:

Plans 1 and 2	June 26, 1961
Plan 3	July 2, 1961
Plan 4	July 4, 1961

Senator Dirksen spoke briefly concerning the nomination of Joseph C. Swidler to be a member of the Federal Power Commission. He stated that he had requested that action on this nomination be withheld until contact could be made with the President, to find out his intention in regard to statements made that Mr. Swidler would be designated as Chairman of the Commission. It was the opinion of the Senator that the present Chairman, Jerome K. Kuykendall, had been designated by specific law to hold that office for the period of his appointment and that he was interested to know what legal means the President intended to use to displace him.

Senator Dirksen then gave the historical background of Federal Aid to Education and discussed the various aspects and ramifications of the pending legislation.

The Chairman recognized Senator Barry Goldwater who spoke concerning the provisions of the bill and stated that he would offer two

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amendments, one in regard to parochial schools and a second one relating to tax credits.

The Chairman recognized Senator Jacob K. Javits who spoke in behalf of the legislation and stated that he would join with Senator John Sherman Cooper in offering an amendment dealing with the distribution of funds formula in the bill.

The Chairman recognized Senator Francis Case who explained briefly an amendment which he intended to offer in regard to the withholding of 1% of personal and corporate income taxes which would be returned to the States.

The Chairman recognized Senator Prescott Bush who read from a recent article in regard to action taken by a convention meeting of members of the various school boards in Philadelphia in which they opposed Federal aid to schools as well as the National Defense Education Act.

The Chairman recognized Senator Gordon Allott who told of the events leading to the adoption of the plank in the 1960 Republican platform in regard to the subject. He stated that the provisions in the platform were limited to school construction and did not in any way relate to teachers' salary.

The Chairman stated that inasmuch as a number of Senators had to leave to attend other committee meetings that he thought there had been considerable discussion of the subject matter and that perhaps if something further developed another conference could be called.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 10:58 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on May 18, 1961

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE ANDREW F. SCHOEPPPEL, FOR MONDAY, JULY 10, 1961, AT 10:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 10:05 a.m.

The following Senators were present:

Schoeppel	Bush
Hickenlooper	Cotton

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS (1961–1963)

Keating  
Javits  
Carlson

Curtis  
Boggs  
Beall

The following Senators were absent:

Allott  
Case, S.D.  
Wiley

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Arthur E. Burgess.

The Chairman stated the purpose of the meeting was to assign committees to Senator John G. Tower, Texas, and the reassignment of others.

It was stated that during the campaign Senator Tower had been told he would be assigned to Commerce Committee and Labor and Public Welfare Committee. Senator Morton was willing to give up Commerce only if it would be assigned to Senator Tower. This proved not to be possible.

The Chairman proposed the following resume and recommended its adoption:

Republican committee increases and releases totaling four as follows:

Increases: Banking and Currency, Judiciary

Releases:

Dirksen	Labor and Public Welfare
Fong	Interior and Insular Affairs

The Committee on Committees recommends the following assignments:

Dirksen	Interior and Insular Affairs
Fong	Judiciary
Tower	Banking and Currency and Labor and Public Welfare

Recapitulation:

Dirksen releases Labor and Public Welfare and is assigned to Interior and Insular Affairs.

Fong releases Interior and Insular Affairs and is assigned to Judiciary.

Tower is assigned to Banking and Currency and to Labor and Public Welfare.

Senator Frank Carlson moved the slate be adopted.

Senator J. Caleb Boggs seconded the motion.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

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Senator Carl T. Curtis requested assignment to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Senator Jacob K. Javits discussed the disadvantages of the Republican seniority rule in committee assignments. He gave examples where Democrat candidates used to their great advantage the fact that they would get major committees if they were elected.

Senator Javits stressed the need for further study in this area.

The Chairman reminded the Committee that in 1960 a committee headed by Senator George D. Aiken had studied this matter and was unable to come up with a solution.

The meeting adjourned at 10:20 a.m.

[signed] William Brownrigg III  
Assistant Secretary for the Minority

Approved:

[signed] Andrew F. Schoeppel  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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[July 11, 1961]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1961, AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM 335 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman, Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the Conference to order at 9:37 a.m. and requested that the Secretary, Senator Milton R. Young, call the roll. The following Senators answered "Present."

Present 30:

Aiken	Curtis	Mundt
Allott	Dirksen	Prouty
Bennett	Dworshak	Saltonstall
Boggs	Fong	Schoepel
Bush	Hruska	Scott
Capehart	Javits	Smith, Me.
Carlson	Keating	Tower
Case, N.J.	Kuchel	Wiley
Cooper	Miller	Williams, Del.
Cotton	Morton	Young, N.D.

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III, Arthur E. Burgess.

The Chairman read to the members of the Conference a letter from Mr. Donald Baldwin, Director of Legislative Relations of the Na-

tional Lumber Manufacturers Association, dated June 22, 1961. The Association presented to the Policy Committee and to the Conference a wooden gavel, appropriately engraved, for use in the conduct of its meetings. The Chairman stated that if there was no objection the gavel would be accepted and kept in the custody of the Staff Director for appropriate use. There was no objection. The Chairman requested that the Secretary send to Mr. Baldwin a letter of appreciation.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel, Chairman of the Committee on Committees. Senator Schoeppel read the attached statement. At the conclusion of his remarks he moved that the Conference adopt the recommendations of his Committee which are as follows:

Assignment of Senator Dirksen to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Assignment of Senator Fong to the Committee on Judiciary

Assignment of Senator Tower to the Committee on Banking and Currency and to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

Senator Dirksen had been excused from service on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

Senator Fong had been excused from service on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

The Chairman recognized Senator Jacob K. Javits who again raised the question of the Conference at some time giving serious consideration to a change in the seniority rule relating to committee assignments and he expressed the opinion that the Leadership should propose some proposition in regard to the matter.

The Chairman recognized Senator George D. Aiken who spoke briefly in regard to the lack of interest shown previously in regard to the matter.

The Chairman stated that with the approval of Senator Javits it had been agreed that a Conference would be held on the subject next session.

The Chairman put the question on the motion of Senator Schoeppel and announced that the “yeas” prevailed and that the motion was adopted.

The Chairman then stated that the Leadership had a further recommendation to make in regard to Senator John G. Tower which was to make him a member of the Republican Policy Committee for the duration of the 87th Congress. The Chairman stated that the five-day notice under the Conference Rules would have to be suspended by unanimous consent in order to consider an amendment to Paragraph I of the Rules. The question was put and agreed to, and the Chairman then read the following motion: “For the duration

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of the 87th Congress strike out 'A Policy Committee of Fifteen Senators' and insert in lieu thereof 'A Policy Committee of Sixteen Senators.' In the following paragraph strike out the word 'six' where it appears three times and in lieu thereof insert the word 'seven.'"

The Chairman put the question and he announced that the "yeas" prevailed and that the amendment was agreed to. The Chairman then announced the appointment of Senator Tower as a Member of the Policy Committee for the duration of the 87th Congress. There was no objection.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, Minority Floor Leader, who stressed that taxes and spending would be the important issues in 1962. He called specific attention to the next bill to be considered on the legislative calendar, the Oceanographic Bill. It carried an authorization of \$800 million over a ten-year period with other open-end authorizations. He raised the question that with the Defense Department, Budget Bureau and National Science Foundation against it, how could it have possibly been reported from the Committee on Commerce. There was discussion of all aspects of the bill and Senator Dirksen stated that when the time came he would ask for a recorded vote on passage.

Senator Dirksen spoke of the legislative program facing the Senate before adjournment. He mentioned Aid to Education, the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill which should be considered before the end of the month, the Defense Education Bill about which the Committee is meeting on Thursday and he expressed the opinion that Congressman [Charles A.] Halleck [Republican of Indiana and House minority leader] believes there is a good chance of the House of Representatives killing the General Aid to Education Bill. Also included were the general appropriation bills and the Crime Bills, as well as a modification of Rule 22.

Senator Dirksen spoke of the visit that he and Congressman Halleck had with President Eisenhower on yesterday. He stated that a number of subjects were discussed but that President Eisenhower was not too communicative on the Berlin matter. He spoke of a possible deal in regard to the admission of Outer Mongolia into the United Nations whereby if this country agrees then the Soviet Union would agree to back the admission of Maurentania [Mauritania]. In regard to the admission of Red China into the United Nations he spoke of the opposition of the State Department and stated that he would offer an amendment in this respect when the Foreign Aid Bill reached the floor.

There was nothing new insofar as Laos was concerned and the best judgment was to protect Viet-Nam and Thailand as best we could. Tractors for Cuba remains the same but he understood that the Detroit Post Office had been authorized to return all of the letters.

In regard to the Berlin situation he expressed the opinion that there is no posture that we can take at this morning's meeting. He stated that the situation regarding the Administration's attitude could be summed up into three phases:

1. The political reaction on the part of the Administration as it related to the domestic field in 1964.
2. The threat of the use of nuclear weapons.
3. The readiness field which related to Civilian Defense matters.

He stated that so far as he could see from the attitude of the people back home it is the desire to have the country stand firm. In his opinion we cannot afford to have the "nibbling" go on and we certainly cannot afford to make any mistakes.

The Chairman recognized Senator Jacob K. Javits for an interruption who stated that in his opinion some concept should be offered by us and that while he agreed with Senator Dirksen on Berlin he would make the recommendation that a task force of Senators and outsiders be appointed to draft a Republican policy statement in regard to the matter. He thought perhaps President Eisenhower and former Secretary Herter<sup>1</sup> might be invited to a luncheon as a prelude to the organization of such a task force for discussion of the matter.

Senator Hugh Scott stated that he did not like the pro-neutralist attitude on the part of the Administration and the Republican position should be one of loyalty to our Allies and a position taken against the neutralism on the part of the Administration.

Senator Thomas B. Kuchel stated that he agreed with Senator Javits and that some action should be taken in regard to nuclear testing and he suggested that possibly Admiral Strauss and maybe John McCone<sup>2</sup> could appear before the group.

Senator Dirksen stated that he had recently had a talk with former Secretary Herter who expressed the opinion that the "nibbling" would continue but what is needed is absolute firmness with no retreat. He stated that we could well afford to get information from other sources but it must be done quietly and only after careful consideration as the situation was extremely delicate.

The Chairman recognized Senator Clifford P. Case of New Jersey who stated that should any Senator be invited to speak in New Jersey would they be so kind as to communicate first with former Secretary Jim Mitchell<sup>3</sup> or with him.

<sup>1</sup>[Christian A. Herter, secretary of state, 1959–1961.]

<sup>2</sup>[John A. McCone, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, 1961–1965, and a former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC). Lewis L. Strauss, also a former chairman of the AEC.]

<sup>3</sup>[James P. Mitchell, secretary of labor, 1954–1961.]

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The Chairman recognized Senator Tower who thanked the Leadership and the members of the Conference for the consideration extended to him.

The Chairman recognized Senator Javits who raised a question that it might be well for the Republicans to offer an amendment in regard to Care for the Aged sometime soon in the light of the apparent desire on the part of the Administration to delay the matter until next session. Senator Dirksen said he thought so but would like to discuss the matter further.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 10:33 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on July 13, 1961

[signed] Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*

REMARKS OF SENATOR ANDREW F. SCHOEPPPEL, CHAIRMAN,  
COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES

There has been placed before each Senator a printed sheet showing the Committee increases, releases, and the recommended assignments of your Committee on Committees.

Some days ago the Republican Minority was notified that by reason of the ratio change in the membership of the Senate they would receive the Committee on Banking and Currency and the Committee on the Judiciary for allocation.

The Republican Leadership endeavored to obtain an assignment for Senator Tower on the Commerce Committee because of the Senator's particular interest in that Committee. This was not possible.

Once it was determined that Senator Tower could not receive an assignment to the Committee on Commerce, contact was made with all Senators who might be interested in the two new Committee vacancies.

The Chairman wishes to personally thank those Senators who were willing to yield their seniority rights in order that an equitable solution could be obtained.

As a result of a meeting of your Committee on Committees on yesterday the following committee assignments are recommended to the Conference for approval:

Senator Dirksen be assigned to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Senator Fong be assigned to the Committee on the Judiciary

Senator Tower be assigned to the Committee on Banking and Currency and to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare



EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS (1961–1963)

\* \* \*

July 10, 1961

(Confidential)

**REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES**

Republican committee increases and releases totaling four as follows:

*Increases*

Banking and Currency

Judiciary

*Releases*

Dirksen Labor and Public Welfare

Fong Interior and Insular Affairs

The Committee on Committees recommends the following assignments:

Dirksen Interior and Insular Affairs

Fong Judiciary

Tower Banking and Currency and Labor and Public Welfare

*Recapitulation*

Dirksen releases Labor and Public Welfare and is assigned to Interior and Insular Affairs.

Fong releases Interior and Insular Affairs and is assigned to Judiciary.

Tower is assigned to Banking and Currency and to Labor and Public Welfare.

\* \* \*

*REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE RULES*

July 11, 1961.

*I.*

At the beginning of each Congress, or within one week thereafter, a Republican Party Conference shall be held. At that Conference there shall be elected the following officers:

*Chairman of the Conference*

*Secretary of the Conference*

*Floor Leader*

*Whip*

*Chairman of Policy Committee*

*A Policy Committee of Fifteen\* Senators*

The Chairman of the Conference, the Secretary of the Conference, the Floor Leader, the Whip, the Chairman of the Policy Committee, the Chairman of the Committee on Committees, the Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, the Chairman of the Republican Personnel Committee, and the President pro tem of the Senate (if a Republican), shall be members ex officio of the Policy Committee. The other six\* members shall be nominated by the Chairman of the Conference, subject to action by the Conference. The six\* members so nominated and elected shall serve for 2 years and may be reelected for an additional 2 years, but no such member may serve more than 4 consecutive years and then shall be eligible for further service in such capacity only after an interval of 2 years. Within 24 hours after the election of the Chairman of the Conference each Senator

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may submit a list of six\* members suggested for nomination as members of the Policy Committee.

\*(By Conference action on July 11, 1961, the number 15 was changed to 16, and the number 6 relating to the basic membership was changed to 7. This increase was made only for the 87th Congress.)

In all contested elections, vote shall be by written ballot.

The term of office of all party officers herein provided shall extend for not more than 2 years, and shall expire at the close of each Congress.

## *II.*

The Chairman may call a Conference at any time, and shall call a Conference whenever requested to do so by the Policy Committee or in writing by five or more Senators. The Policy Committee shall meet at least once in 2 weeks, on a fixed day of the week and at a fixed hour to be determined by the Committee. It may meet at any time on the call of its Chairman. The Committee shall permit any Senator to appear before it upon his request to present any matter in which he is interested.

## *III. Duty of Party Officers*

The Chairman of the Conference shall preside at all Conference meetings, and perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by this resolution or by the Conference.

The Secretary shall keep accurate minutes of all Conference proceedings. The minutes of all meetings of committees of the Conference shall be kept by the Party Floor Clerk and shall be filed with the Secretary, which minutes shall be open to inspection by any member of the Conference. The Secretary and Floor Clerk, respectively, shall notify members of all Conference and committee meetings. In the absence of the Chairman, he shall have the same powers and duties to call meetings of the Conference as the Chairman.

The Floor Leader shall perform the customary duties of the Majority or Minority Leader, as the case may be, on the floor of the Senate, and shall have full authority to deal with all questions of procedure after consulting the Republican Senators who are concerned.

The Whip shall assist in securing attendance of members at Party Conferences and upon the floor of the Senate when their presence is considered necessary by the Chairman or the Floor Leader, and shall perform such other duties as the Chairman or Floor Leader may require.

The Policy Committee shall consider the legislative program in the Senate and the question whether any Party policy is involved, shall prepare and present recommendations for action by the Conference, and advise all Senators on legislative matters which they desire to present to the Policy Committee.

## *IV.*

A Committee on Committees shall be appointed at the beginning of each Congress to prepare and recommend to the Conference the complete assign-

ment of Republican Senators to committees, and shall recommend the filling of vacancies occurring during the Congress. The Committee shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference immediately after his election subject to confirmation by the Conference.

V.

A Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee shall be appointed at the beginning of each Congress by the Chairman of the Conference, subject to confirmation by the Conference.

VI.

No action by the Conference upon any matter pending or to be proposed in the Senate shall be binding in any way on members in casting their votes thereon.

VII.

These rules may be amended at any time by a majority vote of the Conference, providing notice of the amendment has been given at least 1 week in advance to every member of the Conference that action will be sought upon the subject covered by the amendment.

(Amended by the Conference, December 15, 1944, December 30, 1946, January 3, 1949, January 11, 1951, March 6, 1953, January 9, 1957, and July 11, 1961.)

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[January 10, 1962]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1962, AT 9:30 A.M. ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Conference was called to order at 9:45 a.m. by the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, Chairman of the Republican Conference, and he requested that the Secretary of the Conference, the Honorable Milton R. Young, call the roll.

Present 35:

Aiken	Cotton	Morton
Allott	Curtis	Mundt
Beall	Dirksen	Murphy
Bennett	Dworshak	Prouty
Boggs	Fong	Saltonstall
Bush	Goldwater	Scott
Butler	Hickenlooper	Smith
Capehart	Hruska	Tower
Carlson	Javits	Wiley

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Case, N.J.	Keating	Williams
Case, S. Dak.	Kuchel	Young
Cooper	Miller	

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Arthur E. Burgess.

Senator Saltonstall recognized Senator Norris Cotton who read for the information of the members of the Conference a resolution of condolence in regard to his late colleague, Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire. After completing the reading of the resolution, Senator Cotton asked for immediate action and a copy of the resolution is attached hereto. The Chairman asked all those in favor of the resolution to stand; all present stood, and the Chairman announced that the resolution was passed by unanimous vote.

The Chairman again recognized Senator Cotton who presented to the Members of the Conference his newly appointed colleague, Senator Maurice J. Murphy, Jr. Senator Saltonstall then extended to the newly appointed Senator words of greeting as well as stating that all would be glad to help him in his work and that he was among friends.

Senator Saltonstall recognized Senator Frank Carlson who read to the Members of the Conference a suggested telegram to be sent by the Secretary to his temporarily ill colleague, Senator Andrew F. Schoepel. The Chairman announced that it was unanimously agreed by those present that the message be sent and a copy of the telegram is attached hereto.

Senator Saltonstall then announced that the next order of business was the election by the Conference of a Chairman of the Policy Committee and he requested Senator Young to temporarily preside.

Senator Young assumed the chair and recognized Senator Jack Miller who after words of commendation placed in nomination the name of Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper. The nomination of Senator Hickenlooper was seconded with remarks by Senator Wallace F. Bennett and Senator Carl T. Curtis.

Senator Young recognized Senator Hugh Scott who after words of commendation placed in nomination the name of the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall. The nomination of Senator Saltonstall was seconded after further words of commendation by Senators George D. Aiken, John Sherman Cooper and Prescott Bush.

Senator Young announced that if there were no further speeches to be made, nominations would be closed. Nominations were closed. Senator Young appointed Senators Scott and Miller as Tellers and after ballots were distributed and collected, the Chair was informed by the Tellers that Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper had been elected as Chairman of the Policy Committee by a vote of 21 to 14.

The Chair recognized Senator Saltonstall who moved to make the election unanimous. The motion was put and the Chair announced the motion was agreed to.

Senator Young then recognized Senator Hickenlooper who spoke of his great and long-standing affection for Senator Saltonstall and thanked his colleagues for his election. He stated that he would call a meeting of the Committee for 3:00 o'clock that afternoon and would work for a vigorous and united Republican Party. He stated that the Committee would endeavor to serve all Senators and that a canvass would be made of the Membership to ascertain their particular views as to how best the Committee could function.

Senator Leverett Saltonstall assumed the Chair and announced that after consultation with Senators Everett McKinley Dirksen and Bourke B. Hickenlooper, as Chairman of the Republican Conference he would name Senator Frank Carlson as acting Chairman of the Committee on Committees, pending the return of Senator Schoeppel who is absent because of a temporary illness. The Chairman asked if there was any objection and there being none Senator Carlson was named as acting Chairman of the Committee on Committees.

The Chairman recognized in turn Senators Jack Miller, Everett McKinley Dirksen, Barry Goldwater, Jacob K. Javits, Francis Case of South Dakota, Carl T. Curtis, George D. Aiken and Hugh Scott, each of whom spoke briefly concerning the necessity for a better distribution of committee assignments and the hope that there might be some change in the present method of assigning committee vacancies by the seniority method.

At the conclusion of the brief discussion Senator Javits moved for the adoption of the following resolution:

That the Committee on Committees be requested to submit to the Republican Conference at an early date its suggestions and recommendations as to how best to proceed with the filling of future existing committee vacancies.

The Chairman put the question and announced that the resolution was agreed to.

Senator Saltonstall asked the Members of the Conference to rise and give a hand to their Minority Leader, the Honorable Everett McKinley Dirksen.

Senator Dirksen first asked all Senators to please participate in the eulogy to be held in the Senate for Senator Styles Bridges on January 17. He also stated that after a conference with the Majority Leader a reasonably fluid period had been agreed to for Lincoln Day speeches, namely, from February 8 through February 14 or 15, covering a period of six or more days.

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Senator Dirksen stated that the first order of business commencing on January 15 would be the DuPont bill which he expected would be before the Senate for ten days or two weeks.

He spoke concerning the expected message in regard to raising the debt limit—a message on civilian air raid shelters and one concerning the military budget. He then detailed the various subjects which had been discussed at the White House and by various officials of the Government as follows: medicare within the social security framework, feed grains, gold reserves, Cuba, foreign policy beginning with Southeast Asia and South America, Berlin, the Congo and United Nations bonds.

During the course of the discussion Senator Javits raised a question concerning an advisory task force to deal with a Republican position on foreign policy. Senator Dirksen stated that before anything was done he would wish to first meet with Members of the Foreign Relations Committee.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 11:32 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on January 15, 1962

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*

January 10, 1962

The Honorable Andrew F. Schoeppel  
United States Senator  
Bethesda Naval Hospital  
Bethesda, Maryland

THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE AT ITS MEETING TODAY REQUESTED THAT THE SECRETARY EXPRESS TO YOU DEEP REGRET THAT YOU COULD NOT BE PRESENT BECAUSE OF YOUR TEMPORARY ILLNESS  
YOUR COLLEAGUES SEND TO YOU THEIR SINCERE BEST WISHES AND HIGH ESTEEM AND WITH THE HOPE THAT YOUR RECOVERY WILL BE RAPID AND THAT YOU WILL REJOIN THEM SOON

Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Republican Conference

\* \* \*

Senator Norris Cotton of New Hampshire moved that the following resolution be adopted and the motion was seconded by Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen. The resolution was then unanimously adopted by the Republican Minority Conference on January 10, 1962:

**Whereas** throughout his twenty-five years of service as a Member of the United States Senate he rendered statesmanlike service to our Nation and to the State of New Hampshire, and

**Whereas** he was our affectionate friend and esteemed colleague, ever ready to give of himself, of his efforts, and of his wise judgment:

**Be It Resolved,** That we, the Members of the Republican Conference of the United States Senate, express our sense of great loss at his passing, and

Attest:

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE ACTING CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE FRANK CARLSON, FOR THURSDAY, JANUARY 18, 1962, AT 11:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The following Senators were present:

The following Senators were absent:

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JANUARY 10, 1962

Hickenlooper  
Case (S.D.)  
Wiley

Cotton  
Curtis  
Beall

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Arthur Burgess.

The Acting Chairman stated that the purpose of the meeting was to fill the existing vacancies in the Appropriations, Armed Services and Space Sciences Committees, and to assign committees to Senator Murphy who has been appointed after the death of Senator Bridges.

The Acting Chairman explained that the method of assignment was according to seniority and that each of the Republican Senators had been contacted in order. He proposed the following assignments;

Aeronautical and Space Sciences	Capehart	
Armed Services Committee	Goldwater—releases and Insular Affairs	Interior
Appropriations Committee	Case (N.J.)—releases	Labor and Public Welfare
Interior and Insular Affairs }	Murphy	
Labor and Public Welfare }		

The Acting Chairman expressed the hope that Senator Prouty might be helped in his committee assignments next year.

A general discussion was had regarding the seniority rule and committee assignments.

Senator Allott suggested a more equitable system of committee assignments would be—Each man in order of seniority make one choice of a committee. When each has made one choice then start at the top and go down for the second choice. Senator Keating agreed that such a plan would be more equitable but doubted that senior Senators would agree.

