Eighty-Eighth Congress

Jan. 9, 1963-Oct. 3, 1964

Administration of John F. Kennedy/First Administration of Lyndon B. Johnson*

*Following the fatal shooting of John Kennedy by Lee Harvey Oswald on Nov. 22, 1963, Vice President Lyndon B Johnson was sworn in on Air Force One at 2:38pm the same day.

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Historical Background

Early in the afternoon of Friday, November 22, 1963, President John F. Kennedy was assassinated when former U.S. Marine sharpshooter Lee Harvey Oswald opened fire on the Presidential motorcade making its way through Dealey Plaza in Dallas, Texas. President Kennedy had just marked one of the signal achievements of his young administration: The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with the Soviet Union and 100 other nations, prohibiting the detonation of nuclear weapons for testing purposes in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underwater, i.e. anywhere except underground. The treaty was the first formal accord on arms control between the United States and the Soviet Union. Also approved during the early months of the 88th Congress was the Equal Pay Act of 1963, which explicitly prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex in determining the wages for jobs of equal skill.

In the wake of the assassination of President Kennedy, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson thought it was important for the purposes of maintaining stability in the face of such a tragedy that the matter of succession be dispensed with post haste. Upon assuming the office of the Presidency the following day, now President Johnson quickly set out his own ambitious agenda for the country. Chief among the priorities for the Johnson administration were the elimination of poverty and racial injustice—a tall order indeed. Johnson branded his program for a remade American civilization the "Great Society," also known unofficially as the 'War on



President John F. Kennedy



President Lyndon B. Johnson

Poverty.' Some of the key Great Society legislation enacted during the 88th Congress included the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, enacted August 1964, which authorized ten distinct programs under the aegis of the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity for the purposes of addressing many of the causes of poverty. It also the Food Stamp Act of 1964, also enacted in August, which established a permanent Federal food stamp program, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, enacted July 2, 1964, which expanded Federal government powers in order to protect voting rights in areas with a history of racial discrimination, and granted authority to the Justice Department to participate in a law suit involving the failure of state and local authorities to desegregate public schools.

Major natural resources conservation measures enacted during the 88th Congress provided for the creation of a Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, incorporation of federally held wilderness areas into a National Wilderness Preservation System, and establishment of a Land Conservation Fund to provide for future State and Federal recreational area needs.

Internationally, U.S. involvement in the civil war in North and South Vietnam crossed a new threshold after a pair of incidents that