Senator Javits stated that the Democrats use to great advantage in campaigns the fact that their candidates will get good committee assignments if elected. Republicans have not been able to claim this.

Senator Javits suggested that the various plans (the Case (S.D.), Allott, Javits) for more equitable committee assignments be collected and discussed at a future meeting of this committee.

Acting Chairman Carlson agreed that such a meeting would be had.

Senator Boggs moved that the assignments as submitted be approved.

Senator Allott seconded the motion.

The motion was agreed to.



The Acting Chairman announced that the agreed to assignments would be submitted to the Republican Conference on Monday, January 22, 1962, for their approval.

The meeting was adjourned at 11:30 a.m.

[signed] William Brownrigg III  
Assistant Secretary for the Minority

Approved: Frank Carlson  
Acting Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE ACTING CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE FRANK CARLSON, FOR JANUARY 31, 1962, IN THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY FOR THE MINORITY, G-43,<sup>4</sup> SENATE WING OF THE CAPITOL, AT 2:30 P.M.

The Acting Chairman, Senator Frank Carlson, called the meeting to order at 3:10 p.m. The delay was occasioned by a voting situation on the Senate Floor.

The Members of the Committee present were as follows:

Case, S. Dak.	Carlson
Allott	Bush
Keating	Cotton
Javits	Curtis
Wiley	Boggs
	Beall

Also present was J. Mark Trice.

The Chairman stated that a quorum being present the purpose of the meeting was to make recommendations to the Conference as to those vacancies which were occasioned by the death of his colleague, Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel. The Schoeppel vacancies were Appropriations and Commerce.

He stated that he had contacted those Senators who were interested and was prepared to give to the Members of the Committee his recommendations. The recommendations were in accordance with requests made and in line with seniority practices and precedents.

He also called attention to the fact that the Committee had previously recommended to the Conference at its previous meeting certain recommendations in regard to the vacancies caused by the death of Senator Styles Bridges. These recommendations had not as yet been acted upon due to the fact that a Conference called for this purpose had been cancelled due to the death of Senator Schoeppel.

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<sup>4</sup>[Now S-337A.]

JANUARY 10, 1962

Senator Carlson recognized several Senators who expressed the opinion that no action should be taken at this time and the matter of making new assignments should be deferred until some action had been taken on the resolution introduced by Senator Francis Case of South Dakota in regard to making the Committees on Space and Government Operations major committees.

The question of deferring was discussed and thereafter Senator Jacob K. Javits was recognized who raised the question as to why two Republican Senators from the same State could not serve on the same committee. This matter was discussed at some length and it was generally agreed that this being a Conference matter, the Committee on Committees could, of course, raise the question and by motion present the matter to the Conference for its action. After several motions were made and rejected in regard to affirming the previous action of the Committee as well as the Committee approving the existing precedents in regard to Senators not serving on the same Committee, it was agreed by unanimous consent that the previous action taken by the Committee on Committees at its last meeting be rescinded.

The Chairman then informed the Membership of the requests that had been received and of the various releases and assignments which resulted therefrom. Those releases and assignments are as follows:

Capehart is assigned to Space.

Dirksen releases Interior and Insular Affairs and is assigned to Rules and Administration.

Goldwater releases Interior and Insular Affairs and is assigned to Armed Services.

Cotton releases Judiciary and is assigned to Appropriations.

Case, N.J. releases Labor and Public Welfare and is assigned to Appropriations.

Scott releases Public Works and is assigned to Judiciary

Keating releases Rules and Administration and is assigned to Commerce.

Miller releases Rules and Administration and is assigned to Public Works.

Murphy is assigned to Interior and Insular Affairs and Labor and Public Welfare.

Pearson is assigned to Interior and Insular Affairs and Rules and Administration.

After brief discussion it was moved and seconded that the previous listed recommendations of the Chairman be submitted to the Repub-

lican Conference as the recommendations of the Committee on Committees.

Senator Javits requested that the record show that he be recorded as “not voting” on the question of two Republican Senators not serving on the same Committee from the same State.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 4:25 p.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved:

[signed] Frank Carlson  
Acting Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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[February 1, 1962]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1962, AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Conference was called to order at 9:27 a.m. by the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, Chairman of the Republican Conference, and he requested the Secretary, Senator Milton R. Young, to call the roll.

The Chairman announced that a quorum was present.

Present 22:

Aiken	Cotton	Morton
Allott	Curtis	Murphy
Boggs	Dirksen	Saltonstall
Bush	Fong	Smith
Capehart	Goldwater	Tower
Carlson	Keating	Wiley
Case, S. Dak.	Kuchel	Williams
		Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Arthur E. Burgess.

The Chairman announced that the meeting was called for the purpose of receiving a report from the Committee on Committees to fill the vacancies caused by the sad deaths of Senator Styles Bridges and Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel.

Senator Saltonstall recognized Senator Frank Carlson, Acting Chairman of the Committee on Committees. Senator Carlson stated that the Committee had met and was ready to make its report, which was based on existing seniority rules and precedents which

FEBRUARY 1, 1962

were binding on the Committee. He then read for the information of the Members of the Conference the recommendations of his Committee which are as follows:

Capehart assigned to Space.

Dirksen releases Interior and Insular Affairs and assigned to Rules and Administration.

Goldwater releases Interior and Insular Affairs and assigned to Armed Services.

Cotton releases Judiciary and assigned to Appropriations.

Case, N.J. releases Labor and Public Welfare and assigned to Appropriations.

Scott releases Public Works and assigned to Judiciary.

Keating releases Rules and Administration and assigned to Commerce.

Miller releases Rules and Administration and assigned to Public Works.

Murphy is assigned to Interior and Insular Affairs and Labor and Public Welfare.

Pearson is assigned to Interior and Insular Affairs and Rules and Administration.

There had been placed before the Members detailed information as to changes listed above and a copy of the two information sheets are attached hereto as Exhibit A and Exhibit B.

The Chairman recognized Senator George D. Aiken who stated that he knew of a very unhappy and disillusioned member of the Republican Conference who had attempted in the past to yield his seniority for the benefit of other members but that he was still waiting to obtain the committees he desired. Senator Carlson stated that he was not happy nor was his Committee in regard to the matter but that with the seniority rules being followed the committees desired did not sift down the list. In response to a question asked Senator Aiken stated that the two committees desired were Commerce and Judiciary.

The Chairman recognized Senator John J. Williams of Delaware who stated that there always seemed to be a lot of talking and nothing in the way of action to help in those matters and that a stop should be put to the assignment of a third committee until all Senators had two major committees of their choice.

The Chairman then asked if there was any further discussion and there being none the question was put on agreeing to the motion made by Senator Carlson that the recommendations of the Committee on Committees previously listed be approved.

The Chairman put the question, announced that the “yeas” had it, and that the motion was adopted.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Carlson who stated that he was merely informing the Members of the Conference that a question had been raised in his Committee in regard to two Republican Members from the same State serving on the same Committee. He stated that this was a matter for Conference action and that in his opinion some time in the future the matter should be discussed and decided.

The Chairman stated that he hoped that the Committee on Committees would shortly report its recommendations in regard to a Resolution previously adopted by the Conference in regard to the filling of Committee vacancies.

The Chairman recognized Senator Carl T. Curtis who called to the attention of the Senators that when certain committee resolutions are up for adoption in the next day or two he will offer an amendment which will guarantee to the Minority one employee for every ten Majority employees with the top salary being paid in certain cases.

The Chairman recognized Senator Williams who spoke of the President's statement yesterday concerning a Congressional investigation by Senator Stuart Symington [Democrat of Missouri] in regard to what was referred to as a scandal in the stockpiling of strategic materials. The Senator stated he would shortly reveal all the facts and that in his opinion the Republican record was clear.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 10:00 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on February 6, 1962

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*

February 1, 1962

(Confidential)

#### **REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES**

Republican committee vacancies (5) and releases (7) totaling 12 are as follows:

*Vacancies:*

Appropriations (2)  
Armed Services  
Commerce  
Space

FEBRUARY 1, 1962

*Releases:*

Interior and Insular Affairs (2)  
Judiciary  
Labor and Public Welfare  
Public Works  
Rules and Administration (2)

The Committee on Committees recommends the following assignments:

Capehart	Space
Dirksen	Rules and Administration
Goldwater	Armed Services
Cotton	Appropriations
Case, N.J.	Appropriations
Scott	Judiciary
Keating	Commerce
Miller	Public Works
Murphy	Interior and Insular Affairs, Labor and Public Welfare
Pearson	Interior and Insular Affairs, Rules and Administration

*Recapitulation:*

Capehart is assigned to Space.  
Dirksen releases Interior and Insular Affairs and is assigned to Rules and Administration.  
Goldwater releases Interior and Insular Affairs and is assigned to Armed Services.  
Cotton releases Judiciary and is assigned to Appropriations.  
Case, N.J., releases Labor and Public Welfare and is assigned to Appropriations.  
Scott releases Public Works and is assigned to Judiciary.  
Keating releases Rules and Administration and is assigned to Commerce.  
Miller releases Rules and Administration and is assigned to Public Works.  
Murphy is assigned to Interior and Insular Affairs and Labor and Public Welfare.  
Pearson is assigned to Interior and Insular Affairs and Rules and Administration.

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February 1, 1962

(Confidential Worksheet No. 1)

**STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE**

Eighty-seventh Congress—2d Session

(To Be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

**Aeronautical and Space Sciences** (Ratio (10–5)

Mr. WILEY, Mrs. SMITH, Messrs. CASE, N.J., HICKENLOOPER,  
CAPEHART

**On Agriculture and Forestry** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. AIKEN, YOUNG, HICKENLOOPER, MUNDT, COOPER,  
BOGGS

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS (1961–1963)

**On Appropriations** (Ratio 17–10)

Messrs. SALTONSTALL, YOUNG, MUNDT, Mrs. SMITH, Messrs.  
DWORSHAK, KUCHEL, HRUSKA, ALLOTT, COTTON, CASE, N.J.

**On Armed Services** (Ratio 11–6)

Mr. SALTONSTALL, Mrs. SMITH, Messrs. CASE, S. Dak., BUSH,  
BEALL, GOLDWATER

**On Banking and Currency** (Ratio 9–6)

Messrs. CAPEHART, BENNETT, BUSH, BEALL, JAVITS, TOWER

**On Commerce** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. BUTLER, COTTON, CASE, N.J., MORTON, SCOTT,  
KEATING

**On District of Columbia** (Ratio 4–3)

Messrs. BEALL, PROUTY, MILLER

**On Finance** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. WILLIAMS, Del., CARLSON, BENNETT, BUTLER, CURTIS,  
MORTON

**On Foreign Relations** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. WILEY, HICKENLOOPER, AIKEN, CAPEHART, CARLSON,  
WILLIAMS, Del.

**On Government Operations** (Ratio 6–3)

Messrs. MUNDT, CURTIS, JAVITS

**On Interior and Insular Affairs** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. DWORSHAK, KUCHEL, ALLOTT, MILLER, MURPHY,  
PEARSON

**On the Judiciary** (Ratio 9–6)

Messrs. WILEY, DIRKSEN, HRUSKA, KEATING, FONG, SCOTT

**On Labor and Public Welfare** (Ratio 10–5)

Messrs. GOLDWATER, JAVITS, PROUTY, TOWER, MURPHY

**On Post Office and Civil Service** (Ratio 6–3)

Messrs. CARLSON, FONG, BOGGS

**On Public Works** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. CASE, S. Dak., COOPER, PROUTY, FONG, BOGGS, MILLER

**On Rules and Administration** (Ratio 6–3)

Messrs. CURTIS, DIRKSEN, PEARSON

FEBRUARY 1, 1962

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[March 13, 1962]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR TUESDAY, MARCH 13, 1962, AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the meeting to order at 9:38 a.m. and requested the Secretary, Senator Milton R. Young, to call the roll.

The Chairman announced that a quorum was present.

Present 24:

Aiken	Cotton	Mundt
Allott	Curtis	Murphy
Beall	Dworshak	Pearson
Bennett	Goldwater	Prouty
Boggs	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Bush	Hruska	Scott
Carlson	Javits	Tower
Case, N.J.	Keating	Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Arthur E. Burgess.

The Chairman then called attention of the Members of the Conference to the eulogies to be held for the late Andrew F. Schoeppel at 2:00 o'clock this afternoon.

He stated that the Conference meeting had been called after a conversation with Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper and Senator George D. Aiken in regard to the United Nations Bond Issue. Both Senators thought that a meeting would be helpful.

Senator Saltonstall, the Chairman, then requested that Senator George D. Aiken discuss the United Nations Bond Issue. In his remarks Senator Aiken gave the historical background of the Congo issue and he spoke of an advisory opinion to be rendered soon by the International Court of Justice in regard to the United Nations assessments on its members and the action recently taken by the Committee on Foreign Relations when it considered the Administration bill, S. 2768, which called for the purchase of \$100 million of United Nations bonds at 2 percent interest.

The Senator spoke of the action taken by the Committee on an amendment offered by himself and Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper which provided that the United States loan up to \$100 million for a period of three years to the United Nations at prevailing interest



rates. This substitute amendment had been defeated in the Committee on Foreign Relations by a vote of 8 to 7.

The Senator also stated that the Committee on Foreign Relations had finally compromised the measure by the adoption of an amendment by Senator Frank J. Lausche [Democrat of Ohio] which called for the purchase of 25 million of U.N. bonds with a matching formula of up to \$100 million.

Senator Saltonstall turned the Chair over to Senator Hickenlooper during the remarks of Senator Aiken because of his needed presence at a Committee meeting.

Senator Hickenlooper addressed the meeting and stated that the substitute proposed was a clean-cut proposition and would force the U.N. to put its house in order.

Senator Hickenlooper stated that he believed that the majority of the American people would like to see the U.N. continue but that if its member nations cannot be financially responsible then there was no question but that the United Nations would fail. He stated that the proposition presented by them would give the United Nations three years to find out whether they wanted the United States to continue to bail them out of their financial difficulties.

He stated that in his opinion while the Administration was supporting the 25 year issue he thought they would take the amended bill. He also stated that if the substitute 3 year loan failed on the Floor, he expected to offer a matching dollar for dollar proposition.

During the discussion of the United Nations bond issue a number of questions were asked and several Senators participated in the discussion.

The meeting was called primarily for a discussion of the issue and no attempt was made to ascertain the position of Senators.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 11:05 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on March 14, 1962

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

MARCH 13, 1962

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[April 3, 1962]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR TUESDAY, APRIL 3, 1962, AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the meeting to order at 9:40 a.m. and stated that a quorum was present. He requested the Secretary, the Honorable Milton R. Young, to record those Senators present.

Present 25:

Aiken	Dworshak	Miller
Allott	Fong	Morton
Bush	Goldwater	Prouty
Capehart	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Carlson	Hruska	Scott
Case, N.J.	Javits	Smith
Cooper	Keating	Tower
Dirksen	Kuchel	Wiley
		Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and David S. Teeple.

The Chairman stated that the purpose of the meeting was to discuss the compromise amendment in the nature of a substitute recently presented by Senators Everett McKinley Dirksen and Mike Mansfield to S. 2768, the United Nations Bond bill, and in the absence of Senator George D. Aiken who was temporarily detained, he recognized Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper.

The Senator spoke of participation by the White House with Senators Dirksen, Aiken and Mansfield and the reason for attempting to compromise the reported Committee version primarily due to the fact that the Aiken-Hickenlooper substitute would receive a maximum of 42 votes and a low of 32 or 33. It was the opinion of the Administration that if a strong vote was not recorded in the Senate on the measure there was a likelihood of the House defeating the entire proposition. He spoke of the terms of the substitute amendment which authorized an appropriation for the President of \$100 million for a loan to the United Nations, a provision in regard to the matching of all loans by other Nations over \$25 million, specific wording that this legislation was not an authorization for any future loan, and certain language to persuade other Nations to keep current on their payments. The Senator stated that he could not attend several of the meetings because of his absence in Iowa and he sug-

gested that Senator Dirksen inform the Membership by reason of his presence at the meetings.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Dirksen who stated that the problem at hand was to get the Administration “off the hook” because of a substantial vote against it in the Senate. He stated that he thought the substitute would do the job as effectively as it could be done, with the Appropriations Committee getting another look at it later.

He stated that there was a chance of retrieving our money by installment payments and the substitute presented a reasonable way to get the United Nations “off the hook” without going too far.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Aiken who had arrived during Senator Dirksen’s statement and the Chairman informed him of the remarks by Senator Hickenlooper. Senator Aiken stated that the compromise had been agreed upon by the White House after bypassing the United Nations and the State Department, and that the substitute would give to the President some leverage in dealing with the United Nations. It was his opinion that the present compromise was the best that could be arrived at.

The Chairman recognized Senator Hickenlooper who thought that the word “loan” in the fourth line of the amendment should be changed to “loans” and Senator Dirksen when recognized suggested the addition of a section which called upon the United Nations to report quarterly to Congress in regard to its fiscal condition.

The Chairman in turn recognized Senators Tower, Miller, Goldwater, Javits, Cooper, Bush, Scott, Hruska, Fong and Capehart who expressed varying points of view in regard to what the substitute did and did not do, namely, that bonds could be purchased under the term of “loan,” that in reality there had been no compromise as the President had always been willing to assume the responsibility, that the question of interest on any loan was questionable as well as the pay-back period, that the measure was a complete capitulation to the White House, that definite information should be obtained from the President as to whether the substitute represents a bond issue or a loan and that the substitute was an abdication of the position which the Republicans had previously asserted.

The Chairman recognized Senator Jacob K. Javits who thought that the proposition under consideration took the Republican Party “off the hook for wrecking the United Nations” and that by the President assuming the responsibility the process presented was the best under the circumstances.

The Chairman stated that he believed that because of the diverse views another Conference on the subject might be called but he would do so after consulting with the Minority Leader and Members

APRIL 3, 1962

of the Foreign Relations Committee who were actively interested in the subject matter.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Hickenlooper who presented to the Members of the Conference Mr. David S. Teeple who had been appointed by him as Staff Director of the Republican Policy Committee on April 1, 1962. The Senator stated that the Policy Committee Staff had been instructed to serve each Republican Member with impartiality. Mr. Teeple stood and the Members applauded.

The Chairman stated that without objection the Secretary would be authorized to send a message of good wishes to Senator Francis Case who had returned home from the hospital.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 10:39 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on April 4, 1962

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[May 2, 1962]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR WEDNESDAY, MAY 2, 1962, AT 9:30 A.M. ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the meeting to order at 9:45 a.m. and requested that the Secretary, the Honorable Milton R. Young, record those Senators present.

Present:

Aiken	Curtis	Miller
Allott	Dirksen	Morton
Beall	Dworshak	Mundt
Bennett	Fong	Prouty
Boggs	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Bush	Javits	Scott
Case, N.J.	Keating	Tower
Cotton	Kuchel	Wiley
		Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III, David S. Teeple and John Guy Miller who was present at the request of Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, Mr. Miller being Senator Dirksen's expert on the subject of Medicare.

The Chairman stated that the meeting was called at the request of Senator Jacob K. Javits with the approval of the Leadership, and that the meeting would be expository.

The Chairman recognized Senator Javits who stated that the issue of Medicare, in his opinion, was a hot issue and he raised the question as to whether or not we need to do something about it.

The comparison sheet, previously prepared by the Republican Policy Committee, "Comparison of Major Health Care Insurance Proposals for the Aging 1962," a copy of which is attached, was used by the Senator as a basis of comparison of the five or six proposals presently before the Congress. He compared their advantages and disadvantages and then fully analyzed his bill, S. 2664.

During the course of Senator Javits' remarks, the Chairman recognized Senators Cotton, Curtis, Bennett, Miller, Hickenlooper, Mundt, Bush, Curtis, Dworshak and Allott, who asked specific questions concerning various provisions contained in the respective measures.

Fear was expressed that by approving the program there was a risk of assuming community responsibility, that there was a possibility of the Government ultimately taking over the hospitals, the great possibility that each election year further benefits would be demanded and the possibility of jeopardizing the present Social Security program.

Senator Javits concluded his remarks by stating that he would be glad to cooperate with any of the Republican Senators in an endeavor to improve his bill and was willing to approve any sound plan.

The Chairman concluded the meeting by saying that he believed a full discussion of the measure had been helpful and that it was likely a further conference would be held on the subject matter when specific legislation was before the Senate.

The question was raised as to whether or not the prepared analysis sheet should be placed in the Congressional Record and it was decided it would be wiser not to have it included at this time.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dirksen who called to the attention of those present at the Conference that the Cloture Petition was now at the desk for signatures.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 10:55 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on May 7, 1962

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

MAY 2, 1962

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[The document prepared by the Policy Committee staff compared all of the programs side by side by gluing together several sheets of paper. They are presented here consecutively.]

*COMPARISON OF MAJOR HEALTH CARE INSURANCE PROPOSALS  
FOR THE AGING 1962*

*Kerr-Mills Program  
(Public Law 86-778)*

[Handwritten notation in margin: 22 states in it but only NY, Mass. & Minn. really "means test"]

<i>Coverage</i>	Approximately 10 million persons over 65 might meet the eligibility requirements. The number actually affected will depend upon the number of States participating, and the eligibility standards formulated by such States. (S. Rept. 1856, 86th Cong.)*
<i>How Many Benefit</i>	Each State could formulate its own eligibility standards within the State plan, except that benefits must be provided for residents of the State who: (1) have attained age 65, and (2) are not recipients of Old-Age Assistance, but whose income and resources are insufficient to meet the cost of the medical services listed below. Persons under age 65 or persons receiving Old-Age Assistance could not be made eligible under the State plan. The State plan may not require an enrollment fee as a condition of eligibility or impose a lien on the property of a beneficiary during his life or that of his surviving spouse.
<i>Benefits</i>	The State plan for medical assistance for the aged may specify medical services of any scope and duration, provided that both institutional and noninstitutional services are included. The Federal Government would share in the expense of providing the following kinds of medical services: (1) inpatient hospital services; (2) skilled nursing home services; (3) outpatient hospital or clinic services; (4) physicians' services; (5) home health care services; (6) private duty nursing services; (7) physical therapy and related services; (8) dental services; (9) laboratory and X-ray services; (10) prescribed drugs, eyeglasses, dentures, and prosthetic devices; (11) diagnostic, screening and preventive services; and, (12) any other medical care or remedial care recognized under State law.

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS (1961–1963)

[Handwritten note in margin: not certain of benefits until you seek them]

<i>Administration</i>	Participating States would be reimbursed for part of their expenditures under Federally approved State plans providing medical services to aged persons who are not recipients of Old-Age Assistance, but whose income and resources are insufficient to meet the cost of necessary medical services.
<i>Financing</i>	Federal sharing in State expenses under plans for Medical Assistance for the Aged would be determined according to an equalization formula based on State per capita income in relation to the national average and would run from 50 to 80 percent. There are no dollar limits beyond which no matching will apply. The States would receive in addition an amount to half of their administrative expenses under plans for Medical Assistance for the Aged.
<i>Total Cost 1st Year</i>	Estimated costs for the first year were as follows: Federal—\$60 million State—56 million

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Total—116 million (S. Rept. 1856, 86th Cong.)

\*As of January 1962, 25 States and 3 Jurisdictions had established MAA Programs as follows: Arkansas, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Puerto Rico, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Virgin Islands, Washington, West Virginia, Alabama, California, Connecticut, Guam, Maine, Pennsylvania and Vermont. Source—Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Press Release, March 28, 1962.

*Administration Bill (87th Cong.)*

*S. 909 (Senator Anderson and Others)*

*H.R. 4222 (Representative King)*

<i>[Coverage]</i>	(As of January 1963, see effective dates below) OASI eligibles—14.4 million Railroad Retirement eligibles—0.6 million
<i>[How Many Benefit]</i>	TOTAL—15.0 million All persons would be eligible for medical benefits who— (1) are age 65 or over; and, (2) are eligible to receive Social Security or Railroad Retirement benefits.
<i>[Benefits]</i>	Benefits would consist of payments to medical facilities for services rendered to eligible individuals. Such payments may be made for the following kinds of services: (1) inpatient care—90 days per benefit period subject to a deductible of \$10 per day for the first nine days, but not less than \$20; plus,

MAY 2, 1962

- (2) skilled nursing home care after transfer from a hospital—120 days per benefit period plus an extra two days of nursing home care for each unused day of hospital care, total nursing home care for each benefit period not to exceed 180 days, plus
- (3) home health services—240 visits per calendar year; plus,
- (4) outpatient diagnostic services—no durational limit, but subject to a deductible of \$20 per diagnostic study.

*Effective Dates*

Inpatient hospital services—October 1, 1962

Outpatient diagnostic services—October 1, 1962

Home health services—October 1, 1962

Nursing home services—July 1, 1963

*[Administration]*

Would provide medical benefits through the Social Security (OASI) mechanism for persons 65 or over who are eligible to receive OASI benefits, or Railroad Retirement annuities.

*[Financing]*

The cost in percent of the estimated level premium payroll (\$5,000 wage base) would be .66%. This cost would be met in two ways:

- (1) The amount of annual wages and earnings subject to Social Security payroll taxes would be increased from \$4,800 to \$5,000, effective in 1962; and,
- (2) Social Security and Railroad Retirement payroll taxes would be increased by 0.50% of taxable earnings, effective in 1963. (Increase equals 0.25% on employers, 0.25% on employees, and 0.375% on the self-employed.)

These changes in the tax structure would derive revenue equal to .60% of the present estimated level premium payroll (\$5,000 wage base).

*[Total Cost  
1st Year]*

The estimated total cost of providing medical benefits would be about \$2 billion per year on a level premium (long run) basis. The cost for early years would be slightly over \$1 billion.

*Javits Bill (S. 2664)<sup>1</sup>*

*[Coverage]*

All persons 65 and over who meet the retirement qualifications\* and who are not beneficiaries of medical care under old-age assistance or other Federal assistance medical programs.

*[How Many  
Benefit]*

12.3 million (as of 1963) estimated out of total age population of 16 million (est.)



[Benefits]	Eligible individuals may choose one of three optional programs: (1) preventive, diagnostic and short-term illness benefits with specified services; (2) long-term illness benefits with specified services; (3) private insurance benefits, under which the cost of a private insurance plan, up to a maximum of \$100 per year, is paid for. Benefits specified under the <i>preventive short-term care plan</i> : (1) 21 days of hospital care; (2) 63 days of nursing care less any days of hospitalization at a ratio of 3 nursing home days per hospital day; (3) physicians service for 12 days; (4) first \$100 of costs for ambulatory diagnostic, laboratory and x-ray services; and (5) 24 days of visiting nurse or other home health care services. Benefits specified per year under the <i>catastrophic long-term or chronic illness plan</i> —80% of the following costs, after payment of the first \$125 of medical expenses: (1) 120 days of hospital care; (2) surgical service, drugs and appliances, provided in a hospital; (3) 360 days of nursing home services less any days of hospitalization at a ratio of 3 nursing home days per hospital day; (4) full home health care services. <i>Private Insurance benefits</i> —payment to insurance carrier of premiums on a renewable private health insurance policy of which an eligible individual is beneficiary, up to \$100 per year.
[Administration]	By State under agreement with Secretary of HEW, or by the Secretary if he is unable to conclude an agreement: states to be reimbursed; they can augment benefits under same administration if they assume added costs.
[Financing]	Benefits would be paid from a Federal Medical Insurance Trust Fund. (1) Payroll taxes of employees and employers are increased 1/4 of 1% of first \$4,800 wages in 1963 each and 1/8 of 1% in 1972; for self-employed, 3/8 of 1% in 1963 and 3/16 of 1% in 1972. These increases derive the equivalent of 0.70% of payroll on a level premium (long run) basis. (2) For other retirees, by appropriation from general revenue.
[Total Cost 1st Year]	\$1,230 billion.

<sup>1</sup>This bill contains basically the same benefit, administrative and eligibility features as S. 937, which provides for general revenue financing. I introduced S. 937 on February 13, 1961, with Senators Cooper, Scott, Aiken, Fong, Cotton, Keating, Kuchel, Prouty and Saltonstall as cosponsors.

\*An individual would be “retired” if: (i) his income for Federal income tax purposes did not exceed \$3,000, or \$4,500 in combined income with his spouse, in his last taxable year; or (ii) he files a sworn statement that for taxable year in which he applies for health care insurance benefits, his income for Federal tax purposes will not exceed \$3,000, or \$4,500 for a married couple; or (iii) he had attained age 72.

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Source—Senator Javits' office.

*Bow Bill (H.R. 10981)*

[Coverage]

Everyone who reaches age 65 who wishes health insurance.

[How Many  
Benefit]

[Benefits]

Medical care insurance under a choice of policies, the minimum benefits of which are described as plans 1 and 2.

*Bow Plan 1*

(Payment of all charges is made by the insurance carrier)

Hospital room and board up to \$12 per day, and up to \$1,080 in a calendar year; other hospital charges including charges for surgical or emergency outpatient treatment up to \$120 in any calendar year. Convalescent hospital room and board up to \$6 per day, and up to \$186 in any 1 calendar year, following discharge from hospital. No home health services or nurses' fees. Surgical charges according to a fee schedule with a \$300 maximum. Diagnostic, laboratory, and X-ray services when hospitalized as above. Drugs used in hospitals.

*Bow Plan 2*

(Subject to a deductible feature with not to exceed 25 percent coinsurance)\*

Hospital room and board equal to charges for semi-private accommodations; other hospital charges including charges for surgical or emergency outpatient treatment. Convalescent hospital room and board up to \$6 per day, and up to \$540 in any 1 calendar year, following discharge from hospital. No home health services. Up to \$16 per day for registered nurse, and up to \$480 in any 1 calendar year. Surgical charges according to a fee schedule with a \$300 maximum, and \$5 per call for other than surgery or postoperative care. Diagnostic X-rays and other diagnostic and laboratory tests; X-ray, radium, and radioactive isotope treatment. Charges for drugs and medicines which require a doctor's prescription; blood or blood plasma not donated or replaced; anesthetics and oxygen; rental of durable medical or surgical equipment such as hospital beds or wheelchairs.

[Administration]

Secretary of Treasury

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<i>[Financing]</i>	Through tax credits for individuals who pay their own premiums or are covered by insurance paid for by near relatives or former employers, and through issuance of “medical care insurance certificates” for all others.
<i>[Total Cost 1st Year]</i>	Cost estimated to be comparable to other legislation, but difficult to predict because of lack (a) precise information on amount of deduction now taken by or for individuals over 65 which would be an offset against cost of tax credit; (b) knowledge concerning probable degree of participation. Estimated first-year cost—\$1.6 billion.

\* Payments of benefits may be subject to either (1) a deductible of not more than \$100 in a calendar year and a lifetime maximum of not less than \$5,000; or (2) a deductible of not more than \$200 in a calendar year and a lifetime maximum of not less than \$10,000.

Source—Representative Bow’s bill (H.R. 10981) and chart from Mr. Bow’s office on page 3953, Congressional Record, March 15, 1962.

*Lindsay Bill (H.R. 11253)*

<i>[Coverage]</i>	OASDI eligibles and over; also railroad retirees. 14.4 million OASDI beneficiaries and 0.6 million railroad retirees; also subject to State action and State eligibility standards, all those not covered by OASDI may be made eligible (about 2.9 million).
<i>[How Many Benefit]</i>	Minimum of 15.0 million as of end of 1963; subject to State action and State eligibility standards, any portion or all of an additional 2.9 million could benefit, or for a total of 17.9 million of the entire aged population.
<i>[Benefits]</i>	I. OASDI eligibles have an option to choose between (1) protection under a “Government Plan,” with same benefit structure as the King-Anderson bills (S. 909 and H.R. 4222), and (2) the right to a monthly cash payment provided that the individual is covered by a private health insurance policy or voluntary prepayment plan which has an actuarial value at least equal to that of the Government Plan. Any individual electing the private health benefits option would receive a monthly cash payment of \$8 per month (to be increased if actuarial value of benefits under Government Plan increases). He may choose any qualified private health insurance policy or private prepayment plan. He may assign his monthly cash payments to the carrier of his private health benefits plan.

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II. Individuals who are not covered by OASDI (including public assistance recipients) may be made eligible for the benefits of the Government Plan if their States wish to "buy-in" to the Federal program for them. A particular state would specify the eligible class of persons (setting whatever eligibility standards it wishes). When an eligible person enters a hospital or nursing home he will be treated in the same way as an OASDI beneficiary. Each State would reimburse the Federal Health Insurance Trust Fund periodically for the aggregate amount paid out in respect of its non-OASDI beneficiaries. States would be aided in reimbursing the Trust Fund by Federal grants from general revenues. These grants would be paid under the same formula as in the Kerr-Mills law, except that the Federal percentage share of the grants would be 5% greater than under the Kerr-Mills formula.

[Administration]

(1) *For Government Plan*: by Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, making agreements with providers of services and utilizing State agencies to determine qualification of services. (2) *For private health benefits option*: State Insurance Commissioners determine qualification of private health benefits plan for the monthly cash payment, under agreements with the Secretary of HEW; the Secretary issues regulations prescribing standards for determining actuarial equivalence. *State "buy-in"*: States determine eligibility; administration for the eligible class is same as for Government Plan. *All phases*: Secretary consults with Health Insurance Benefits Advisory Council, which includes at least four outstanding private health or prepayment plan experts.

[Financing]

*For OASDI eligibles*: Same as S. 909 and H.R. 4222, except that H.R. 11253 creates a separate health insurance trust fund rather than merging the two existing funds and the new health insurance programs. *For non-OASDI beneficiaries made eligible under State "buy-in"*: A combination of Federal, State and local general revenues. Federal percentage share of the cost in any State same as under Kerr-Mills law plus 5%. Costs depend entirely on action taken by States.

[Total Cost  
1st Year]

\$1.1 billion for OASDI beneficiaries.

*Blue Shield—Blue Cross Senior Citizens Program*

(Endorsed by the American Medical Association)

<i>[Coverage]</i>	<i>Blue Shield</i> —All 17.9 million persons age 65 and over, their spouses, and any children under 19 years of age. <i>Blue Cross</i> —All 17.9 million persons age 65 and over and surviving dependents.
<i>[How Many Benefit]</i> <i>[Benefits]</i>	Same as above.  <i>Blue Shield</i> —surgery either in a hospital or doctor's office; in-hospital visits up to 70 days per admission, up to 30 days of in-hospital doctor visits per year for tuberculosis and mental patients; anesthesia performed by physician who bills for services; nursing home care and one physician visit per week for 13 weeks for patients (other than tubercular or mental) who transfer from hospital to nursing home; diagnostic X-rays of accidental injuries taken in doctor's office or hospital out-patient department within 72 hours of accident, also diagnostic X-rays for hospital patients when ordered by attending physician, consistent with condition for which patient was hospitalized and performed by physician who bills for services; radiation therapy performed by physician; laboratory and pathological examinations done by attending physician. <i>Blue Cross</i> —70 days of hospital care in rooms of 3 or more beds including room and board, general nursing service, drugs, dressings; emergency accident care within 72 hours in out-patient department for surgical procedures, X-ray and radiation therapy. Care in chronic and rehabilitation hospitals and skilled nursing homes and visiting nurse service at home.
<i>[Administration]</i> <i>[Financing]</i>	Blue Shield and Blue Cross <i>Blue Shield</i> —paid in full for single persons with an annual income of \$2,500 or less, and for husband and wife whose combined income is under \$4,000. Others above income limit, pay any costs above those allowed for particular services. Estimated cost for plan: single person \$3.20 per month, husband and wife \$6.10 per month. <i>Blue Cross</i> —paid for by individuals at an estimated cost of \$10 to \$12 per month.
<i>[Total Cost 1st Year]</i>	No estimate for either plan.

Prepared by the Staff of U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Chairman, David S. Teeple, Staff Director

MAY 2, 1962

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[June 7, 1962]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR THURSDAY, JUNE 7, 1962, AT 9:00 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the meeting to order at 9:08 a.m. and requested that the Secretary, the Honorable Milton R. Young, call the roll and record those Senators present.

Present 28:

Aiken	Cotton	Miller
Allott	Dirksen	Mundt
Beall	Dworshak	Pearson
Bennett	Fong	Saltonstall
Boggs	Hickenlooper	Scott
Bush	Hruska	Smith
Carlson	Javits	Tower
Case, N.J.	Keating	Wiley
Cooper	Kuchel	Williams
		Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III, David S. Teeple and William B. Prendergast, Executive Secretary of the Joint Committee.

The Chairman announced that a quorum was present and that the purpose for today's meeting was to consider the report of the 1962 Joint Committee on Republican Principles titled "A Declaration of Republican Principle and Policy."

The Chairman also announced that without objection he would name Senator Maurice J. Murphy, Jr. and Senator James B. Pearson as members of the Committee on Committees. There was no objection.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper, who had served as co-chairman of the 1962 Joint Committee on Republican Principles, who suggested that the meeting recess for ten minutes in order to allow the members present to read the report, copies of which had been distributed for the first time. Senator Hickenlooper suggested that they not read the report to find specific statements on any subject as the Committee had attempted to prepare their recommendations as a blanket under which to live and a floor on which to stand. He said that attempts had been made to pattern the report for the benefit of the total membership of the House and

Senate and to boil it down to essentials. He stated that an attempt had been made to keep it as brief as possible. A number of suggestions had been received from President Eisenhower, President Hoover, various Governors, Senators and others. The Senator stated that he hoped the report would be read in that light and that no changes would be made by either the House or the Senate as any changes would have to be taken back to the House members and also that a press conference had been called for 1:30 today at which time a release of the report would be made if approved.

The Chairman recognized Senator Jacob K. Javits who raised a parliamentary inquiry as to whether or not the committee report would be subject to amendment and he was advised by the Chair that amendments would be in order.

The Chairman declared a recess until 9:27 a.m. in order that each member might read the submitted report.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Javits who raised several questions, one in regard to a statement made in regard to unemployment, another relating to foreign policy where the words “victory over freedom” were used, and another in regard to the section relating to United Nations voting where the words “to reflect population disparities” were used.

It was suggested that certain interpretations be made clear at the press conference which was to follow and after varying interpretations were given by Senators Kenneth B. Keating, John G. Tower and George D. Aiken, who had served as members of the committee, the language was left intact.

The Chairman recognized Senator Keating who stated that Congressman Melvin R. Laird’s [Republican of Wisconsin] idea was to include one or two gadgets in the report which would raise some questions and present new ideas.

The Chairman recognized Senator Thomas H. Kuchel who expressed the opinion that a firm statement should have been included, reaffirming the 1960 Republican Platform and he expressed the thought that the press would say the Party was veering to the right.

The Chairman recognized Senator Hickenlooper who stated that the Joint Committee made no attempt to re-write the 1960 Platform and that in his opinion no violence had been done to it. He said that an attempt was made to cover the various points by broad, basic statements and that while all the details would not satisfy each person individually, it was something that the Republican Members of the House and Senate could stand on.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Javits who raised the question as to how the motion of adoption was to be worded and after some discussion Senator Javits suggested certain words.

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Later the Chairman recognized Senator Roman L. Hruska who suggested that a slight modification be made in the wording but this suggestion was later withdrawn.

The Chairman recognized Senator Young of North Dakota who objected to the use of the word "massive" where it related to the land retirement program.

Other Senators were recognized by the Chairman who raised certain questions about specific language.

On motion of Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper the Chairman then read the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Republican Senatorial Conference approves the issuance of this report as a declaration of Republican principles and policy representing the consensus of Republicans in the Senate.

The Chairman put the question and after a "yea" and "nay" vote, the Chair announced that the report was agreed to. There was one negative vote recorded, and the Chairman recognized Senator Young of North Dakota who stated that he wished to explain his vote because it was based solely on the use of the word "massive" in regard to the land retirement program. As this was a political issue in North Dakota he stated he could not vote for the report for this reason.

The Chairman recognized Senator John Sherman Cooper who stated that while he had voted for the report he now wished to change his vote to "nay" because of his objection to some of the foreign policy language.

The Chairman recognized Senator Hickenlooper who requested that the members not release their copies as he did not wish to release the report until the House had agreed to it and the report was released at the afternoon press conference.

A copy of the report as approved is attached.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 10:50 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on June 7th, 1962

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority



EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS (1961–1963)

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A DECLARATION OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLE AND POLICY  
THE REPORT  
of the  
1962 JOINT COMMITTEE ON REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES  
Representative Melvin R. Laird, Chairman  
Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Co-Chairman

*Senate Members*

Sen. George D. Aiken  
Sen. Wallace F. Bennett  
Sen. Thruston B. Morton  
Sen. Kenneth B. Keating  
Sen. John G. Tower

*House Members*

Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen  
Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb  
Rep. Catherine May  
Rep. Charles E. Goodell  
Rep. James E. Bromwell

William B. Prendergast, Executive Secretary  
June 5, 1962

*A DECLARATION OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLE AND POLICY*

I. BASIC BELIEFS OF REPUBLICANS

Republican philosophy is rooted in the traditions of this land of ours—in the Declaration of Independence that made this country free, in the Constitution that has kept it free, and in the free men and women who have made it the greatest nation on earth.

Republican philosophy rests on the doctrines that the individual has a God-given dignity and that government exists to serve him.

We Republicans hold these five principles as basic beliefs:

*INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY*

We believe in the individual's right and capacity to govern himself—to set his own goals—to make his way to them without the restraints of dictatorship or paternalism.

*LIMITED GOVERNMENT*

We believe that the basic function of government is to maintain an environment in which the individual can freely develop powers of mind, heart and body with which his Creator endowed him. We believe that government should do for the people only the things they cannot do for themselves.

*DIFFUSION OF POWER*

We believe that the Federal government should act only when the people are not adequately served by state or local governments. We believe in separation of the powers of government. We believe in a system of checks and balances to prevent a monopoly of power in any branch of government.

*GOVERNMENT WITH A HEART*

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We believe that government must act to help establish conditions of equal opportunity for all people and to help assure that no one is denied the requisites for a life of dignity.

#### *GOVERNMENT WITH A HEAD*

We believe that government must prudently weigh needs against resources, put first things first, rigorously tailor means to ends, and understand the difference between words and deeds. The future will be built by those who work for it—not by those who only promise it.

#### *II. THE GREAT ISSUE OF 1962*

The vote cast by the American citizen in the election of 1962 should be his response to the question: Which party acts more effectively to preserve and enlarge human freedom?

The current Administration has shown little understanding of, or concern for, institutions that buttress freedom at home—separation of powers, checks and balances, state and local responsibility, and a free competitive economy.

It has demonstrated neither the wit nor the will to meet effectively the assault of international Communism on freedom.

We Republicans cannot witness the erosion of freedom without warning or protest. We propose a new direction for public policy in order to advance the cause of freedom at home and throughout the world.

#### *III. FREEDOM AT HOME*

In domestic policy, the most urgent national goal is steady economic progress with more and better products, more and better jobs, and a constantly improving standard of living for all.

Only with a vigorous economy can the cold war be won, education improved, slums eliminated, medical care expanded, and other urgent national goals achieved.

Only a free competitive economy will have the needed vigor.

The Administration's lack of sympathy toward a free competitive economy has been made plain by many of its principal advisors. They have expressed the pessimistic theory that the economy can attain a satisfactory rate of growth and avoid mass unemployment only through heavy-handed direction and control by government. They have argued that government must protect individuals from foolish spending by taking their money and spending it for them.

The incompetence of the New Frontier in economic policy is manifest. It has destroyed confidence. It has given the nation a multi-billion dollar increase in federal spending and is on the way to its third unbalanced budget. Under it the nation has had the highest annual unemployment, the greatest number of business failures since the great depression, and the slowest recovery from recession in the post-war period.

The oft-heard campaign cry "Get American Moving Again" has become a hollow echo.

*The Economy*

Republicans understand the workings of a free competitive economy. The present Administration does not.

We hold that American labor, business, industry, science and agriculture get the jobs done, pay the wages, and create the rising standard of living.

Government should encourage economic growth, particularly by fostering an environment in which Americans can earn, spend and save with confidence. It should not compete, nor fix wages or prices, nor substitute its decision for free bargaining in the market place.

The level of persistent unemployment which has existed under the present Administration cannot be tolerated. We believe in meeting unemployment with real jobs from the released energy of private initiative. Government should help to develop skills that fit workers for new jobs in a swiftly changing economy.

A thorough overhaul of the tax system to encourage production, build jobs, and promote savings and investment is overdue.

The economic responsibility of government requires a halt to the upward spiral of federal spending, especially for non-defense purposes. Waste must be eliminated, and all proposals for expenditure must be subjected to the most rigid test of necessity.

This responsibility requires more than lip service to a balanced budget and reduction of the federal debt.

This responsibility requires a stable dollar, which is not likely to result if control of the Federal Reserve System rests in the White House.

Government should exercise impartiality and forbearance when the immediate economic interests of management and labor come into conflict.

Above all, government must not become the partisan of any private economic interest. We want government to be pro-business and pro-labor. An anti-business or anti-labor orientation inevitably involves government in every conflict between management and labor and can only enfeeble a free-enterprise economy.

The productive capacity of American agriculture is a blessing. The present farm problem in large part was created by government. We reject the Administration's proposal which gives the farmer only a choice between regimentation and ruin. We advocate a shift in resources, encouraged by a massive voluntary long-term land retirement program, increased emphasis on new uses for farm products, and improved marketing and distribution practices.

Problems of surplus must be met by maintaining strategic food reserves, by expansion of programs to feed the needy at home and abroad, and by adjusting price supports to permit the development and growth of markets and to remove incentives for over-production. The ever-increasing maze of red-tape fences across the farms of this land must be torn down.

Government must encourage, not inhibit, the ingenuity and enterprise that produce scientific and technological progress.

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We advocate decentralization and competition in scientific effort. We favor continuation of a patent system that encourages risk-taking and creativity. In fields such as space exploration and atomic power (which should be swiftly developed), the preponderant role that government must at present assume should not shut out increased participation by private enterprise in the future.

*Government with a Heart—and a Head*

The Republican Party, which came into being to reassert the rights and dignity of the individual, strongly supports measures necessary to fulfill the promises of the Constitution. It made solid progress in the field of human rights during its administration and specified its objectives in its 1960 platform.

The right to vote is denied by fraud in the casting or counting of ballots as surely as by exclusion from the polls. Republicans urge vigorous investigation of fraud at the polls and recommend corrective action.

As in civil rights, so in immigration policy, Republicans take their pledges seriously. The failure of the present Administration even to request immigration legislation exposes their 1960 platform promises as a hoax.

Republicans seek to preserve the system that has provided the highest quality of hospital and medical care available anywhere on earth. We reject attempts to run a legislative bulldozer through the structure of voluntary health insurance and private medicine.

Effective tax relief for medical and hospital insurance should be given to all. We support government action to increase the coverage of voluntary insurance plans and to help older citizens having difficulty meeting the costs of adequate coverage.

Under a system of local responsibility for education, American schools—public and private—have given the nation a higher percentage of well-educated citizens than are found in any other nation of the world.

Every American youth should have the opportunity to receive an education commensurate with his ability. Selective Federal assistance is needed. Federal direction must never be substituted for local or private control of our schools.

Tax relief should be given to those who bear the burden of financing education for themselves or others.

Public Assistance programs should put a floor over the pit of poverty, never a ceiling on personal achievement. They should strive to equip individuals to become self-supporting. The qualified recipient, as well as the taxpayer, must be protected from the misuse of welfare funds.

*Federal-State Relations*

The federal system of the United States was designed to prevent excessive centralization of political power and to defend individual liberty at home. Without sacrificing efficiency, it gives to the nation flexibility and durability.

The national government should be ready to cooperate with states and localities, not elbow them aside or smother them with direction and control.

Neglect at any level of government is likely to result in the weakening of a federal system. For example, state and local governments must deal with the urgent problems of urbanized areas, or run the risk of federal control in these areas. Failure to eliminate the inequities in representation in state legislatures gives an impetus to further centralization of power in the Federal Government and ultimately in the Federal Executive.

#### IV. FREEDOM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

The world cannot permanently endure part Communist and part free. In a world dominated by Communism, liberty would become a luxury which Americans could not afford. Republicans believe that this nation, which has, under God, proclaimed liberty throughout the land, must now dedicate its strength to proclaiming freedom throughout the world.

In foreign policy, the overriding national goal must be victory over Communism through the establishment of a world in which men can live in freedom, security, and national independence. There can be no real peace short of it.

An active strategy aimed at victory does not increase the risk of nuclear war. Weakness and irresolution on the part of the United States—which could lead the Communists to underestimate the intensity of the devotion of free men to their freedom—are more likely to bring the world to hot war than are strength and firmness.

American strategy should be tested by this standard: If it advances the cause of freedom, do it. If it injures that cause, reject it.

By its effect on freedom, American foreign policy must be judged—and not by its effect on popularity polls or on the attitudes of neutral leaders.

Despite this nation's position as the most powerful on earth, the bankruptcy of its leadership was shown at critical times in the past year. It was shown in Berlin and Cuba. It was shown in the hesitancy to resume nuclear testing when our national security demanded it. It was shown in the bluster followed by whimpering in respect to Laos.

Republicans demand high-powered deeds, not high-sounding words. We want and expect the cause of freedom to win.

#### *Diplomacy*

The unity of the Free World has been shaken by the bewilderment and irresolution of the present Administration. It must be rebuilt to establish a new and closer relationship among free peoples. The United States must encourage and support regional movements toward economic and political cooperation among its allies.

The place of the United Nations in American foreign policy must be carefully reconsidered. To ask this organization to perform tasks which it is incapable of performing is not supporting the United Nations; it is hastening its death. This country's responsibility of Free World leadership must not be abdicated to the United Nations.

The United States must work to reorganize and revitalize the United Nations. Toward this end, it would be desirable to change the method of voting in the General Assembly and in the specialized agencies so as to reflect

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population disparities among the member states and to recognize relative ability and willingness to meet the obligations of the Charter.

The bandit leaders of Red China should neither be admitted to the United Nations nor recognized by the United States.

Peoples living behind the walls and barbed wire of Eastern Europe and Asia must be assured that Communist slavery is not their settled fate.

The United States should challenge the Soviet Union to swing open for at least one year the barriers that make all of Eastern Europe a vast prison in order to permit the inhabitants a free choice of their way of life.

The United States must help the young and the underdeveloped nations of Latin America, Asia and Africa which are groping for stability and freedom. In so doing, our nation need not—and should not—sacrifice the trust of old friends in Europe.

America should take the offensive in psychological warfare through an information agency more willing to attack Communist weaknesses and to speak affirmatively, not apologetically, of freedom.

#### *Trade and Aid*

The power of the bountiful American economy should be used to promote the goals of foreign policy. Expansion of Free World trade benefits all free nations. Achievement of this objective, however, can be realized only in the context of sound policies on the fiscal, monetary, and wage-cost-price front that will keep American products competitive. The Administration fails to view the problem of foreign trade as a whole.

Such policies will help to alleviate the balance of payments problem and to restore confidence in our currency abroad. In order to solve these problems, vigorous action to expand markets overseas is needed, and other prosperous nations must assume a greater share of the economic burdens of protecting and nurturing freedom throughout the world.

A shower of dollars on other lands does not by itself make those lands free or keep them free. Bountiful as it is, our economy is not inexhaustible.

Republicans, therefore, believe that the American program of economic aid must be recast so that it effectively serves the cause of freedom, without waste and within the sensible limits of careful priorities.

Demands for assistance by those who hang back from the struggle between freedom and slavery do not deserve the high priority that the pressing needs of freedom's friends should have.

Aid to our sister American republics is, by law, conditional upon progress toward development of free institutions. Aid should not be extended to any Communist state that will not accept equally stringent conditions.

#### *Military Power*

Republicans remain committed to maintenance of superior military force so long as the Communist drive for world conquest continues. The United States must never again be mousetrapped by false nuclear testing pledges. Now the nation must make up for lost time in the development of nuclear weapons.

Any disarmament plan must guarantee reliable inspection and assure sufficient strength, step-by-step, to defend against violations. This nation's arms control negotiators must never be tempted to gamble unrealistically with our country's security.

Efficiency throughout the Defense establishment is demanded. Increased unification is required where it enhances strength. We oppose it where it waters down service pride and spirit.

We oppose the take-over of operational responsibilities by armchair policy makers. Failure in Cuba has been traced to that trend.

Within the last eighteen months a Communist military base has been established ninety miles from the coast of Florida. The tragic timidity of those who withheld needed support from the Cuban patriots dispatched to free their country permitted the Communists to achieve their greatest triumph in a decade. We should never again tolerate such a failure.

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[June 25, 1962]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR MONDAY, JUNE 25, 1962, AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the meeting to order at 9:48 a.m. and requested that the Secretary, the Honorable Milton R. Young, call the roll and record those Senators present.

Present 18:

Aiken	Case, N.J.	Javits
Allott	Cooper	Keating
Beall	Cotton	Mundt
Bennett	Dirksen	Saltonstall
Bush	Dworshak	Williams
Carlson	Hickenlooper	Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and David S. Teeple.

The Chairman announced that a quorum was present and that the Conference had been called at the request of the Minority Leader, the Honorable Everett McKinley Dirksen.

The Chairman, in the temporary absence of Senator Karl Mundt, and on his behalf, presented a resolution in regard to the passing of Senator Francis Case. The resolution was unanimously agreed to by standing vote and a copy is attached hereto.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dirksen who stated that the Senate having been in session for approximately six months it was time

JUNE 25, 1962

to look down the road in regard to those legislative measures which would come before the Senate for consideration.

In regard to "must" legislation, he mentioned the appropriation bills, the debt ceiling resolution, corporate and excise tax extension, sugar legislation and the renegotiation act extension. He mentioned as "semi-must" legislation the public welfare bill, the tax revision bill, trade expansion and agriculture. Under the heading of "Wanted by the Administration" was legislation in regard to drugs and wire tapping.

Senator Dirksen discussed each piece of legislation previously mentioned and a number of questions were asked by the members present.

On the debt ceiling and trade expansion legislation, Senator Dirksen thought there should be some party position taken by the Republicans. In regard to medicare, Senators Jacob K. Javits and Prescott Bush stated that they would offer substitute proposals to the Anderson amendment. Some question was raised as to the wisdom of making a motion to lay on the table the Anderson amendment as such a procedure would not present an affirmative approach. The opinion was also expressed that an extended discussion would not present a position of dignity and strength.

The opinion was also expressed that Senator [Clinton P.] Anderson [Democrat of New Mexico] was willing to compromise the matter by including in the coverage those persons not under Social Security and also couple it with some kind of income test. Senator Kenneth B. Keating spoke of a statement by Senator Anderson which said that the only thing the Administration would insist upon would be the Social Security aspect but that it might be agreeable to have the program administered by Blue Cross and not HEW.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Javits for the purpose of ascertaining if he had reached any conclusions in regard to the subject of tax reduction. Senator Javits stated that he had reached the conclusion that any attempt made now to move for a tax cut would show us to be irresponsible but that some way should be devised to force the Administration to present their program now instead of next year. Senator Javits also thought that Republicans should develop an incentive tax cut program of their own and suggested that a bill might be prepared.

Senator Dirksen thought that the preferable approach would be to let the matter ride and keep the monkey on the President's back and make him ask for a tax cut.

There was general discussion as to what approach might be made insofar as the debt ceiling increase was concerned and as to what proper amount should be insisted upon. Senator Karl Mundt suggested that a Sense of the Senate resolution on the tax matter be



offered as an amendment to the debt ceiling bill or to some other legislation. Senator Hickenlooper thought that the Administration should be put on notice that they should not go over \$300 billion, and that expenditures should be tied in with any debt ceiling proposals.

There were no definite conclusions reached in regard to any of the subjects discussed, and the Chairman announced that if a further Conference was desired he would be glad to call one on the request of any member.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 11:13 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on June 28, 1962

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*

87th Congress  
2d Session

**Francis Case**

Senator Karl E. Mundt offered the following resolution in the Republican Minority Conference on Monday, June 25, 1962, which was adopted by unanimous action:

**Whereas** Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from us our beloved colleague, the Honorable Francis Case, late junior Senator from the State of South Dakota, and

**Whereas** throughout his twelve years in the United States Senate and fourteen years in the House of Representatives, he rendered to our nation and to his State a most distinguished service, and

**Whereas** he was our affectionate friend and our esteemed colleague, ever ready to give of himself, of his efforts, and of his judgment,

*Now, therefore,*

**Be It Resolved,** That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the Honorable Francis Case, express our sense of loss at his passing, and

**Further,** That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Mrs. Myrle Graves Case, that she may be assured of our deep respect for her and of our condolences to her upon the passing of our friend, her husband.

JUNE 25, 1962

Attest:

Chairman of the Conference  
Secretary of the Conference

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE FRANK CARLSON, FOR TUESDAY, JULY 17, 1962, AT 3:00 P.M., OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY FOR THE MINORITY, G-43, IN THE CAPITOL

Senator Carlson, the Chairman, called the meeting to order at 3:15 p.m.

The following Senators were present:

Carlson  
Allott  
Boggs  
Curtis

The following Senators were absent:

Hickenlooper	Cotton
Keating	Beall
Javits	Murphy
Wiley	Pearson
Bush	

Also present: Mark Trice, Secretary for the Minority

There was distributed for the information of the Members two sheets, one showing committee assignments of Senators by seniority and the other a prepared statement showing recommended releases and assignments. A copy of the assignment sheet is attached hereto.

The Chairman informed the Members present of the ground work he had done which had resulted in the committee changes which he recommended to the group for their consideration.

After brief discussion Senator Allott moved and Senator Boggs seconded that the recommendations made by the Chairman be adopted. The Chairman stated that without objection the recommendations would be adopted. There was no objection.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 3:22 p.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved:

[signed] Frank Carlson  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS (1961–1963)

\* \* \*

July 17, 1962  
(Confidential)

**REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES**

Republican committee vacancies (2) and releases (4) totaling 6 are as follows:

*Vacancies:*

Armed Services  
Public Works

*Releases:*

Commerce  
Public Works  
Interior and Insular Affairs  
Rules and Administration

The Committee on Committees recommends the following assignments:

Case	Armed Services
Prouty	Commerce
Murphy, Jr.	Public Works
Pearson	Public Works
Bottum	Interior and Insular Affairs
	Rules and Administration

*Recapitulation:*

Case releases Commerce and is assigned to Armed Services  
Prouty releases Public Works and is assigned to Commerce.  
Murphy, Jr. releases Interior and Insular Affairs and is assigned to Public Works.  
Pearson releases Rules and Administration and is assigned to Public Works.  
Bottum is assigned to Interior and Insular Affairs and Rules and Administration.

\* \* \*

7/16/62

87th Congress  
2d Session

(Confidential Work Sheet No. 1)  
**COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS OF SENATORS**  
(To Be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

**Additional  
Assignments**

1 Mr. WILEY—Satisfactory	Foreign Relations Judiciary Space	
2 Mr. AIKEN—Satisfactory	Agriculture and Forestry Foreign Relations	Joint Committee on Atomic Energy
3 Mr. HICKENLOOPER— Satisfactory	Agriculture and Forestry Foreign Relations Space	Joint Committee on Atomic Energy

JUNE 25, 1962

		<b>Additional Assignments</b>
4 Mr. CAPEHART—	Banking and Currency Foreign Relations Space	
5 Mr. SALTONSTALL— Satisfactory, but requests Space for Small Business Committee	Appropriations Armed Services	Small Business Com- mittee
6 Mr. YOUNG—Requests Space	Agriculture and Forestry Appropriations	
7 Mr. WILLIAMS— Satisfactory	Finance Foreign Relations	
8 Mr. MUNDT—Satisfactory	Agriculture and Forestry Appropriations Government Operations	
9 Mrs. SMITH—Satisfactory	Appropriations Armed Services Space	
10 Mr. DWORSHAK— Satisfactory	Appropriations Interior and Insular Affairs	Joint Committee on Atomic Energy
11 Mr. CARLSON— Satisfactory	Finance Foreign Relations Post Office and Civil Service	
12 Mr. DIRKSEN— Satisfactory	Judiciary Rules and Administration	
13-2 Mr. BENNETT— Satisfactory	Banking and Currency Finance	Joint Committee on Atomic Energy
13-2 Mr. BUTLER— Satisfactory	Commerce Finance	Joint Economic Com- mittee
14 Mr. BUSH—Requests Appropriations	Armed Services Banking and Currency	Joint Economic Com- mittee
15 Mr. KUCHEL— Satisfactory	Appropriations Interior and Insular Affairs	Small Business Com- mittee
16 Mr. BEALL—Requests Commerce	Armed Services Banking and Currency District of Columbia	
17 Mr. GOLDWATER— Requests Space	Armed Services Labor and Public Welfare	
18 Mr. COTTON— Satisfactory	Appropriations Commerce	
19 Mr. HRUSKA— Satisfactory	Appropriations Judiciary	
20 Mr. CURTIS— Satisfactory	Finance Government Operations Rules and Administration	
21 Mr. CASE—Requests (1) Foreign Relations; (2) Armed Services	Appropriations Armed Services Space	
22 Mr. ALLOTT— Satisfactory	Appropriations Interior and Insular Affairs	
23 Mr. COOPER— Satisfactory, requests Space	Agriculture and Forestry Public Works	Small Business Com- mittee

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS (1961–1963)

		<b>Additional Assignments</b>
24 Mr. MORTON— Satisfactory	Commerce Finance	
25 Mr. JAVITS—Requests Space for Government Operations	Banking and Currency Government Operations Labor and Public Welfare	Small Business Com- mittee Joint Economic Com- mittee
26 Mr. SCOTT—Requests (1) Appropriations; (2) Armed Services	Commerce Judiciary	Small Business Com- mittee
27 Mr. KEATING— Requests (1) Appropriations; (2) Foreign Relations; (3) Armed Services; (4) Government Operations	Commerce Judiciary	
28 Mr. PROUTY— Requests (1) Appropriations; (2) Commerce; (3) Space; (4) any other major.	District of Columbia Commerce Labor and Public Welfare	Small Business Com- mittee
29 Mr. FONG—	Judiciary Post Office and Civil Service Public Works	
30 Mr. BOGGS— Requests (1) Appropriations; (2) Armed Services; (3) Judiciary; (4) Rules and Administration	Agriculture and Forestry Post Office and Civil Service Public Works	
31 Mr. MILLER— Requests (1) Finance; (2) Armed Services; (3) Appropriations; (4) Judiciary; (5) Government Operations; (6) Agriculture and Forestry	District of Columbia Interior and Insular Affairs Public Works	
32 Mr. TOWER—Requests Commerce	Banking and Currency Labor and Public Welfare	
33 Mr. MURPHY, Jr.—	Labor and Public Welfare Public Works	
34 Mr. PEARSON—	Interior and Insular Affairs Public Works	
35 Mr. BOTTUM—	Interior and Insular Affairs Rules and Administration	

JULY 18, 1962

[July 18, 1962]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR WEDNESDAY, JULY 18, 1962, AT 12:30 P.M., ROOM F-41, CAPITOL BUILDING

The Conference was held in conjunction with the Policy Committee meeting called for the same time and Chairman Bourke B. Hickenlooper suspended the Policy meeting at 1:25 p.m. in order that Senator Leverett Saltonstall could resolve the meeting into a Conference.

Chairman Saltonstall called the Conference to order at 1:25 p.m. and the following Senators were present:

Present 33:

Aiken	Cotton	Morton
Allott	Curtis	Mundt
Beall	Dirksen	Murphy
Bennett	Dworshak	Pearson
Boggs	Fong	Prouty
Bottum	Goldwater	Saltonstall
Bush	Hickenlooper	Scott
Capehart	Hruska	Tower
Carlson	Javits	Wiley
Case	Keating	Williams
Cooper	Miller	Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III, David S. Teeple, Bryan La Plante and Robert Humphries.

The Chairman stated that the purpose of the Conference was to confirm recommendations of the Committee on Committees in regard to the vacancies created by the death of the late Senator Francis Case.

The Chairman recognized Senator Frank Carlson, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, who recommended that the following Committee appointments be adopted:

Senator Clifford P. Case to Armed Services  
Senator Winston L. Prouty to Commerce  
Senator Maurice J. Murphy, Jr. to Public Works  
Senator James B. Pearson to Public Works  
Senator Joe H. Bottum to Interior and Insular Affairs and  
Rules and Administration

Senator Carlson's Committee recommended that Senator Case release Commerce, that Senator Prouty release Public Works, that Senator Murphy release Interior and Insular Affairs and that Senator Pearson release Rules and Administration.

It was moved and seconded that the recommendations submitted by Senator Carlson be adopted and, there being no objection, the report was adopted.

Chairman Saltonstall then nominated Senator Joe H. Bottum for appointment to the Committee on Committees and stated that without objection the nomination would be confirmed. There was no objection.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 1:28 p.m. and the meeting of the Policy Committee continued.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

[signed] Leverett Saltonstall

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on July 20, 1962

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE FRANK CARLSON, FOR WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8, 1962, AT 11:30 A.M., OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY FOR THE MINORITY, G-43, IN THE CAPITOL

The Chairman, Senator Frank Carlson, called the meeting to order at 11:40 a.m. and stated that the meeting would proceed provided that the question of a quorum was not raised.

The following Senators were present:

Carlson	Boggs
Javits	Bottum

The following Senators were absent:

Hickenlooper	Wiley	Curtis
Allott	Bush	Beall
Keating	Cotton	Murphy
		Pearson

Also present: Mark Trice, Secretary for the Minority

There was distributed for the information of the Members two sheets, one showing committee assignments of Senators by seniority and the other a prepared statement showing recommended releases and assignments. A copy of the assignment sheet is attached hereto.

The Chairman informed the Members present of the ground work he had done which had resulted in the committee changes which he recommended to the group for their consideration.

JULY 18, 1962

After brief discussion it was moved and seconded that the recommendations made by the Chairman be adopted. The Chairman stated that without objection the recommendations would be adopted. There was no objection.

The Chairman recognized Senator Jacob K. Javits who congratulated the Chairman on the fine job that he had done in working out the Committee assignments.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 11:50 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved:

[signed] Frank Carlson  
Chairman of the Committee on Committees

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[August 8, 1962]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8, 1962, AT 12:30 P.M., ROOM F-41, CAPITOL BUILDING

The Conference was held in conjunction with the Policy Committee meeting called for the same time and Chairman Bourke B. Hickenlooper suspended the Policy meeting at 1:10 p.m. in order that Senator Leverett Saltonstall could resolve the meeting into a Conference.

Chairman Saltonstall called the Conference to order at 1:10 p.m. and stated that the roll would not be called because the Secretary, the Honorable Milton R. Young had informed him that a quorum was present.

Present:

Aiken	Carlson	Kuchel
Allott	Cotton	Prouty
Beall	Dirksen	Saltonstall
Boggs	Fong	Scott
Bush	Hickenlooper	Tower
Butler	Hruska	Wiley
Capehart	Jordan	Williams
		Young

Also present were John A. McCone, J. Mark Trice and William Brownrigg III.



The Chairman stated that the purpose of the Conference was to confirm the recommendations of the Committee on Committees in regard to the vacancies created by the death of the late Senator Henry Dworshak.

The Chairman recognized Senator Frank Carlson, Chairman of the Committee on Committees, who recommended that the following Committee appointments be approved by the Conference:

That Senator Javits release the Committee on Banking and Currency and be assigned to the Committee on Appropriations

That Senator Murphy release the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and be assigned to the Committee on Banking and Currency and

That Senator Jordan of Idaho be assigned to service on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

The Chairman then asked if there was any discussion as to the recommendations of the Committee on Committees. There was none. The Chairman then put the question and the report was adopted unanimously.

The Chairman recommended that Senator Len B. Jordan be made a member of the Conference Committee on Committees and stated that without objection the appointment would be approved. There was no objection.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 1:12 p.m. and the meeting of the Policy Committee continued.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

[signed] Leverett Saltonstall

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on August , 1962

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*

(August 8, 1962)

(Confidential)

#### **REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES**

Republican committee vacancies (2) and releases (2) totaling 4 are as follows:

*Vacancies:*

Appropriations  
Interior and Insular Affairs

*Releases:*

AUGUST 8, 1962

Banking and Currency  
Labor and Public Welfare

The Committee on Committees recommends the following assignments:

Javits	Appropriations
Murphy	Banking and Currency
Jordan	Interior and Insular Affairs
	Labor and Public Welfare

*Recapitulation:*

Javits releases Banking and Currency and is assigned to Appropriations.

Murphy releases Labor and Public Welfare and is assigned to Banking and Currency.

Jordan is assigned to Interior and Insular Affairs and to Labor and Public Welfare.

## **Eighty-eighth Congress (1963–1965)**

[Editor's Note: After the 1962 elections, Republicans continued in the minority, with 34 Senate Republicans facing 66 Democrats, while the House had 176 Republicans to 259 Democrats. In the Senate, Everett Dirksen continued as Republican minority leader, with Leverett Saltonstall as Conference chairman, and Bourke Hickenlooper as chairman of the Policy Committee.

During 1963 pressure increased in the country for civil rights legislation, culminating in August with the massive "March on Washington" led by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Also in August 1963, the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union signed the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty ending tests in the atmosphere, which the Senate approved in September. Then in November the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in Dallas shocked the nation and made Lyndon B. Johnson president.

In August 1964 Congress adopted the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, escalating the war in Vietnam, as well as passing the Economic Opportunity Act, launching President Johnson's War on Poverty. That spring Congress was also considering the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which was stymied in the Senate by a lengthy southern filibuster. Minority Leader Dirksen played a key role in moving the measure forward when he helped to redraft certain controversial provisions in the bill to make it more palatable to many of his fellow Republicans. Calling civil rights "an idea whose time has come," he urged his colleagues to vote for cloture to end the filibuster. With his support, the Senate on June 10 voted cloture on a civil rights bill for the first time. After approval by both houses, the president signed the legislation on July 2.]

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[January 8, 1963]

### **MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR TUESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1963, AT 2:30 P.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING**

The Conference was called to order at 2:35 p.m. by the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, Chairman of the Republican Conference for the 87th Congress, and he suggested that the photographers present use the next few minutes to take any pictures that they desired. Several minutes later the Chairman asked that the photographers leave the room.

The Chairman then asked that Senator George D. Aiken act as Temporary Chairman of the Conference.

JANUARY 8, 1963

Senator Aiken assumed the Chair and announced that the Conference would proceed with business.

The Temporary Chairman recognized Senator Barry Goldwater for the purpose of introducing to the Members of the Conference the three new Republican Senators. After a few brief words Senator Goldwater introduced in turn Senators E.L. Mechem, Peter H. Dominick and Milward L. Simpson. The Members rose and applauded as each one was introduced.

The Acting Chairman asked Senator Wallace F. Bennett to act as Temporary Secretary and asked him to call the roll in order that a quorum might be established.

Present 32:

Aiken	Dominick	Mundt
Allott	Goldwater	Pearson
Beall	Hickenlooper	Prouty
Bennett	Hruska	Saltonstall
Boggs	Javits	Scott
Carlson	Jordan	Simpson
Case	Keating	Smith
Cooper	Kuchel	Tower
Cotton	Mechem	Williams
Curtis	Miller	Young
Dirksen	Morton	

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and David S. Teeple.

The Temporary Chairman announced that the first order of business would be the election of a Conference Chairman and he recognized Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen who nominated Senator Leverett Saltonstall for the position of Chairman of the Conference. The nomination was seconded by several Senators.

The Chairman asked if there were other nominations and there being none the vote was put and after an affirmative vote the Acting Secretary was authorized to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Saltonstall as Chairman of the Conference. The Secretary announced that he had cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Saltonstall.

Senator Saltonstall then assumed the Chair and after expressing words of appreciation to the Members of the Conference for the honor of being once again elected as their Chairman, he announced that nominations would be in order for the office of Secretary of the Conference. The Chairman recognized Senator Karl E. Mundt who placed in nomination the name of Senator Milton R. Young to be Secretary of the Conference.

The Chairman asked if there were other nominations and there being none he stated that without objection Senator Milton R. Young

was elected Secretary of the Conference and he requested the Temporary Secretary to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Young as Secretary of the Conference. The Temporary Secretary announced that he had cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Young.

The Chairman then announced that nominations were in order for Chairman of the Policy Committee and the Chairman recognized Senator Jack Miller who placed in nomination the name of Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper. The Chairman asked if there were other nominations and there being none the Chairman announced that Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper was elected to the post of Chairman of the Policy Committee.

The Secretary was authorized to cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Hickenlooper as Chairman of the Policy Committee. The Secretary announced that he had cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Hickenlooper.

The Chairman recognized Senator Hickenlooper who expressed his sincere thanks for his election and for the honor which had been bestowed upon him and stated that just as soon as he could discuss the matter with the new Policy Committee the Members would be given a full report of the activities and services of the Committee.

The Chairman then announced that nominations would be in order for Floor Leader and recognized Senator Roman L. Hruska who placed in nomination the name of Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen.

The Chairman asked if there were other nominations and there being none he stated that without objection Senator Dirksen was elected Floor Leader. The Secretary was asked to cast a unanimous ballot. The Secretary announced that he had cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Dirksen.

The Chairman then announced that nominations would be in order for Whip and recognized Senator Aiken who placed in nomination the name of Senator Thomas H. Kuchel.

The Chairman asked if there were other nominations and there being none the Chairman announced that Senator Thomas H. Kuchel was elected Whip. The Secretary was asked to cast a unanimous ballot. The Secretary announced that he had cast a unanimous ballot for Senator Kuchel.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Aiken who offered for immediate action a resolution praising Senator Barry Goldwater, the retiring Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee. Senator Aiken read the resolution, a copy of which is attached hereto, identified as Exhibit "A."

The Chairman then recognized Senator Jacob K. Javits who spoke briefly in favor of the resolution and stated that he only did so in

JANUARY 8, 1963

the light of one who had expressed some opinions two years ago when the office of Chairman of the National Senatorial Committee was to be filled. He praised Senator Goldwater for his fairness and his discretion in the distribution of funds and for his competency.

The Chairman asked that all in favor of the resolution stand. All present stood and applauded. The Chairman announced that the resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dirksen who stated that due to the fact that Senator Carl Hayden must be re-elected, it was necessary for the Senate to pass a resolution re-electing him President Pro Tempore of the Senate. Therefore, he thought that the Republican Conference should submit a candidate for that office and he placed in nomination the name of Senator George D. Aiken of Vermont.

There being no other nominations the Chairman asked for the "yeas" and "nays" and those in favor were unanimous.

The Chairman announced that the name of Senator George D. Aiken be submitted to the Senate by Senator Dirksen at the proper time.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Dirksen for his Legislative Report. Senator Dirksen stated there would be a conference at the White House to which the Leadership had been invited at 5:30 p.m.

In regard to what might be expected this session, Senator Dirksen said that all fiscal legislation would be on the docket, namely, Tax Reform, Debt Ceiling and Deficit Spending together with the United Nations problems, Cuba, the Common Market and Missiles.

He spoke of the large amount of money being spent on missiles. A question he said was raised in his mind as to whether or not it could be a menace to the economy.

He suggested that a close look be taken at the lack of Administrative action in regard to the Hickenlooper amendment to the AID bill.

Other legislative matters are Foreign Aid, Asia, legislation regarding the Illiteracy Test Bill which would arise early in the session, together with Mass Transportation. He spoke of the National Service Corporation and a letter he had written to the Retirement Board in regard to a \$37 billion deficit in the Trust Funds, as well as legislation concerning Strikes and the Minority Staffing on the Committees in Congress. He suggested that any ideas on this subject be submitted to the Committee on Rules.

He spoke of a conversation with the Majority Leader in regard to committee ratios and gave a tentative listing of the proposed new ratios for the standing committees. He stated that under consideration was the question of making the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences and Government Operations major committees and changing the Committee on Rules to a minor one. Also, the pro-

posals of increasing the members on Appropriations by two and reducing the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry by two. These matters had not been definitely resolved but will be in a few days.

He also called to the attention of the Conference a proposal to announce early in the session specific times when the Senate would not be in session during holidays and specific periods. It was also suggested that a summer recess be taken from August 3 to September 4 or an alternate one from August 3 to November 5. Also suggested was that the daily sessions of the Senate be confined to Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, starting at 9:30 a.m. and continuing through the day with a recess for lunch from 12:30 to 2:00 p.m. Senate committees would then be free to meet all day on Monday, Friday and Saturday. There was a good bit of discussion and many questions asked. Senator Dirksen stated that he wished to get the thinking of the Members present and asked that they give it some thought and let him know in the next day or two as to their further thinking in the matter.

The Chairman stated that the matter was something which should be thought over and that any definite program must come from the Democratic side.

Senator Dirksen then spoke of the opening day program and stated that all rights had been reserved in regard to the contemplated action on the Rules change which had been set for Tuesday the fifteenth. The President's Message on the State of the Union had been fixed for Monday the fourteenth and that there would be no Senate business for the remainder of this week.

Senator Dirksen also asked the Republican Members to start action in their respective States in regard to the Poll Tax Amendment. He also read a letter from the Chairman of the National Republican Finance Committee in regard to having speeches cleared through the Speakers Bureau of the Republican National Committee.

During the course of Senator Dirksen's report Senator Javits raised a parliamentary inquiry in regard to appointments to committees under the Conference rules.

The Chairman stated that under the rules he would nominate Senators for the respective chairmanships and membership on the various committees and at some future Conference they would be presented for confirmation. Senator Javits also raised a question regarding the submittal of two resolutions which he later presented and they are attached hereto as Exhibit "B" and "C."

The Chairman stated that they would not be eligible for Conference action until they had been referred to the respective committees and then at a later date when the Committees reported to the Conference, action could be taken at that time.

JANUARY 8, 1963

The resolution of Senator Javits in regard to [adding] the Committee on Government Operations and that of the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences to the list of standing committees was referred to the Policy Committee, and his resolution relating to a new approach in assigning Senators to Committees was referred to the Committee on Committees.

There was a brief discussion in regard to contemplated changes in regard to Rule XXII and the Chairman stated that full opportunity would be given for discussion as a subsequent Conference.

Senator Hickenlooper stated there was available for each Senator a complete brief on the Rules question. Senator Dirksen also called to the attention of the Membership that other memorandums on the subject were available, one by the Parliamentarian and one by the groups seeking changes.

It was tentatively agreed that if matters of importance were raised at the White House meeting which would warrant another meeting of the Conference, one would be scheduled for 2:30 p.m. on Wednesday but, if not, then a Conference would be called for Monday morning, January 14, 1963.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 3:55 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on January 11, 1963

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*  
Exhibit "A"

88th Congress  
1st Session

### **Barry Goldwater**

Senator George Aiken moved that the following resolution be adopted. The resolution was then adopted by the unanimous action of the Republican Minority Conference on Tuesday, January 8, 1963.

**Resolved,** That the individual members of the Republican Minority Conference of the United States Senate express to their esteemed colleague, the Honorable Barry Goldwater, United States Senator from the State of Arizona, their high regard and sincere appreciation for his inspiring leadership, his tireless efforts, and his dedicated devotion to them and to the Republican Party as Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee from January 5, 1961 to January 8, 1963: Be it further

**Resolved,** That this Republican Conference express its congratulations to Senator Barry Goldwater for the fact that during his leadership of the Na-



tional Republican Senatorial Committee there was a gratifying demonstration of Republican unity, of Republican strength, and of Republican purpose that augurs well for the future success of the Republican Party.

Attest: Chairman, Republican Conference

Attest: Secretary, Republican Conference

\* \* \*

Exhibit "B"

Resolution submitted by Mr. Javits to the Republican Conference on January 8, 1963, and referred by the Chairman to the Committee on Committees

Resolved, That the Republican Senate Conference refers to its Committee on Committees the question of the desirability of initiating a policy, notwithstanding the rule of seniority, of assigning each Republican Senator to at least one standing Senate committee which is generally considered to be of major rank, of assigning third committee places among Republican Senators and generally of serving the best interests of the Party and the Nation in committee assignments; the Committee on Committees to report to the Conference no later than the time of its initial recommendation for committee places in this Congress.

\* \* \*

Exhibit "C"

Resolution submitted by Mr. Javits to the Republican Conference on January 8, 1963, and referred by the Chairman to the Policy Committee

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Republican Senate Conference that the Minority Leader confer with the Majority Leader on the question of bipartisan leadership action to amend Rule 25, Clause 4, of the Standing Rules of the Senate so as to add the Committee on Government Operations and the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences to the list of standing committees on only two of which each Senator may serve.

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[January 14, 1963]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR MONDAY, JANUARY 14, 1963, AT 9:45 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the meeting to order at 9:55 a.m. and due to the temporary illness of the Secretary, Senator Milton R. Young, the Chairman appointed Senator Wallace F. Bennett to act as Temporary Secretary and requested that the roll be called.

Present 30:

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Aiken	Dominick	Miller
Allott	Fong	Morton
Beall	Goldwater	Mundt
Bennett	Hickenlooper	Pearson
Boggs	Hruska	Saltonstall
Carlson	Javits	Scott
Case	Jordan	Simpson
Cooper	Keating	Smith
Cotton	Kuchel	Tower
Dirksen	Mechem	Williams

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and David S. Teeple.

The Chairman announced that a quorum was present and he submitted for Conference approval his nominees for the respective Conference committees. A list showing the names of the respective nominees was distributed to the Members present and the Chairman asked if there was any discussion. There was no discussion and the Chairman recognized Senator Gordon Allott who moved that the Conference confirm the nominees submitted.

The Chairman then called for the "yeas" and "nays" and there being no voice in the negative, the Chairman announced that the nominations were confirmed.

There is attached hereto as Exhibit "A" the list of nominees submitted by the Chairman.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, the Minority Leader, who stated that he had been informed by the Majority Leader that the Democratic Conference had named a committee of six to consider and make recommendations in regard to suggestions previously submitted concerning firm dates for holidays and a possible summer recess. Senator Dirksen recommended that a like committee be appointed by the Chairman of the Republican Conference and he moved that a committee of four be appointed by the Chairman. The motion was carried and the Chairman appointed Senators Dirksen, Cotton, Hruska and Cooper as members of the Republican Conference to confer with the Majority Committee appointed and report back their recommendations to the Republican Conference at a later date.

Before the Conference adjourned the Chairman recognized Senators Cotton, Hruska, Goldwater, Allott, Javits, Cooper, Kuchel, Case and Mundt, each of whom spoke on various political aspects of the proposed new schedule of Senate operations.

Senator Dirksen also stated that when the State of the Union message was concluded, discussion on Rule 22 would begin as soon as the Senate returned to its Chamber.

He also stated that he saw no reason why routine morning business could not be transacted during the afternoon.

Senator Javits was recognized by the Chairman and he confirmed the opinion expressed by the Minority Leader that business could be transacted and that a show-down on the matter could come about next Monday, as in the past debate had run about seven days before some action had been taken.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, who stated that he would probably call a meeting of the Policy Committee for Wednesday morning.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 10:47 a.m.

[signed] Wallace F. Bennett  
Acting Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on January 16, 1963

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*

Exhibit "A"

**REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP**

Eighty-eighth Congress, First Session

Leverett Saltonstall	<i>Chairman of the Conference</i>
Milton R. Young	<i>Secretary of the Conference</i>
Everett McKinley Dirksen	<i>Floor Leader</i>
Thomas H. Kuchel	<i>Whip</i>
Bourke B. Hickenlooper	<i>Chairman of Policy Committee</i>
Thruston B. Morton	<i>Chairman of Campaign Committee</i>
Frank Carlson	<i>Chairman of Committee on Committees</i>
Norris Cotton	<i>Chairman of Personnel Committee</i>

**Policy Committee**

Bourke B. Hickenlooper, <i>Chairman</i>	Margaret Chase Smith
Leverett Saltonstall	Barry Goldwater
Milton R. Young	Roman L. Hruska
Everett McKinley Dirksen	Hugh Scott
Thomas H. Kuchel	Kenneth B. Keating
Thruston B. Morton	Winston L. Prouty
Frank Carlson	
Norris Cotton	

**Campaign Committee**

Thruston B. Morton, <i>Chairman</i>	Peter H. Dominick
George D. Aiken	Len B. Jordan
J. Caleb Boggs	Jack Miller
Clifford P. Case	Milward L. Simpson

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Carl T. Curtis

John G. Tower

**Committee on Committees**

Frank Carlson, *Chairman*

Jacob K. Javits

Gordon Allott

E.L. Mechem

J. Glenn Beall

Karl E. Mundt

John Sherman Cooper

James B. Pearson

Hiram L. Fong

John J. Williams

Wallace F. Bennett

**Personnel Committee**

Norris Cotton, *Chairman*

Barry Goldwater

**Calendar Committee**

Kenneth B. Keating, *Chairman*

Milward L. Simpson

Jack Miller

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE FRANK CARLSON, FOR MONDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1963, AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

Senator John J. Williams called the meeting to order at 9:35 a.m. in the absence of the Chairman, Senator Frank Carlson, who was out of the city. Senator Carlson had written Senator Williams and requested that he conduct the meeting and act as Chairman.

The Acting Chairman requested that the roll be called and the following Senators were present:

Williams

Pearson

Bennett

Allott

Beall

Mundt

Cooper

Javits

Also present: Mark Trice and William Brownrigg III.

The Acting Chairman announced that a quorum was present. He then read for the information of the Members present from the work sheets which had been distributed showing existing vacancies, releases and recommended assignments to the various standing committees. Senator Williams stated he was presenting to the Committee the recommended assignments which had been worked out by Senator Carlson.

The Acting Chairman recognized Senator Gordon Allott who said that he had been embarrassed by information reaching the Press in regard to the new assignments. He said he had been approached several times and stated that no information would be given out until there had been a meeting of the Committee. He also raised objection to the procedure used in arriving at the conclusions and

thought that there should be more participation by the Members of the Committee in the mechanics of the operation.

He stated that he was not personally contacted but that his Administrative Assistant was and that he had not been informed of the existing vacancies. He seemed also to indicate that he did not know that the Committees on Space and Government Operations were to become major committees.

The Acting Chairman recognized Senator John Sherman Cooper who stated that after studying the matter he was perfectly satisfied with his committees but that he was somewhat concerned about the vacancy on Space, but believed that all Senators had been given full information. He did raise some objection to Members being on three major committees and stated that he would like to be considered for an appointment on Rules and Administration as he had previously served on that committee and that he did not know a vacancy existed thereon.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wallace F. Bennett who stated that he had just talked with Senator Thruston B. Morton on the telephone, Senator Morton having called him, and Senator Bennett mentioned to Senator Morton the desire of Senator Cooper to be assigned to the Committee on Rules and Administration. Senator Morton, who had been recommended to fill the vacancy, stated he would be very happy to yield to his colleague.

It was then moved and seconded that Senator John Sherman Cooper be assigned to the Committee on Rules and Administration, vicing Senator Morton. The question was put and the Chair announced that the motion was agreed to.

Senator Karl E. Mundt was recognized by the Acting Chairman and he stated that the question of making Space and Government Operations major committees had been previously raised at the Republican Conference and that all Senators were on notice as to the possible change.

The Acting Chairman then stated that he thought certain valid points had been made but that he was unfamiliar with the situation as he had only seen the list for the first time yesterday afternoon.

Mark Trice then stated that he had worked with Senator Carlson and that Senator Carlson had personally contacted each and every Republican Senator or his Administrative Assistant to ascertain if the Senator was satisfied with his Committees or wanted to make a change. He also stated that letters had not been requested because committee releases made it necessary to contact Senators personally in order that each and every Senator would be on proper notice as to what committee vacancies might be available.

The Chairman recognized Senator Allott who asked if his colleague, Senator Peter H. Dominick, after being placed on the Committee

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on Interior and Insular Affairs could retain the place if he so desired. There was no reply to the question. It had been previously explained that the appointment was temporary due to the fact that no other solution could be worked out.

The Acting Chairman recognized Senator Mundt who moved that the suggested recommendations be approved, the motion was seconded by Senator Jacob K. Javits and the Acting Chairman put the question. The motion was agreed to.

There is attached hereto the two work sheets which were submitted to the Membership and approved.

The Acting Chairman then called to the attention of the Members a resolution by Senator Javits previously presented to the Republican Conference and referred to the Committee on Committees, a copy of which is attached.

The Acting Chairman recognized Senator Javits who stated that in his opinion there should be some re-thinking in regard to Committee assignments and he spoke of the theory of having each Senator, by seniority, make one choice and also of having the Leadership, by unanimous vote, recognize the assignment of certain individuals to a committee by reason of his special qualifications. He recommended that several experts be obtained in order to make a study of how the seniority system worked and report their findings to the Committee.

The Acting Chairman recognized Senator Allott who stated that in his opinion a lot of work was being left undone in the Committees and suggested the assignment of Republican Senators to sub-committees as had been done on the Committee on Appropriations.

The Acting Chairman recognized Senator Javits who stated that the study should not only relate to staffing but seniority and other operations of the various committees.

The Acting Chairman suggested it might be wise for the Chairman of the Committee on Committees to appoint a sub-Committee of three to look into the matter and report their recommendations back to the Committee on Committees and then, if approved, to the Republican Conference.

The Acting Chairman recognized Senator Javits who so moved that a committee of three be appointed by the Chairman for this purpose and the Acting Chairman put the question which was agreed to.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 10:30 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

Approved:

[signed] John J. Williams  
Acting Chairman of the Committee on Committees

\* \* \*

Resolution submitted by Mr. Javits to the Republican Conference on January 8, 1963 and referred by the Chairman to the Committee on Committees

RESOLVED, That the Republican Senate Conference refers to the Committee on Committees the question of the desirability of initiating a policy, notwithstanding the rule of seniority, of assigning each Republican Senator to at least one standing Senate committee which is generally considered to be of major rank, of assigning third committee places among Republican Senators and generally of serving the best interests of the Party and the Nation in committee assignments; the Committee on Committees to report to the Conference no later than the time of its initial recommendation for committee places in this Congress.

\* \* \*

February 19, 1963  
(Confidential)

**REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES**

Republican committee vacancies (10) and releases (8) totaling 18 are as follows:

*Vacancies:*

Aeronautical and Space Sciences	Government Operations (2)
(2)	
Banking and Currency (2)	Interior and Insular Affairs
Finance	Rules and Administration
Foreign Relations	

*Releases:*

Agriculture and Forestry  
Banking and Currency (2)  
Interior and Insular Affairs (2)  
Rules and Administration  
Commerce  
District of Columbia

The Committee on Committees recommends the following assignments:

Mundt	Foreign Relations
Dirksen	Finance
Beall	Commerce
Curtis	Aeronautical and Space Sciences
[Morton—crossed out]	Rules and Administration
Cooper [handwritten insert]	
Javits	Banking and Currency
Scott	Rules and Administration
Keating	Aeronautical and Space Sciences
Miller	Government Operations
*[Tower—crossed out]	[Government Operations—crossed out]

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*Pearson	[Banking and Currency—crossed out] G.O. [handwritten insert]
Simpson	Interior and Insular Affairs and Banking and Currency
Mechem	Interior and Insular Affairs and Agriculture and Forestry
Dominick	Banking and Currency, Interior and Insular Affairs, and District of Columbia

*Recapitulation:*

Mundt releases Agriculture and Forestry and is assigned to Foreign Relations.

Dirksen releases Rules and Administration and is assigned to Finance.

Beall releases Banking and Currency and is assigned to Commerce.

Curtis is assigned to Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

Morton is assigned to Rules and Administration.

Javits is assigned to Banking and Currency because of ratio change.

Scott is assigned to Rules and Administration.

Keating releases Commerce and is assigned to Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

Miller releases Interior and Insular Affairs and District of Columbia and is assigned to Government Operations.

\*[Tower releases Banking and Currency and is assigned to Government Operations.—crossed out]

\*Pearson releases Interior and Insular Affairs and is assigned to [Banking and Currency—crossed out] G.O. [handwritten insert]

Simpson is assigned to Banking and Currency and to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Mechem is assigned to Agriculture and Forestry and to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Dominick is assigned to Banking and Currency, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

\* Feb. 21, 1963 [handwritten]

\* \* \*

February 19, 1963

(Confidential Worksheet No. 1)

**STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE**

Eighty-eighth Congress—1st Session

(To Be Submitted to the Republican Conference)

**On Aeronautical and Space Sciences** (Ratio 10–5)

Mrs. SMITH, Messrs. CASE, HICKENLOOPER, CURTIS, KEATING

**On Agriculture and Forestry** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. AIKEN, YOUNG, HICKENLOOPER, COOPER, BOGGS, MECHAM

**On Appropriations** (Ratio 18–9)

Messrs. SALTONSTALL, YOUNG, MUNDT, Mrs. SMITH, Messrs. KUCHEL, HRUSKA, ALLOTT, COTTON, CASE



**On Armed Services** (Ratio [10–5—crossed out] 12–5 [handwritten insert])

Mr. SALTONSTALL, Mrs. SMITH, Messrs. BEALL, GOLDWATER, CASE

**On Banking and Currency** (Ratio 10–5)

Messrs. BENNETT, TOWER\* [handwritten insert], JAVITS, [PEARSON\*—crossed out], SIMPSON, DOMINICK

**On Commerce** (Ratio [10–5—crossed out] 12–5 [handwritten insert])

Messrs. COTTON, MORTON, SCOTT, PROUTY, BEALL

**On District of Columbia** (Ratio 4–3)

Messrs. BEALL, PROUTY, DOMINICK

**On Finance** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. WILLIAMS, Del., CARLSON, BENNETT, CURTIS, MORTON, DIRKSEN

**On Foreign Relations** (Ratio [10–5—crossed out] 12–5 [handwritten insert])

Messrs. HICKENLOOPER, AIKEN, CARLSON, WILLIAMS, Del., MUNDT

**On Government Operations** (Ratio 10–5)

Messrs. MUNDT, CURTIS, JAVITS, MILLER, [TOWER—crossed out] PEARSON\* [handwritten insert]

**On Interior and Insular Affairs** (Ratio 11–6)

Messrs. KUCHEL, ALLOTT, JORDAN, Idaho, SIMPSON, MECHEM, DOMINICK

**On the Judiciary** (Ratio 10–5)

Messrs. DIRKSEN, HRUSKA, KEATING, FONG, SCOTT

**On Labor and Public Welfare** (Ratio 10–5)

Messrs. GOLDWATER, JAVITS, PROUTY, TOWER, JORDAN, Idaho

**On Post Office and Civil Service** (Ratio 6–3)

Messrs. CARLSON, FONG, BOGGS

**On Public Works** (Ratio [10–5—crossed out] 12–5 [handwritten insert])

Messrs. COOPER, FONG, BOGGS, MILLER, PEARSON

**On Rules and Administration** (Ratio 6–3)

Messrs. CURTIS, [MORTON—crossed out] COOPER [handwritten insert], SCOTT

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\*Changed 2/21/63. No other places affected; Senators Dirksen and Saltonstall approved the rearrangement.

JANUARY 14, 1963

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[February 19, 1963]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR MONDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1963, AT 11:15 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the meeting to order at 11:20 a.m. and asked the Secretary, Senator Milton R. Young, to call the roll.

Present 21:

Aiken	Curtis	Mundt
Allott	Dirksen	Pearson
Beall	Dominick	Prouty
Bennett	Goldwater	Saltonstall
Boggs	Javits	Smith
Case	Jordan	Williams
Cooper	Keating	Young.

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and David S. Teeple.

The Chairman announced that a quorum was present and recognized Senator John J. Williams, Acting Chairman of the Committee on Committees, who was serving because of the absence from the city of Senator Frank Carlson. Senator Williams read the changes in the committee assignments recommended by the Committee on Committees. There had been distributed to the Members present two memorandums containing the recommended changes.

The Chairman asked if there was any objection and there being none he stated that without objection the report of the Committee on Committees would be accepted and the Conference would confirm the appointments. There was no objection. Copy of assignments as approved attached hereto.<sup>1</sup>

The Chairman then asked if the Minority Leader, Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, wished to make any remarks. Senator Dirksen explained the problems which had faced the Leadership and the Committee on Committees in making the recommended changes and assignments, and spoke of the experience, hard work and knowledge of Mark Trice in helping iron out the problems.

A motion was made and seconded that the Conference go on record in extending to Mark Trice its appreciation for the work that he

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<sup>1</sup> [Not included here because they exactly duplicate the lists on pages 955-57.]

had done. The Chairman put the question and the motion was agreed to.

The Chairman recognized Senator Jacob K. Javits who asked that he might interrupt Senator Dirksen in order to ask why the ratio was changed on the Committee on Appropriations. Senator Dirksen stated that he had made the request of the Majority that the existing ratio be retained on Appropriations and that he thought it had been agreed to until the Democratic Steering Committee meeting when, because of objection by Senator Richard B. Russell, the committee refused to accept the recommendation. Also involved in the matter was the desire of some Democrats to increase the membership on Finance by two.

Senator Dirksen also stated that every effort had been made to seek possible changes in order that Senator Peter H. Dominick would not have to serve on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in violation of the precedent that no two Senators of the same party from the same State shall serve on the same Committee. He stated that this could not be worked out and that it should be treated as a temporary assignment until the matter could be adjusted at the first opportunity.

The Chairman recognized Senator Kenneth B. Keating who stated that he thought the action taken by the Democrats was a direct slap at his colleague but that he believed that the matter would ultimately work in favor of the Republicans.

Senator Dirksen then informed the group of the White House briefing that had taken place the evening before. He stated that the President seemed to be very nervous and that in the latest correspondence between the President and Mr. Khrushchev there was a hope that in early March there would be a pull out of some additional troops, "those not needed for certain service assignments."

The Senator stated that he called to the attention of the President certain figures as to the troops, missiles, planes and other material which had been set forth in a recent article by Roscoe Drummond. He said that nobody quarreled with those figures and that the President stated that the summary was practically correct. In response to a question which he asked as to "what is down the road," the President did not disclose anything but merely said "We do the best we can."

Senator Dirksen said that he called to the attention of the President the Platt amendment of 1901 and the action which President Lincoln had taken in regard to the Mexican situation.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Allott who stated that at the meeting of the Committee on Committees this morning he had raised certain questions as to procedure; namely, the release of information prematurely, the lack of knowledge as to the changes

FEBRUARY 19, 1963

which might be contemplated on committees and the non-participation by the members of the Committee on Committees.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 11:43 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on February 20, 1963

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

On Thursday, February 21, Senator Tower decided to remain on Banking and Currency and not take an assignment to the Committee on Government Operations. Senator Pearson being next in line took the assignment to the Committee on Government Operations and released Banking and Currency. This change affected no other places. Senators Dirksen and Saltonstall approved the rearrangement.

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[April 2, 1963]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR TUESDAY, APRIL 2, 1963, AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The meeting was called by the Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, but due to his absence from the city he requested Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen to act as Chairman.

Senator Dirksen called the meeting to order at 9:35 a.m. and suggested that the call of the roll be dispensed with. There was no objection.

The following Senators were present:

Aiken	Dominick	Morton
Allott	Fong	Mundt
Beall	Hruska	Prouty
Bennett	Javits	Scott
Boggs	Jordan	Simpson
Carlson	Keating	Smith
Case	Kuchel	Tower
Cooper	Mechem	Williams
Cotton	Miller	Young
Dirksen		

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and David S. Teeple.

The purpose of the meeting was to consider the pros and cons of the Mass Transit Bill which was pending before the Senate but before proceeding Senator Dirksen said that it had been suggested that the Youth Opportunities Bill, the Wilderness Preservation Bill and the nominations on the Executive Calendar of the Communications Satellite Corporation incorporators be considered before the Easter recess.

Senator Dirksen then proceeded to discuss the pros and cons of the pending Mass Transit Bill and in turn recognized Senators Bennett, Tower, Javits, Dominick, Case, Aiken, Miller, Cotton, Allott, Morton, Scott, Kuchel and Simpson who expressed their individual views in regard to the measure.

It was stated that a number of amendments would be offered to the bill. The politics of the situation was discussed with the assertion that Senators coming from big cities should look at the bill very carefully. The assertion was made that reported opposition by the Labor Unions to the bill would be compromised but how the matter might be compromised was not known at this time.

It was also stated that the big issues were taxes and economy, and that now was the time to make a decision as to whether to adopt or reject the Administration's new programs.

Senator Dirksen had to leave at 10:40 a.m. to attend a committee meeting and he asked Senator Thomas H. Kuchel to preside. After further discussion, the Conference adjourned at 10:50 a.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Acting Chairman of the Conference on April 3, 1963

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[May 27, 1963]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR MONDAY, MAY 27, 1963, AT 3:00 P.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, BUT CHANGED TO THE SENATE CONFERENCE ROOM, S-207, SENATE SIDE OF THE CAPITOL

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, at 3:08 p.m., who stated that he would first recognize the Minority Leader, Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, for remarks and then recognize Senator John J. Williams, Senior Minority Member of the Senate Committee on Finance.

MAY 27, 1963

The Chairman stated that if there was no objection the roll would not be called and he asked that the Secretary note that a quorum was present. There was no objection.

The following Senators were present: 22

Aiken	Dominick	Pearson
Bennett	Hickenlooper	Prouty
Boggs	Hruska	Saltonstall
Case	Javits	Scott
Cotton	Jordan	Simpson
Curtis	Keating	Smith
Dirksen	Mundt	Williams
		Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and David S. Teeple.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dirksen who spoke of the legislative program in relation to the Memorial Day week-end and he then proceeded to speak briefly concerning the Debt Ceiling and recent action on the measure by the House of Representatives.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Williams who spoke of the action taken by the Senate Finance Committee in regard to the Debt Limit Increase, H.R. 6009, whereby the Committee had amended the House bill to provide that the debt limit of \$309 billion was to apply for the entire fiscal year of 1964 rather than the first two months only of that year. Senator Williams recommended that the Republican Membership support the committee amendment and when the Administration comes in later for an increase in the debt ceiling to put up a real fight at that time and perhaps add it as an amendment to the contemplated tax bill.

The Chairman recognized Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper who raised the question as to where do we stand and fight against steady increases and the irresponsible programs.

Senator Williams then said that if the Senate amendment was not agreed to in Conference it was his recommendation that a real fight be made when the report was submitted.

Several Senators were recognized by the Chairman who expressed their individual views concerning the debt and the general consensus of those present was that it would be best for the Republican Senators to support the committee amendment.

The Chairman thanked Senator Williams for his presentation and recognized Senator Jacob K. Javits who spoke briefly to the Members about the dangerous situation prevailing around the country regarding Civil Rights. He expressed the opinion that at this time we should think through our position. He stated that the basic proposal he was presenting was to give the Attorney General the right to sue in Civil Rights cases. This proposal was similar to the one

previously presented by President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Senator Javits recommended that the Conference go on record as favoring a Part 3 provision and he read the first controlling section of his proposed bill.

Several Senators were recognized and the question was raised as to the desirability of action by the Republican Conference.

Because of the legislative situation on the Floor, the Chairman stated that he would call a Republican Conference for next Wednesday, June 5, at 9:30 a.m. for the purpose of considering all Civil Rights matters. This suggestion met with the approval of Senator Javits.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 4:12 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on June 5, 1963

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[June 6, 1963]

MINUTES OF MEETINGS OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6, 1963, AT 9:30 A.M. AND 4:00 P.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the Conference to order at 9:41 a.m. and stated that a quorum was present. He said that if there was no objection the Secretary would not call the roll in order to save time. There was no objection.

The following Senators were present: 25

Aiken	Cotton	Keating
Allott	Curtis	Kuchel
Beall	Dirksen	Miller
Bennett	Goldwater	Mundt
Boggs	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Carlson	Hruska	Scott
Case	Javits	Smith
Cooper	Jordan	Williams
		Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and David S. Teeple.

JUNE 6, 1963

The Chairman called to the attention of the Conference that today was the birthday of Senator J. Glenn Beall and the Senator was congratulated and applauded.

The Chairman also stated that the Conference had been called under the Conference Rules at the request of a Republican Member and that the Chairman assumed the responsibility for its call.

The Chairman then asked if Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen desired to say anything and the Minority Leader was recognized. He stated that if, following the Conference, any statements were to be made there should be a press conference arranged in order that adequate coverage could be given to the announcement. The Chairman spoke of the usual procedure followed, namely, speaking to the press immediately following the meeting, and he said that he would have no objection to handling it in any way the Conference thought best. He said he would be pleased to have any Republican Members present at the press conference. The Chairman stated that at the proper time a formalized press conference would be set up.

Senator Dirksen then spoke of certain civil rights bills which had been submitted by Senator Philip A. Hart [Democrat of Michigan] and others, which had been referred to the Committee on Commerce and of contemplated legislation to be sent up by the Executive which was reported to carry an interstate commerce feature. If this were true he expected that a dispute would arise as to whether or not this bill would go to Commerce or Judiciary. He stated he thought that there was justification for the dispute as all previous civil rights bills had been referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The Chairman called to the attention of the Senators present that the Staff Director of the Republican Policy Committee, David S. Teeple, had prepared and sent to each Senator a compilation on civil rights.

The Chairman recognized Senator John J. Williams who called to the attention of the Conference that three votes which he considered civil rights votes had been omitted from the compilation, and after inquiry Mr. Teeple stated that those votes had not been listed as strictly civil rights votes as the issue had arisen indirectly when other subjects were under consideration. Also previous votes on Rule 22 also had not been included. At the suggestion of the Chairman, Mr. Teeple was asked to supply to each Senator a copy of the missing votes in order that the compilation might be complete.

The Chairman recognized Senator Jacob K. Javits who stated that he would be content with any way the Chairman might handle the press conference and then proceeded to stress the historical significance of the Conference. He emphasized the point that the civil rights situation was more intense than it had been at any time in the last 100 years, and expressed the opinion that the Republican



Party could win in 1964 on this issue. He stated he was not proposing any particular resolution now but that it was his purpose to counsel with his colleagues. As an alternate to his suggested resolution of last week he had another which omitted Part 3 and he thought that this could be adopted. As another alternate, he suggested that if the Minority Leader were asked and had sufficient backing he would introduce a resolution covering Part 3. As a third alternate he recommended that a sense of the Senate resolution be introduced asking that the Congress move in the civil rights field.

The Senator then read a resolution which he said he would not formally propose. Copies he said were available if desired.

The Chairman then recognized Senators Thomas H. Kuchel, Frank Carlson and Wallace F. Bennett who spoke generally on the subject, and he then recognized Senator Dirksen who stated that he anticipated some kind of legislation would be offered and that a vote would be had this session in regard to the matter. The Senator then read for the information of the Membership a draft of what he called a "consensus" of opinion of the Senate Republican Conference.

The Chairman then recognized Senators Hugh Scott, Gordon Allott and Karl E. Mundt who spoke on various phases of the matter and a question was raised concerning the presence of a quorum, several Members having left during the discussion to attend committee meetings.

Senator Javits was recognized and made a motion that the Chairman appoint a sub-committee to work with Senator Dirksen in regard to perfecting the statement but because of quorum difficulties the motion was withdrawn.

The Chairman stated that he would call a Conference either later today or tomorrow after consultation with the Minority Leader and the Chairman of the Policy Committee.

The Chairman recognized Senators Jack Miller, John Sherman Cooper and Bourke B. Hickenlooper, the latter speaking at length on various phases of the civil rights matter.

The Chairman then announced that after consultation with the Minority Leader and Chairman of the Policy Committee that a Conference would be called next Monday morning at 10:00 a.m. due to the fact that several Senators were leaving the city.

The Chairman then recognized Senators Javits, Thomas H. Kuchel and Gordon Allott who expressed the opinion that if possible a meeting should be held later today to see if something could be resolved.

The Chairman stated that it was questionable if a quorum could be had for an afternoon session but that if a check revealed that one could be present he would recess the meeting until 4:00 o'clock.

JUNE 6, 1963

The meeting then recessed at 11:30 a.m.

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The Chairman reconvened the Conference at 4:10 p.m. He stated he had received assurance from the Acting Secretary, Mark Trice, that a quorum was present and if there was no objection the roll would not be called. There was no objection.

The following Senators were present: 26

Aiken	Cotton	Keating
Allott	Curtis	Kuchel
Beall	Dirksen	Miller
Bennett	Goldwater	Morton
Boggs	Hickenlooper	Mundt
Carlson	Hruska	Pearson
Case	Javits	Prouty
Cooper	Jordan	Saltonstall
		Scott
		Tower

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and David S. Teeple.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dirksen, the Minority Leader, who stated that he had conferred with other Senators concerning certain word changes in the draft of the consensus which he had read at the morning session and which he now thought was adequate. Copies of the consensus were distributed to the Members present and a copy is attached.

The Chairman recognized Senator Scott who stated that it was necessary for him to leave the city, that he fully agreed with the resolution proposed, and he asked to be excused.

The Chairman asked if there was any discussion on the resolution and he recognized Senator Hickenlooper.

Senator Hickenlooper stated that he had very definite views on the subject and that he thought that the calling of the meeting was a mistake as whatever might be resolved would be interpreted the wrong way regardless of how it might be worked out. He stated that he particularly did not like the wording of the last paragraph and said that "too often we are pulling the other Party's chestnuts out of the fire."

The Chairman recognized Senators George D. Aiken, John Sherman Cooper, Barry Goldwater, Carl T. Curtis, Thomas H. Kuchel, Kenneth B. Keating, Wallace F. Bennett, James B. Pearson, Norris Cotton and Thruston B. Morton who expressed various opinions in regard to the consensus.

The Chairman recognized Senator Keating who later asked unanimous consent, because it was impossible for him to remain, that Senator Javits be allowed to cast his vote.

The Chair ruled that vote by proxy had never been permitted at the Conference and that this would not be possible. Senator Keating then requested that if a vote be taken that the minutes show he was in favor of the consensus.

The Chairman recognized Senator Goldwater who moved that there be no recorded vote on any resolution adopted by the Conference. The motion was seconded by Senator Allott.

The Chairman recognized Senator Javits who made a point of order that the previous motion was not in order.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dirksen who expressed the hope that the motion of Senator Goldwater would be withdrawn and he also stated that he did not believe a recorded vote should be taken. Senator Dirksen stressed the fact that he had not prepared a resolution but merely a consensus of opinion.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Goldwater who stated that in view of the assurance given he would withdraw his motion.

The Chairman then stated that he would like to have an agreement as to procedure. He suggested that the Acting Secretary read from the consensus, paragraph by paragraph, and after each paragraph was considered, amended and approved, move to the following one. This procedure was agreed to.

The Conference then proceeded to consider the consensus one paragraph at a time, a number of amendments were submitted and withdrawn and other amendments were submitted to the various paragraphs and approved. On several of the amendments the Chairman asked that the Members raise their hands and the amendments were either adopted or rejected in this manner.

Permission was granted by the Conference to have two of the Committee stenographers present in order that the wording might be correct.

After the consensus was perfected the Chairman read the full text of it once again to the Membership, and after minor changes he called for the “yeas” and “nays” on the question of its adoption. He announced that the “yeas” have it and the consensus adopted. A copy of the final perfected consensus is attached hereto.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 7:10 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

JUNE 6, 1963

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on June 11, 1963

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

\* \* \*

June 5, 1963

It is the consensus of the Senate Republican Conference that:

The Federal Government, including the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial branches, has a solemn duty to preserve the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens of the United States in conformity with the Constitution which makes every native born and naturalized person a citizen of the United States as well as of the State in which he resides.

Equality of rights and opportunities has not been fully achieved in the long period since the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution were adopted and this inequality and lack of opportunity and the racial tensions which they engender are out of character with the spirit of a nation pledged to freedom and justice.

Since the days of Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican President, the God-given rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness have been cardinal principles of the Republican faith, and the equal opportunity to obtain these rights has consistently and uninterruptedly been reaffirmed in the Platforms of the Republican Party.

For the first time in more than four score years civil rights legislation of a meaningful character and purpose was placed on the Federal statute books as a result of the initiative of Republican leadership in Congress and President Eisenhower.

Republican members of the United States Senate in this the 88th Congress reaffirm and reassert the basic principles of the Party with respect to civil rights and further affirm that the President, with the support of the Congress consistent with his duties as defined in the Constitution, must protect the rights of all United States citizens, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.

We deem it the President's duty as provided in the Constitution to enforce the laws insuring the rights of citizens of the United States and preserving domestic tranquillity as basic objectives of constitutional government.

In pursuance of these objectives, we as Republican members of the Senate will support further appropriate legislation required to help solve the problems of our Nation in the field of civil rights.

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[Editor's Note: This document is not labeled but appears to be the statement as adopted at the Republican Conference on June 6, 1963.]

It is the consensus of the Senate Republican Conference that the Constitution makes every native born and naturalized person a citizen of the United States as well as the state where he resides.

That the Federal Government, including the Legislative, Executive and Judicial branches have a solemn duty to preserve the rights, privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States.

That equality of rights and opportunities has not been fully achieved in the long period since the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution were adopted and that this inequality and lack of opportunity has engendered race tensions which are out of character with the spirit of a nation pledged to freedom and justice.

That since the days of Abraham Lincoln the God-given rights of life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and equal opportunity have been cardinal principles of the Republican faith and that these rights have consistently and uninterruptedly been reaffirmed in the Platform of the Republican party.

That for the first time in more than four score years civil rights legislation of a meaningful character and purpose has been placed on the federal statute books as a result of the efforts of Republicans in Congress under a Republican president.

That Republican members of the United States Senate in this the 88th Congress not only reaffirm and reassert the basic principles of the party with respect to civil rights but further affirm that the President in pursuance of his responsibility as the Chief Executive of the Nation must secure and preserve the rights of all United States citizens regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

That we deem it the President's duty not only to insure the rights of citizens of the United States but also domestic tranquillity as one of the basic objectives of constitutional government.

And that in pursuance of those objectives, we as Republican members of the Senate will support any appropriate request by the President for such legislative authority as may be required to deal with the problems in the civil rights field which presently confront the nation.

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[June 19, 1963]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR WEDNESDAY, JUNE 19, 1963, ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the Conference to order at 2:45 p.m. and stated that if there was no objection the Secretary would not call the roll. There was no objection.

The following Senators were present: 25

Allott	Dominick	Mundt
Beall	Hickenlooper	Prouty
Carlson	Javits	Saltonstall
Case	Jordan	Scott
Cooper	Kuchel	Simpson
Cotton	Mechem	Smith

JUNE 19, 1963

Curtis  
Dirksen

Miller  
Morton

Tower  
Williams  
Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice and David S. Teeple.

The Chairman stated that the Chairman of the Policy Committee had stated he had nothing to discuss at the meeting and he therefore would not call upon him. He stated that this Conference had been called at the request of the Minority Leader, Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen.

The Chairman called to the attention of the Members present a memorandum which had been distributed to them. It listed the Civil Rights Planks in the Republican Platform of 1960.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dirksen who informed the Members present of the action previously taken on the Senate Floor earlier in the day when Senator Mike Mansfield had introduced two Administration bills on Civil Rights, one a package bill and the second one relating to Title 2. The Senator also stated that later in the day he and Senator Mansfield would introduce a third bill which included everything but Title 2. The Senator spoke of the contents of the Administration bill and called particular attention to the substantial changes which had been made in the bill relating to Title 2. The changes affected the classification of those stores which came under the provisions of the bill.

The Senator spoke as to the reasons why he could not sponsor Title 2 relating to public accommodations. He said in his opinion it was unenforceable and in contravention of the Constitution. He expressed the hope that some sections of the bills could be passed but doubted whether Title 2 would be the pending vehicle on which cloture might be obtained. Senator Dirksen stated that all Senators would be free to co-sponsor the bill which he would introduce later.

The Chairman recognized Senator Jacob K. Javits during Senator Dirksen's presentation and the former raised the question as to a Party problem which might be involved, namely, how is it possible to make it clear to the country that in regard to Title 2 the sponsorship only by Senator Dirksen of one bill did not represent a consensus of Republican opinion. Senator Javits seemed to think that the sponsorship had left the party in a "twilight zone."

Senator Dirksen thought the matter could best be handled through press conferences, in committee meetings and on the Floor, and called to the attention of the Senators that there was nothing in the Republican Platform in regard to Title 2.

The Chairman recognized Senators Karl E. Mundt, Jacob K. Javits, Norris Cotton, John Sherman Cooper and Hugh Scott. They expressed several ideas concerning affirmative action which the Republicans could take, namely, by an effort being made in committee

to tie in a question of discrimination in employment so far as labor organizations were concerned, and the question of applying anti-discrimination measures to States using Federal funds.

During this discussion there was a brief absence of the Chairman and Senator Milton R. Young of North Dakota assumed the Chair.

A question was also raised as to whether it might be wise for the Republicans to introduce a bill of their own with the various features mentioned. Senator Dirksen cautioned against this as he thought that there was a possibility of losing everything.

The discussion ended at 4:02 p.m. and the Conference adjourned.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on June 25, 1963

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[August 26, 1963]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR MONDAY, AUGUST 26, 1963, AT 2:00 P.M. IN ROOM S-124, SENATE WING, GROUND FLOOR, NORTH CORRIDOR OF THE CAPITOL

The Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the Conference to order at 2:05 p.m. and stated that he had been informed by the Acting Secretary, Mark Trice, that a quorum was present. The Chairman announced that if there was no objection the roll would not be called. There was no objection.

The following Senators were present: 30

Aiken	Fong	Morton
Allott	Goldwater	Mundt
Beall	Hickenlooper	Pearson
Bennett	Hruska	Prouty
Boggs	Javits	Saltonstall
Cooper	Jordan	Scott
Cotton	Keating	Simpson
Curtis	Kuchel	Smith
Dirksen	Mechem	Tower
Dominick	Miller	Williams

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III, David Teeple and Bryan LaPlante.

AUGUST 26, 1963

The Chairman stated that the purpose of the Conference was to discuss Senate Joint Resolution 102 relating to the settlement of the labor dispute between the railroads and their employees.

He asked if the Chairman of the Policy Committee, Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper, wished to say anything and the latter informed him that he did not.

In the temporary absence of Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, the Minority Leader, the Chairman recognized Senator Norris Cotton, ranking Minority member of the Committee on Commerce. Senator Cotton informed the membership of the discussions which had taken place at the various meetings and then reviewed the sections of the pending bill. There were inquiries in regard to certain particular sections of the bill and Senator Cotton gave his opinion thereon.

He also discussed the difference between the recently reported House bill and the Senate version and stated he would like to see the Senate bill adopted and sent to conference.

The Chairman then recognized the Minority Leader, Senator Dirksen, who raised certain questions as to specific language in the bill and his inquiries were answered by Senator Cotton.

The Chairman then announced that he would recognize the Republican members of the Committee on Commerce before recognizing other Senators and the Chairman recognized Senators Thruston B. Morton, Hugh Scott and Winston Prouty for brief comments.

The Chairman recognized Senator Barry Goldwater who stated that he was contemplating offering an amendment which would disallow "featherbedding" in the railroad and air line industries.

The Chairman recognized Senator Jacob K. Javits who stated that he would offer an amendment to the bill on seizure and stated that if finality was desired this was the only way to accomplish it.

The Chairman again recognized Senator Dirksen who read for the information of the members a concurrent resolution which expressed the sense of the Senate in regard to this matter and stated that he was reading the resolution for guide-line purposes only.

The results of the meeting were merely explanatory and no conclusions were reached.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 2:32 p.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Acting Secretary of the Conference



Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on September 13, 1963

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[January 29, 1964]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1964, AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM 335, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the meeting to order at 9:45 a.m. and stated that a quorum was present and that if there was no objection the roll would not be called in order to save time. There was no objection.

The following members were present: 24

Aiken	Fong	Mundt
Allott	Goldwater	Prouty
Beall	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Bennett	Javits	Scott
Boggs	Jordan	Simpson
Case	Keating	Smith
Dirksen	Kuchel	Tower
Dominick	Mechem	Williams

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III, David Teeple, Bryan LaPlante and Lawrence N. Woodworth of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation staff.

The Chairman then stated that before proceeding with the discussion on the tax bill, which would be taken up shortly in the Senate, he would present several preliminary matters. One was a letter from Senator Milton R. Young, addressed to the Chairman, expressing appreciation for the flowers sent to him during the Senator's recent illness. Also, the Chairman informed the Conference of the recent operation of Mrs. Everett Dirksen and it was suggested that the Chairman of the Conference write to Mrs. Dirksen and inform her of the good wishes of the members. The Chairman then read a letter from Senator Thruston B. Morton urging that Senators and their wives attend the District of Columbia close circuit hookup dinner tonight.

The Chairman then called upon Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, Minority Floor Leader, to inform the members about the current legislative situation. The Senator spoke of the pending Senate Resolution 111 relative to meetings of committees while the Senate is in session and he stated that there could be several votes on amend-

JANUARY 29, 1964

ments to be offered as well as a vote on final passage. While the matter was scheduled for action today an effort would be made to postpone consideration of the resolution until tomorrow. He also spoke briefly about the previously passed germaneness resolution and how it had failed to work up to date.

Senator Dirksen said then that every effort was being made to complete action on the tax bill by next Friday, the 7th, and that if this was done there would be nothing of consequence on the floor the following Monday and Tuesday.

The Chairman then recognized Senator John J. Williams, the senior member on the Finance Committee, to discuss the tax bill. The Senator stated that the tax bill was a difficult matter to discuss and that the technical report would not be available until next Monday. He stated that he was not in agreement that the Committee amendments be agreed to en bloc until after the report was available. The Senator briefly covered the highlights of the committee action and answered a number of technical questions from Senators present.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Dirksen who gave the past history of the bill from the time it was first presented in January 1963. He spoke of the action he has recommended in regard to the repeal of the excise taxes on four items and then how the Committee had reversed itself. He said that he would offer the amendments on the Senate floor.

The Chairman recognized Senator Peter H. Dominick who spoke briefly of the offering of the college tax credit amendment by himself and Senator Abraham Ribicoff [Democrat of Connecticut]. He said that they were trying to bring up the amendment for action as soon as they could.

Questions were raised about charitable deductions and other various items which had been before the committee for consideration.

During the meeting Senator Hiram L. Fong asked that he might have some pictures taken while the Conference was in session. The Chairman said that this had never been done but, without objection, the Conference suspended for three minutes in order that the pictures might be taken.

The Chairman recognized Senator Wallace F. Bennett who stated that his staff had prepared an analysis of the amendments which had been presented to the Finance Committee with the various actions thereon and suggested that the Policy staff might reprint them for the use of Republican Senators. It was agreed that the compilation would be useful and the staff was authorized to make reprints.

The Chairman recognized Senator Jacob K. Javits who said he was interested in knowing if President Lyndon B. Johnson had complete control over the Democratic committee members and the reply was made that the President has complete control over his side.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 11:00 a.m.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Assistant Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on January 30, 1964

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[April 9, 1964]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1964, AT 9:00 A.M., ROOM S-207, SENATE CONFERENCE ROOM, EAST FRONT OF THE CAPITOL

The Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the meeting to order at 9:27 a.m. and stated that, with the permission of Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, the Minority Leader, the Conference would begin without a quorum present. At 9:40 a.m. the Chairman announced that a quorum was present and if there was no objection the roll would not be called and the Conference would proceed in a formal way. There was no objection.

The following Members were present: 29

Aiken	Dominick	Morton
Allott	Fong	Mundt
Beall	Hickenlooper	Pearson
Bennett	Hruska	Prouty
Boggs	Javits	Saltonstall
Carlson	Jordan	Scott
Case	Keating	Simpson
Cooper	Kuchel	Smith
Cotton	Mechem	Williams
Dirksen	Miller	

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Bryan LaPlante.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dirksen, Minority Floor Leader, for the purpose of discussing a number of amendments which he had proposed to Title VII of the pending Civil Rights bill.

Senator Dirksen stated that if there was no objection he would like three staff members of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Messrs. Bernard Walters, Clyde Flynn and Neal Kennedy, to be present. There was no objection.

APRIL 9, 1964

Prior to Senator Dirksen explaining the various amendments, the Chairman recognized Senator Margaret Chase Smith who had asked to be heard in reference to the elimination of the word "sex." Senator Smith asked that Senator Dirksen give particular consideration to an amendment to strike this word as the Republican women had been successful in having it put into the House bill and stated that whether it was right or wrong there was some question in her mind as to whether or not the Republicans should take the initiative in seeking to have it stricken from the bill. Senator Dirksen responded by stating that the Department of Labor had written a letter recommending against its inclusion in the bill and he stated that he would be very happy to give consideration to her argument.

The Chairman then asked if Senator Dirksen might proceed and he did so with a brief explanation of his amendments, taking each amendment in turn, one after the other. On each amendment a number of questions were raised and he suggested that the staff give consideration to the particular points presented.

During consideration of the 40-odd amendments to Title VII, the Chairman stated that the Conference proceedings today would not be binding in any respect but that the sole purpose of the meeting was to acquaint the Membership with the text of the various amendments, and to discuss them generally.

The Chairman stated that subject to the wishes of the Minority Leader another Conference would be called on this or another title of the bill at a later date.

The meeting adjourned at 12:00 noon, subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Assistant Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on April 15, 1964

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[May 19, 1964]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR TUESDAY, MAY 19, 1964, AT 9:00 A.M., ROOM S-207, SENATE CONFERENCE ROOM, EAST FRONT OF THE CAPITOL

The Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the meeting to order at 9:24 a.m. The Secretary, the Honorable Milton R. Young, called the roll.

The following Members were present: 27

Aiken	Dirksen	Pearson
Allott	Dominick	Prouty
Bennett	Fong	Saltonstall
Boggs	Hickenlooper	Scott
Carlson	Hruska	Simpson
Case	Javits	Smith
Cooper	Jordan	Tower
Cotton	Kuchel	Williams
Curtis	Miller	Young

Also were present: J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Bryan LaPlante and Judiciary staff members, Messrs. Bernard Walters, Clyde Flynn and Neal Kennedy.

The Chairman recognized Senator Everett M. Dirksen, Minority Floor Leader, for the purpose of discussing the Civil Rights Bill with amendments.

Senator Dirksen proposed that he be allowed to explain the whole bill before individual items be debated.

Senator George D. Aiken suggested that a middle ground in this whole matter was needed or nothing could be agreed upon.

Senator Jacob K. Javits suggested that each Senator had a right to ask for changes in the so-called package and hoped Senator Dirksen would be willing to entertain some changes.

Senator Hickenlooper said a monumental amount of work had been done and a view of the whole picture should be taken before arguing particulars.

Senator Cooper moved that Senator Dirksen explain the entire bill first.

The Chairman, Senator Saltonstall, put the question without objection and stated that the Conference or discussion would not be binding on the Senators present.

Senator Dirksen proceeded to explain

Title I—Voting Rights

Title II—Public Accommodations

Title III—Desegregation of Public Facilities

Title IV—Desegregation of Public Education

Title V—Commission on Civil Rights

Title VI—Non-Discrimination in Federally Assisted Programs

Title VIII—Registration and Voting Statistics

Title IX—Intervention and Procedure after Removal in Civil Rights Cases

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Title X—Establishment of Community Relations Service

Title XI—Miscellaneous

General discussion was held on each of the titles.

The Chairman stated that another Conference would be held on Title VII after consultation with Senators Dirksen, Hickenlooper and Kuchel as to a convenient date.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:09 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

[signed] Leverett Saltonstall

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on May 19, 1964

[signed] William Brownrigg III  
Assistant Secretary for the Minority

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[May 20, 1964]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR WEDNESDAY, MAY 20, 1964, AT 9:15 A.M., ROOM S-207, SENATE CONFERENCE ROOM, EAST FRONT OF THE CAPITOL

The Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the meeting to order at 9:32 a.m. The Secretary, the Honorable Milton R. Young, called the roll.

The following Members were present: 27

Aiken	Dirksen	Miller
Allott	Dominick	Mundt
Bennett	Fong	Pearson
Boggs	Hickenlooper	Prouty
Carlson	Hruska	Saltonstall
Case	Javits	Scott
Cooper	Jordan	Simpson
Cotton	Keating	Smith
Curtis	Kuchel	Young

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Bryan LaPlante and Judiciary staff members, Messrs. Bernard Walters, Neal Kennedy and Clyde Flynn.

The Chairman recognized Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, Minority Floor Leader, for the purpose of discussing Title VII, Equal Employment Opportunity of the Civil Rights Bill. The Chairman re-

quested that Senator Dirksen be allowed to proceed without debating each item so as to complete this Title today.

Senator Dirksen proceeded to explain Title VII, Equal Employment Opportunity.

General discussion was held on each of the sections of Title VII.

The Chairman announced that at a future meeting of the Conference there would be an opportunity for Members to discuss items in the bill.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:07 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

[signed] Leverett Saltonstall

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on May 21, 1964

[signed] William Brownrigg III  
Assistant Secretary for the Minority

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[May 22, 1964]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR FRIDAY, MAY 22, 1964, AT 9:15 A.M., ROOM S-207, SENATE CONFERENCE ROOM, EAST FRONT OF THE CAPITOL

The Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the meeting to order at 9:40 a.m. and asked the Secretary, Senator Milton R. Young, to call the roll.

The following Senators were present: 22

Aiken	Hickenlooper	Mundt
Allott	Hruska	Pearson
Bennett	Javits	Saltonstall
Case	Jordan	Simpson
Cotton	Keating	Smith
Curtis	Kuchel	Tower
Dirksen	Miller	Young
Fong		

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Judiciary staff members, Messrs. Bernard Walters, Clyde Flynn and Neal Kennedy.

The Chairman announced that a quorum was present. He stated that in response to certain questions which had been previously raised there had been distributed a memorandum which had been

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prepared to cover the points raised. He also stated that if there were no specific amendment suggested for a change in the basic text then it indicated that no language change was needed.

It was recommended that the order of procedure be the new suggested amendments beginning with Title I and the Chairman asked that Mr. Kennedy of Senator Dirksen's staff make the appropriate comment.

Prior to starting on the suggested amendments Senator Kenneth B. Keating requested that emphasis be placed on the fact that the proper Republican quota for cloture is 22 or two-thirds of the Republican Membership instead of the statements appearing in the newspapers that Republican votes for cloture should total 25 or 26.

In response to questions raised, the Chairman again stated that the purpose of the Conference was purely expository and that no binding agreements of any kind would be agreed upon. Also, that another Conference would be held if there was not sufficient time today to discuss the new suggestions and any other individual amendments to various titles.

There was some discussion as to how the package might be introduced and it was suggested that the sponsorship be by Senators Mansfield, Dirksen, [Hubert H.] Humphrey [Democrat of Minnesota] and Kuchel.

Senator Dirksen stated that he was awaiting a memorandum from the Parliamentarian before deciding how best to proceed, namely, whether the package would be introduced as a bill, as a substitute or as an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

Senator Dirksen stressed the fact that it was very necessary to "button up" the whole matter so that a print of the bill could be presented to the Senate within the next few days.

The various new amendments were taken in order through Title V with a number of questions asked and in some instances the staff was requested to look further into the matter for clarification.

Senator Keating expressed the belief the bill should cover all elections instead of just Federal elections and stated that he was still considering the offering of his amendment on this subject.

Senator Jacob K. Javits also said that he wanted to see the total package before deciding whether certain amendments he was interested in might be offered.

The section of the bill allocating authority to the Commissioner of Education in regard to special training at Government expense was discussed at length. Several changes were suggested and the recommendation that the section be eliminated. The Chairman then suggested that the staff look further into possible limitations.



It being approximately 12:10 p.m. and the Senate being in session, the Chairman, after conferring with the Minority Leader, stated that the Conference would resume at 9:30 a.m. on Monday morning and once again refer to Title V and continue through the remaining amendments not covered, as well as for general suggestions.

The Conference adjourned at 12:15 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on May 25, 1964

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

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[May 25, 1964]

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN, THE HONORABLE LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, FOR MONDAY, MAY 25, 1964, AT 9:30 A.M., ROOM S-207, SENATE CONFERENCE ROOM, EAST FRONT OF THE CAPITOL

The Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the meeting to order at 10:05 a.m. and stated that a quorum was not present but that the Conference would begin for the purpose of general questionings. Prior to the start of the meeting there had been distributed a re-draft of Title I through VI which were mostly technical changes and the Chairman stated that before checking those changes the Conference would start with Title VI.

The Chairman requested that Mr. Neal Kennedy explain the change suggested by Senator John Sherman Cooper. There was some discussion on the suggested language and objection was raised by Senator Jacob K. Javits. Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen expressed the opinion that the suggested language might cause trouble.

The Chairman then interrupted the proceedings to inform the Conference that the Secretary, Senator Milton R. Young, stated that a quorum was now present.

The following Senators were present: 20

Aiken	Dirksen	Kuchel
Allott	Dominick	Miller
Bennett	Fong	Mundt
Boggs	Hickenlooper	Pearson
Case	Javits	Saltonstall
Cooper	Jordan	Young
Cotton	Keating	

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Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Judiciary staff members, Messrs. Bernard Walters, Clyde Flynn and Neal Kennedy.

Discussion on Title VI having been concluded, Title VII was then brought up for consideration with an explanation by Mr. Kennedy. Senator Karl E. Mundt suggested further changes in the language and Senator Hiram L. Fong stated that his matter in regard to employment of teachers under stipulation by will had not been covered. After further discussion it was decided that further study concerning language changes would be made by the staff, with Senators Fong, Mundt, Allott and Young.

The other items listed in the new memorandum were taken in order and with the exception of one or two suggestions for further clarification, they were approved.

Senator Kenneth B. Keating raised a question under Title II concerning States having discriminatory practices without penalty and the staff was asked to discuss this matter with the Attorney General.

The Chairman recognized Senator Dirksen who paid tribute to Messrs. Walters, Flynn and Kennedy of the Judiciary staff for the tremendous job that they have been doing in making the bill workable and a palatable piece of legislation in the many conferences which they have held. He also informed the Membership that the Attorney General had from time to time informed the Leadership in the House of Representatives with regard to the changes suggested.

Senator Dirksen stated that after talking with the Majority Leader it was their general opinion that the amendments discussed should be offered in the form of an amendment in the nature of a substitute in order to leave the matter open for further amendment.

He also stated that if the Jury Trial amendment was not decided by the Senate, then the matter in some form would be incorporated in the new text.

He said that he hoped that the text would be introduced tomorrow in order that time would be allowed for all persons to study it.

He also expressed the hope that some time during the following week a cloture petition might be offered and it was his personal hope it would be approved. His conclusion was that historically and morally the legislation should be approved.

The Chairman recognized Senator Mundt who expressed the hope that individual amendments might be offered in the Republican Conference to the text before the substitute is actually presented on the Senate Floor.

Senator Norris Cotton also expressed the same idea as no suggestions had been made regarding Title VII.

The Chairman stated that after conferring with the Minority Leader it was agreeable to recess the meeting until 2:30 p.m. when discussion might be had on private amendments.

There being no further business, the meeting recessed at 12:18 p.m.

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The Chairman, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall, called the meeting to order at 2:50 p.m. and stated that a quorum was not present but that, if there was no objection on the part of Senator Mundt, the Conference would proceed. There was no objection.

The Chairman recognized Senator Mundt but before proceeding Senator Hiram L. Fong asked if he might yield to him, which he did.

The Chairman recognized Senator Fong who suggested an amendment in regard to the exemption of institutions of learning which had been directed by some instrument to hire employees of a particular religious faith. Senator Fong stated that the amendment covered only one particular case, the Bishop Estate in Hawaii, and the Senator was willing to accept a suggested amendment by Senator Dirksen to include a cut-off date in the amendment. Senator Javits also suggested that consideration be given to the Gerard Trust Case. The Chairman asked that the staff look further into the matter.

The Chairman announced that the Secretary, the Honorable Milton R. Young, had informed him that a quorum was now present.

Senators present 20:

Aiken	Dirksen	Miller
Allott	Dominick	Mundt
Bennett	Fong	Pearson
Boggs	Hickenlooper	Saltonstall
Case	Javits	Williams
Cooper	Jordan	Young
Cotton	Kuchel	

Also present were J. Mark Trice, William Brownrigg III and Judiciary staff members, Messrs. Bernard Walters, Clyde Flynn and Neal Kennedy.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Mundt who presented for the consideration of the Conference a new section known as 703 H which sought to place certain limitations on the phrase "unlawful employment practices." Senator Mundt said he was afraid that if the protection was not spelled out by the amendment it would mean trouble for the Commission and what he sought to do was to clarify the regular recognized factors which are normally taken into consideration. The Chairman suggested that the language change be worked out with the staff.

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The Chairman then recognized Senator Cotton who stated that he had strong reservations and misgivings regarding Title VII. He stated that his amendment starts out with 100 employees and stops there and he sought to eliminate the gradation now in the bill which cuts the figure to ultimately 25 employees. He stated that in his opinion enforcement of the bill as now written would be difficult and that 80% of the employers would be eliminated by his amendment.

Senator Dirksen stated that the numbers in the bill were worked out after looking at the State employment laws and that the numbers used were well above the minimums. The Chairman thanked Senator Cotton for his presentation.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Miller who made a number of technical suggestions concerning changes in the various titles. The Chairman asked that the staff look into the suggestions made.

The Chairman then recognized Senator Gordon Allott who stated that if the amendments suggested by Senator Mundt were accepted it would take care of the situation which he had in mind in regard to negating imbalance quotas.

The staff was asked to talk with both Senator Mundt and Senator Allott to see if specific language could be worked out to cover the two situations.

The Chairman recognized Senator Mundt who raised the question as to whether or not there might be another Conference or if it might be possible for Senator Dirksen to confer with those Senators who had particular amendments in mind, before the substitute bill was introduced. The Chairman stated that the purpose of the Conference this afternoon was for all Senators interested to present their ideas and due to the time element it was suggested that those Senators interested confer immediately with the staff in the hope that a decision might be reached in regard to their amendments.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 4:55 p.m.

[signed] Milton R. Young  
Secretary of the Conference

Approved by the Chairman of the Conference on May 27, 1964

[signed] J. Mark Trice  
Secretary for the Minority

## Appendix A-1

### SENATE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE CHAIRMEN <sup>1</sup>

Chairman	State	Congress	Years
Henry B. Anthony	Rhode Island	48th/1	term ended 1884
John Sherman	Ohio	48th/2	Sept. 1884– Dec. 1885
George Edmunds	Vermont	49th–51st	1885–1891
John Sherman	Ohio	52nd–54th	1891–1897
William B. Allison	Iowa	55th–60th/1	1897–1908
Eugene Hale	Maine	60th/1–61st	1908–1911
Shelby Cullom	Illinois	62nd	1911–1913
Jacob H. Gallinger	New Hampshire	63rd–65th/2	1913–1918
Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr.	Massachusetts	65th/2– 68th/1	1918–1924
Charles Curtis	Kansas	68th/3–70th	1924–1929
James E. Watson	Indiana	71st, 72nd	1929–1933
Charles L. McNary	Oregon	73rd–78th	1933–1944
Arthur H. Vandenberg	Michigan	79th	1945–1946
Eugene D. Millikin	Colorado	80th–84th	1947–1956
Leverett Saltonstall	Massachusetts	85th–89th	1957–1966
Margaret Chase Smith	Maine	90th–92nd	1967–1972
Norris Cotton	New Hampshire	93rd	1973–1974
Carl T. Curtis	Nebraska	94th, 95th	1975–1978
Robert Packwood	Oregon	96th	1979–1980
James A. McClure	Idaho	97th, 98th	1981–1984
John Chafee	Rhode Island	99th–101st	1985–1990
William Thad Cochran	Mississippi	102nd– 104th	1991–1996
Connie Mack	Florida	105th–	1997–

<sup>1</sup> Records of the Republican Conference are extant only from 1911, but recent research (see Source note) has provided information on the earlier years.

**Sources:** 1884–1913: Gerald Gamm and Steven S. Smith, “The Emergence of Senate Leadership, 1881–1946,” April 1997 (unpublished paper in files of Senate Historical Office); 1913–1997: *History, Rules, and Precedents of the Senate Republican Conference*, 105th Congress, revised March 1997.



## Appendix A-2

### SENATE REPUBLICAN FLOOR LEADERS

Name	State	Years
Charles Curtis	Kansas	1925–1929
James E. Watson	Indiana	1929–1933
Charles L. McNary <sup>1</sup>	Oregon	1933–1944
Wallace H. White, Jr.	Maine	1945–1949
Kenneth S. Wherry	Nebraska	1949–1951
Styles Bridges	New Hampshire	1952–1953
Robert A. Taft	Ohio	1953
William F. Knowland	California	1953–1959
Everett M. Dirksen	Illinois	1959–1969
Hugh D. Scott	Pennsylvania	1969–1977
Howard H. Baker	Tennessee	1977–1985
Robert J. Dole <sup>2</sup>	Kansas	1985–1996
Trent Lott	Mississippi	1996–

<sup>1</sup>In 1940 at the request of Senator McNary, Senator Warren R. Austin (VT) served as acting leader. In succeeding years, although McNary was still officially listed as minority leader until his death on February 25, 1944, Wallace H. White, Jr. served as acting leader.

<sup>2</sup>On December 22, 1995, Senator Robert Dole broke Charles McNary's record as longest-serving Republican floor leader, having served since January 3, 1985, ten years, eleven months, and nine days.





## **Appendix B**

### **MEMBERS OF THE SENATE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE, 1911–1964**

Abel, Hazel H., Nebraska, 1954–1954.  
Aiken, George D., Vermont, 1941–1975.  
Allen, Henry J., Kansas, 1929–1930.  
Allott, Gordon L., Colorado, 1955–1973.  
Austin, Warren R., Vermont, 1931–1946.  
Baird, David, New Jersey, 1918–1919.  
Baird, David, Jr., New Jersey, 1929–1930.  
Baldwin, Raymond E., Connecticut, 1946–1949.  
Ball, Joseph H., Minnesota, 1940–1942, 1943–1949.  
Ball, Lewis H., Delaware, 1903–1905, 1919–1925.  
Barbour, William Warren, New Jersey, 1931–1937, 1938–1943.  
Barrett, Frank A., Wyoming, 1953–1959.  
Barry, Alexander G., Oregon, 1938–1939.  
Beall, J. Glenn, Maryland, 1953–1965.  
Bender, George H., Ohio, 1954–1957.  
Bennett, Wallace F., Utah, 1951–1974.  
Bingham, Hiram, Connecticut, 1924–1933.  
Blaine, John J., Wisconsin, 1927–1933.  
Boggs, J. Caleb, Delaware, 1961–1973.  
Borah, William E., Idaho, 1907–1940.  
Bottum, Joseph H., South Dakota, 1962–1963.  
Bourne, Jonathan, Jr., Oregon, 1907–1913.  
Bowring, Eva K., Nebraska, 1954–1954.  
Bradley, William O., Kentucky, 1909–1914.  
Brady, James H., Idaho, 1913–1918.  
Brandeggee, Frank B., Connecticut, 1905–1924.  
Brewster, R. Owen, Maine, 1941–1952.  
Bricker, John W., Ohio, 1947–1959.  
Bridges, H. Styles, New Hampshire, 1937–1961.  
Briggs, Frank O., New Jersey, 1907–1913.  
Bristow, Joseph L., Kansas, 1909–1915.  
Brookhart, Smith W., Iowa, 1922–1926, 1927–1933.  
Brooks, C. Wayland, Illinois, 1940–1949.  
Brown, Ernest S., Nevada, 1954–1954.  
Brown, Norris, Nebraska, 1907–1913.  
Brunsedale, C. Norman, North Dakota, 1959–1960.  
Buck, Clayton Douglass, Delaware, 1943–1949.

Burleigh, Edwin C., Maine, 1913–1916.  
 Burnham, Henry E., New Hampshire, 1901–1913.  
 Bursum, Holm O., New Mexico, 1921–1925.  
 Burton, Harold H., Ohio, 1941–1945.  
 Burton, Theodore E., Ohio, 1909–1915, 1928–1929.  
 Bush, Prescott S., Connecticut, 1952–1963.  
 Bushfield, Harlan J., South Dakota, 1943–1948.  
 Bushfield, Vera C., South Dakota, 1948–1948.  
 Butler, Hugh A., Nebraska, 1941–1954.  
 Butler, John Marshall, Maryland, 1951–1963.  
 Butler, William M., Massachusetts, 1924–1926.  
 Cain, Harry P., Washington, 1946–1953.  
 Calder, William M., New York, 1917–1923.  
 Cameron, Ralph H., Arizona, 1921–1927.  
 Capehart, Homer E., Indiana, 1945–1963.  
 Capper, Arthur, Kansas, 1919–1949.  
 Carey, Robert D., Wyoming, 1930–1937.  
 Carlson, Frank, Kansas, 1950–1969.  
 Case, Clifford P., New Jersey, 1955–1979.  
 Case, Francis H., South Dakota, 1951–1962.  
 Catron, Thomas B., New Mexico, 1912–1917.  
 Clapp, Moses E., Minnesota, 1901–1917.  
 Clark, Clarence D., Wyoming, 1895–1917.  
 Colt, LeBaron B., Rhode Island, 1913–1924.  
 Cooper, John Sherman, Kentucky, 1946–1949, 1952–1955, 1956–1973.  
 Cordon, Guy, Oregon, 1944–1955.  
 Cotton, Norris H., New Hampshire, 1954–1974, 1975–1975.  
 Couzens, James, Michigan, 1922–1936.  
 Crane, Winthrop M., Massachusetts, 1904–1913.  
 Crawford, Coe I., South Dakota., 1909–1915.  
 Crippa, Edward D., Wyoming, 1954–1954.  
 Crow, William E., Pennsylvania, 1921–1922.  
 Cullom, Shelby M., Illinois, 1883–1913.  
 Cummins, Albert B., Iowa, 1908–1926.  
 Curtis, Carl T., Nebraska, 1955–1979.  
 Curtis, Charles, Kansas, 1907–1913, 1915–1929.  
 Cutting, Bronson M., New Mexico, 1927–1928, 1929–1935.  
 Dale, Porter H., Vermont, 1923–1933.  
 Danaher, John A., Connecticut, 1939–1945.  
 Darby, Harry, Kansas, 1949–1950.  
 Davis, James J., Pennsylvania, 1930–1945.  
 Deneen, Charles S., Illinois, 1925–1931.  
 Dickinson, Lester J., Iowa, 1931–1937.  
 Dillingham, William P., Vermont, 1900–1923.  
 Dirksen, Everett M., Illinois, 1951–1969.  
 Dixon, Joseph M., Montana, 1907–1913.  
 Dominick, Peter H., Colorado, 1963–1975.  
 Donnell, Forrest C., Missouri, 1945–1951.

Drew, Irving W., New Hampshire, 1918–1918.  
 Duff, James H., Pennsylvania, 1951–1957.  
 Dulles, John Foster, New York, 1949–1949.  
 du Pont, Henry A., Delaware, 1906–1917.  
 du Pont, Thomas C., Delaware, 1921–22, 1925–1928.  
 Dworshak, Henry C., Idaho, 1946–1949, 1949–1962.  
 Ecton, Zales N., Montana, 1947–1953.  
 Edge, Walter E., New Jersey, 1919–1929.  
 Elkins, Davis, West Virginia, 1911–1911, 1919–1925.  
 Ernst, Richard P., Kentucky, 1921–1927.  
 Fall, Albert B., New Mexico, 1912–1921.  
 Ferguson, Homer, Michigan, 1943–1955.  
 Fernald, Bert M., Maine, 1916–1926.  
 Fess, Simeon D., Ohio, 1923–1935.  
 Flanders, Ralph E., Vermont, 1946–1959.  
 Fong, Hiram L., Hawaii, 1959–1977.  
 France, Joseph I., Maryland, 1917–1923.  
 Frazier, Lynn J., North Dakota, 1923–1941.  
 Frelinghuysen, Joseph S., New Jersey, 1917–1923.  
 Frye, William P., Maine, 1881–1911.  
 Gallinger, Jacob H., New Hampshire, 1891–1918.  
 Gamble, Robert J., South Dakota, 1901–1913.  
 Gibson, Ernest W., Vermont, 1933–1940.  
 Gibson, Ernest W., Jr., Vermont, 1940–1941.  
 Gillett, Frederick H., Massachusetts, 1925–1931.  
 Glenn, Otis F., Illinois, 1928–1933.  
 Goff, Guy D., West Virginia, 1925–1931.  
 Goff, Nathan, West Virginia, 1913–1919.  
 Goldsborough, Phillips L., Maryland, 1929–1935.  
 Goldwater, Barry M., Arizona, 1953–1965, 1969–1987.  
 Gooding, Frank R., Idaho, 1921–1928.  
 Gould, Arthur R., Maine, 1926–1931.  
 Grammer, Elijah S., Washington, 1932–1933.  
 Graves, Dixie Bibb, Alabama, 1937–1938.  
 Greene, Frank L., Vermont, 1923–1930.  
 Griswold, Dwight P., Nebraska, 1952–1954.  
 Gronna, Asle J., North Dakota, 1911–1921.  
 Grundy, Joseph R., Pennsylvania, 1929–1930.  
 Guggenheim, Simon, Colorado, 1907–1913.  
 Gurney, John Chandler (Chan), South Dakota, 1939–1951.  
 Hale, Frederick, Maine, 1917–1941.  
 Harding, Warren G., Ohio, 1915–1921.  
 Harreld, John W., Oklahoma, 1921–1927.  
 Hart, Thomas C., Connecticut, 1945–1946.  
 Hastings, Daniel O., Delaware, 1928–1937.  
 Hatfield, Henry D., West Virginia, 1929–1935.  
 Hawkes, Albert W., New Jersey, 1943–1949.  
 Hebert, Felix, Rhode Island, 1929–1935.

Hendrickson, Robert C., New Jersey, 1949–1955.  
 Heyburn, Weldon B., Idaho, 1903–1912.  
 Hickenlooper, Bourke B., Iowa, 1945–1969.  
 Hoblitzell, John D., Jr., West Virginia, 1958–1958.  
 Holman, Rufus C., Oregon, 1939–1945.  
 Howard, Guy V., Minnesota, 1936–1937.  
 Howell, Robert B., Nebraska, 1923–1933.  
 Hruska, Roman L., Nebraska, 1954–1976.  
 Ives, Irving M., New York, 1947–1959.  
 Jackson, William P., Maryland, 1912–1914.  
 Javits, Jacob K., New York, 1957–1981.  
 Jenner, William E., Indiana, 1944–1945, 1947–1959.  
 Johnson, Hiram W., California, 1917–1945.  
 Jones, Wesley L., Washington, 1909–1932.  
 Jordan, Leonard B., Idaho, 1962–1973.  
 Kean, Hamilton F., New Jersey, 1929–1935.  
 Keating, Kenneth B., New York, 1959–1965.  
 Kellogg, Frank B., Minnesota, 1917–1923.  
 Kem, James P., Missouri, 1947–1953.  
 Kenyon, William S., Iowa, 1911–1922.  
 Keyes, Henry W., New Hampshire, 1919–1937.  
 Knowland, William F., California, 1945–1959.  
 Knox, Philander C., Pennsylvania, 1904–1909, 1917–1921.  
 Kuchel, Thomas H., California, 1953–1969.  
 Ladd, Edwin F., North Dakota, 1921–1925.  
 La Follette, Robert M., Wisconsin, 1906–1925.  
 La Follette, Robert M., Jr., Wisconsin, 1925–1947.<sup>1</sup>  
 Langer, William, North Dakota, 1941–1959.  
 Larrazolo, Octaviano A., New Mexico, 1928–1929.  
 Lenroot, Irvine L., Wisconsin, 1918–1927.  
 Lippitt, Henry F., Rhode Island, 1911–1917.  
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, Massachusetts, 1893–1924.  
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, Jr., Massachusetts, 1937–1944, 1947–1953.  
 Lorimer, William, Illinois, 1909–1912.  
 Malone, George W., Nevada, 1947–1959.  
 Martin, Edward, Pennsylvania, 1947–1959.  
 Martin, Thomas E., Iowa, 1955–1961.  
 Massey, William A., Nevada, 1912–1913.  
 McCarthy, Joseph R., Wisconsin, 1947–1957.  
 McCormick, Joseph Medill, Illinois, 1919–1925.  
 McCulloch, Roscoe C., Ohio, 1929–1930.  
 McCumber, Porter J., North Dakota, 1899–1923.  
 McKinley, William B., Illinois, 1921–1926.  
 McLean, George P., Connecticut, 1911–1929.  
 McMaster, William H., South Dakota, 1925–1931.  
 McNary, Charles L., Oregon, 1917–1918, 1918–1944.  
 Means, Rice W., Colorado, 1924–1927.

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<sup>1</sup> In 1934 and 1940, Senator La Follette ran for reelection as a Progressive.

Mechem, Edwin L., New Mexico, 1962–1964.  
 Metcalf, Jesse H., Rhode Island, 1924–1937.  
 Miller, Jack R., Iowa, 1961–1973.  
 Millikin, Eugene D., Colorado, 1941–1957.  
 Moore, Edward H., Oklahoma, 1943–1949.  
 Morrow, Dwight W., New Jersey, 1930–1931.  
 Morse, Wayne L., Oregon, 1945–1969.<sup>2</sup>  
 Morton, Thruston B., Kentucky, 1957–1968.  
 Moses, George H., New Hampshire, 1918–1933.  
 Mulkey, Frederick W., Oregon, 1907–1907, 1918–1918.  
 Mundt, Karl E., South Dakota, 1948–1973.  
 Murphy, Maurice J., Jr., New Hampshire, 1961–1962.  
 Nelson, Arthur E., Minnesota, 1942–1943.  
 Nelson, Knute, Minnesota, 1895–1923.  
 New, Harry S., Indiana, 1917–1923.  
 Newberry, Truman H., Michigan, 1919–1922.  
 Nicholson, Samuel D., Colorado, 1921–1923.  
 Nixon, George S., Nevada, 1905–1912.  
 Nixon, Richard M., California, 1950–1953.  
 Norbeck, Peter, South Dakota, 1921–1936.  
 Norris, George W., Nebraska, 1913–1943.<sup>3</sup>  
 Nye, Gerald P., North Dakota, 1925–1945.  
 Oddie, Tasker L., Nevada, 1921–1933.  
 Oliver, George T., Pennsylvania, 1909–1917.  
 Page, Carroll S., Vermont, 1908–1923.  
 Partridge, Frank C., Vermont, 1930–1931.  
 Patterson, Roscoe C., Missouri, 1929–1935.  
 Payne, Frederick G., Maine, 1953–1959.  
 Pearson, James B., Kansas, 1962–1978.  
 Penrose, Boies, Pennsylvania, 1897–1921.  
 Pepper, George W., Pennsylvania, 1922–1927.  
 Perkins, George C., California, 1893–1915.  
 Phipps, Lawrence C., Colorado, 1919–1931.  
 Pine, William B., Oklahoma, 1925–1931.  
 Poindexter, Miles, Washington, 1911–1923.<sup>4</sup>  
 Potter, Charles E., Michigan, 1952–1959.  
 Prouty, Winston L., Vermont, 1959–1971.  
 Purtell, William A., Connecticut, 1952–1952, 1953–1959.  
 Pyle, Gladys, South Dakota, 1938–1939.  
 Rawson, Charles A., Iowa, 1922–1922.  
 Reed, Clyde M., Kansas, 1939–1949.  
 Reed, David A., Pennsylvania, 1922–1935.  
 Revercomb, W. Chapman, West Virginia, 1943–1949, 1956–1959.  
 Reynolds, Samuel W., Nebraska, 1954–1954.

<sup>2</sup> Senator Morse entered the Senate as a Republican, became an Independent in 1953, and in 1955 joined the Democratic Conference.

<sup>3</sup> Senator Norris became an Independent in 1937.

<sup>4</sup> From 1913–1915, Senator Poindexter was a Progressive, returning to the Republican Conference in 1915.

Richardson, Harry A., Delaware, 1907–1913.  
 Robertson, Edward V., Wyoming, 1943–1949.  
 Robinson, Arthur R., Indiana, 1925–1935.  
 Robsion, John M., Kentucky, 1930–1930.  
 Root, Elihu, New York, 1909–1915.  
 Sackett, Frederic M., Kentucky, 1925–1930.  
 Saltonstall, Leverett, Massachusetts, 1945–1967.  
 Sanders, Newell, Tennessee, 1912–1913.  
 Schall, Thomas D., Minnesota, 1925–1935.  
 Schoepel, Andrew F., Kansas, 1949–1962.  
 Schuyler, Karl C., Colorado, 1932–1933.  
 Scott, Hugh D., Jr., Pennsylvania, 1959–1977.  
 Seaton, Frederick A., Nebraska, 1951–1952.  
 Sherman, Lawrence Y., Illinois, 1913–1921.  
 Shipstead, Henrik, Minnesota, 1923–1947.<sup>5</sup>  
 Shortridge, Samuel M., California, 1921–1933.  
 Shott, Hugh I., West Virginia, 1942–1943.  
 Simpson, Milward L., Wyoming, 1962–1967.  
 Smith, Frank L., Illinois, 1926–1928.  
 Smith, H. Alexander, New Jersey, 1944–1959.  
 Smith, Margaret Chase, Maine, 1949–1973.  
 Smith, William A., Michigan, 1907–1919.  
 Smoot, Reed, Utah, 1903–1933.  
 Spencer, Selden P., Missouri, 1918–1925.  
 Stanfield, Robert N., Oregon, 1921–1927.  
 Stanfill, William A., Kentucky, 1945–1946.  
 Steiwer, Frederick, Oregon, 1927–1938.  
 Stephenson, Isaac, Wisconsin, 1907–1915.  
 Sterling, Thomas, South Dakota, 1913–1925.  
 Stewart, David W., Iowa, 1926–1927.  
 Sullivan, Patrick J., Wyoming, 1929–1930.  
 Sutherland, George, Utah, 1905–1917.  
 Sutherland, Howard, West Virginia, 1917–1923.  
 Taft, Kingsley A., Ohio, 1946–1947.  
 Taft, Robert A., Ohio, 1939–1953.  
 Thomas, John, Idaho, 1928–1933, 1940–1945.  
 Thye, Edward J., Minnesota, 1947–1959.  
 Tobey, Charles W., New Hampshire, 1939–1953.  
 Tower, John G., Texas, 1961–1985.  
 Townsend, Charles E., Michigan, 1911–1923.  
 Townsend, John G., Jr., Delaware, 1929–1941.  
 Upton, Robert W., New Hampshire, 1953–1954.  
 Vandenberg, Arthur H., Michigan, 1928–1951.  
 Vare, William S., Pennsylvania, 1927–1929.  
 Wadsworth, James W., Jr., New York, 1915–1927.  
 Walcott, Frederic C., Connecticut, 1929–1935.

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<sup>5</sup> Senator Shipstead belonged to the Farmer Labor party until 1941, when he joined the Republican Conference.

Warren, Francis E., Wyoming, 1890–1893, 1895–1929  
 Waterman, Charles W., Colorado, 1927–1932.  
 Watkins, Arthur V., Utah, 1947–1959.  
 Watson, James E., Indiana, 1916–1933.  
 Weeks, John W., Massachusetts, 1913–1919.  
 Weeks, Sinclair, Massachusetts, 1944–1944.  
 Welker, Herman, Idaho, 1951–1957.  
 Weller, Ovington E., Maryland, 1921–1927.  
 Wetmore, George P., Rhode Island, 1895–1907, 1908–1913.  
 Wherry, Kenneth S., Nebraska, 1943–1951.  
 White, Wallace H., Jr., Maine, 1931–1949.  
 Wiley, Alexander, Wisconsin, 1939–1963.  
 Williams, George H., Missouri, 1925–1926.  
 Williams John J., Delaware, 1947–1970.  
 Willis, Frank B., Ohio, 1921–1928.  
 Willis, Raymond E., Indiana, 1941–1947.  
 Wilson, George Allison, Iowa, 1943–1949.  
 Works, John D., California, 1911–1917.  
 Young, Lafayette, Iowa, 1910–1911.<sup>6</sup>  
 Young, Milton R., North Dakota, 1945–1981.

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<sup>6</sup> Senator Young served until April 11, 1911.





## **Appendix C**

### **CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES OF SENATE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE 1911–1964 <sup>1</sup>**

#### **Committee on Committees**

62nd Congress (1911–1913), Jacob H. Gallinger (NH)  
63rd Congress (1913–1915), Henry Cabot Lodge (MA)<sup>2</sup>  
64th Congress (1915–1917), Henry Cabot Lodge (MA)  
65th Congress (1917–1919), Francis E. Warren (WY)  
66th Congress (1919–1921), Frank B. Brandegee (CT)  
67th Congress (1921–1923), Frank B. Brandegee (CT)  
68th Congress (1923–1925), Frank B. Brandegee (CT)<sup>3</sup>, James E. Watson (IN)<sup>4</sup>  
69th Congress (1925–1927), James E. Watson (IN)  
70th Congress (1927–1929), James E. Watson (IN)  
71st Congress (1929–1931), Charles L. McNary (OR)  
72nd Congress (1931–1933), Charles L. McNary (OR)  
73rd Congress (1933–1935), David A. Reed (PA)  
74th Congress (1935–1937), Gerald P. Nye (ND)  
75th Congress (1937–1939), Gerald P. Nye (ND)  
76th Congress (1939–1941), Gerald P. Nye (ND)  
77th Congress (1941–1942), Gerald P. Nye (ND)  
78th Congress (1943–1945), Gerald P. Nye (ND)  
79th Congress (1945–1947), Wallace H. White, Jr. (ME)  
80th Congress (1947–1949), Edward V. Robertson (WY)  
81st Congress (1949–1951), Hugh Butler (NE)  
82nd Congress (1951–1953), Hugh Butler (NE)  
83rd Congress (1953–1955), Hugh Butler (NE)<sup>5</sup>, John W. Bricker (OH)<sup>6</sup>  
84th Congress (1955–1957), John W. Bricker (OH)  
85th Congress (1957–1959), John W. Bricker (OH)  
86th Congress (1959–1961), Andrew F. Schoeppel (KS)  
87th Congress (1961–1963), Andrew F. Schoeppel (KS)  
88th Congress (1963–1965), Frank Carlson (KS)

#### **Steering Committee <sup>7</sup>**

62nd Congress (1911–1913), Shelby Cullom (IL)

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<sup>1</sup> Based on the minutes of the Conference.

<sup>2</sup> List not included in minutes but he submitted report for committee.

<sup>3</sup> Died October 14, 1924.

<sup>4</sup> Serving as chairman in December 1924.

<sup>5</sup> Died July 1, 1954.

<sup>6</sup> Appointed July 9, 1954.

<sup>7</sup> Also known as Committee on Order of Business in the early years.

63rd Congress (1913–1915), (Committee not appointed—Democrats controlled Senate)  
 64th Congress (1915–1917), Jacob H. Gallinger (NH)<sup>8</sup>  
 65th Congress (1917–1919), (Committee not appointed—Democrats controlled Senate.)  
 66th Congress (1919–1921), Porter J. McCumber (ND)  
 67th Congress (1921–1923), Robert M. La Follette (WI)<sup>9</sup>  
 68th Congress (1923–1925), James W. Wadsworth, Jr. (NY)  
 69th Congress (1925–1927), James W. Wadsworth, Jr. (NY)  
 70th Congress (1927–1929), Frederic M. Sackett (KY)  
 71st Congress (1929–1931), Guy D. Goff (WV)<sup>10</sup>  
 72nd Congress (1931–1933), Arthur H. Vandenberg (MI)  
 73rd Congress (1933–1935), Arthur H. Vandenberg (MI)<sup>11</sup>  
 74th Congress (1935–1937), (Minutes note that Legislative Committee not appointed in 74th Congress.)  
 75th Congress (1937–1939), (Committee apparently not appointed.)  
 76th Congress (1939–1942), (Committee apparently not appointed.)  
 77th Congress (1941–1943), (Committee apparently not appointed.)<sup>12</sup>  
 78th Congress (1943–1945), Robert A. Taft (OH)<sup>13</sup>  
 79th Congress (1945–1947), Robert A. Taft (OH)  
 80th Congress (1947–1949), Robert A. Taft (OH)

### **Policy Committee<sup>14</sup>**

81st Congress (1949–1951), Robert A. Taft (OH)  
 82nd Congress (1951–1953), Robert A. Taft (OH)  
 83rd Congress (1953–1955), William F. Knowland (CA)<sup>15</sup>, Homer Ferguson (MI)<sup>16</sup>  
 84th Congress (1955–1957), Styles Bridges (NH)  
 85th Congress (1957–1959), Styles Bridges (NH)  
 86th Congress (1959–1961), Styles Bridges (NH)  
 87th Congress (1961–1963), Styles Bridges (NH)  
 88th Congress (1963–1965), Bourke B. Hickenlooper (IA)

### **Patronage Committee**

66th Congress (1919–1921), Harry S. New (IN)  
 67th Congress (1921–1923), Howard Sutherland (WV)  
 68th Congress (1923–1925), Irvine L. Lenroot (WI)  
 69th Congress (1925–1927), Irvine L. Lenroot (WI)

<sup>8</sup> A committee appointed to confer with the Democratic Steering Committee on the legislative program. Gallinger was also Republican Conference chairman.

<sup>9</sup> Chairman is not indicated in minutes, but La Follette's name is listed first.

<sup>10</sup> Committee was not appointed until April 8, 1930.

<sup>11</sup> Legislative committee of seven members appointed to take the place of the Committee on Order of Business, since Democrats controlled Senate.

<sup>12</sup> A Committee on the Calendar created to follow bills on the calendar for the minority.

<sup>13</sup> In February 1944, the Conference adopted formal rules, which included creation of a Steering Committee for each Congress.

<sup>14</sup> In December 1946, after legislation provided for Senate Republican and Democratic policy committees, the Conference voted to make its Steering Committee the party's official Policy Committee.

<sup>15</sup> Resigned August 4, 1953 to become floor leader after the death of Robert Taft.

<sup>16</sup> Elected August 4, 1953.

70th Congress (1927–1929), Hiram Bingham (CT)  
 71st Congress (1929–1931), Hiram Bingham (CT)  
 72nd Congress (1931–1933), Hiram Bingham (CT)  
 73rd Congress (1933–1935), Jesse H. Metcalf (RI)  
 74th Congress (1935–1937), Jesse H. Metcalf (RI)  
 75th Congress—79th Congress (Committee not appointed)  
 80th Congress (1947–1949), Styles Bridges (NH)<sup>17</sup>  
 81st Congress (1949–1951), Styles Bridges (NH)  
 82nd Congress (1951–1953), Styles Bridges (NH)  
 83rd Congress (1953–1955), Edward Martin (PA)  
 84th Congress (1955–1957), Edward Martin (PA)  
 85th Congress (1957–1959), Edward Martin (PA)  
 86th Congress (1959–1961), Margaret Chase Smith (ME)  
 87th Congress (1961–1963), Margaret Chase Smith (ME)  
 88th Congress (1963–1965), Norris Cotton (NH)

### Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee<sup>18</sup>

70th Congress (1927–1929), Jesse H. Metcalf (RI)  
 71st Congress (1929–1931), George H. Moses (NH)  
 72nd Congress (1931–1933), Henry D. Hatfield (WV)  
 73rd Congress (1933–1935), Daniel O. Hastings (DE)  
 74th Congress (1935–1937), (Committee apparently not appointed.)  
 75th Congress (1937–1939), John G. Townsend, Jr. (DE)  
 76th Congress (1939–1941), (No committee mentioned in minutes.)  
 77th Congress (1941–1943), John G. Townsend (**former** senator)  
 78th Congress (1943–1945), John G. Townsend (**former** senator)  
 79th Congress (1945–1947), John G. Townsend (**former** senator)  
 80th Congress (1947–1949), John G. Townsend (**former** senator)  
 81st Congress (1949–1951), Owen Brewster (ME), John G. Townsend  
 (former senator), Cochairman  
 82nd Congress (1951–1953), Styles Bridges (NH), John G. Townsend  
 (former senator), Finance Chairman  
 83rd Congress (1953–1955), Everett M. Dirksen (IL)  
 84th Congress (1955–1957), Barry M. Goldwater (AZ)<sup>19</sup>, Andrew F.  
 Schoeppel (KS)<sup>20</sup>  
 85th Congress (1957–1959), Andrew F. Schoeppel (KS)  
 86th Congress (1959–1961), Barry M. Goldwater (AZ)  
 87th Congress (1961–1963), Barry M. Goldwater (AZ)  
 88th Congress (1963–1965), Thruston B. Morton (KY)

<sup>17</sup> Starting in 1947, the committee was renamed Committee on Personnel.

<sup>18</sup> It is not clear from the minutes—which often refer simply to “Campaign Committee”—when the name was formally changed to the present National Republican Senatorial Committee.

<sup>19</sup> Resigned from committee February 28, 1956.

<sup>20</sup> Appointed as chairman February 28, 1956.

## **Calendar Committee**

77th Congress (1941–1943), John A. Danaher (CT)  
78th Congress (1943–1945), Chapman Revercomb (WV)  
79th Congress (1945–1947), Chapman Revercomb (WV)  
80th Congress–85th Congress (Committee not appointed)  
86th Congress (1959–1961), Thomas E. Martin (IA)  
87th Congress (1961–1963), Kenneth B. Keating (NY)  
88th Congress (1963–1965), Kenneth B. Keating (NY)

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[Note: Because the purpose of this publication is chiefly as a resource on the institutional history of the Republican Conference, the indexing of individual Conference members is limited. Even though the minutes mention senators in many contexts, Republican Conference members are only indexed when they are the subject of an action or discussion, such as election to a Senate or Conference office, or when they participate in a substantial discussion (although the few *Democratic* senators mentioned during discussions are indexed.) Passing references, such as making nominations, seconding motions, or membership on committees, are not included. Those researching a particular senator will find in Appendix B a list of all members of the Conference and the dates of their Senate service—the full period during which their participation in the Conference might be mentioned in the minutes. An index entry is included for roll-call votes during the years when they appear in the minutes, making it possible to check an individual's votes if he or she served during such periods.

[When two or more senators have the same last name (or if a non-senator has the same last name as a senator), the state abbreviations are added for senators.

[Substantive discussions of topics and legislation are indexed, but passing references to a subject or a bill are not. Senate staff members listed as attending a Conference meeting are indexed, as are individuals nominated for Senate offices.

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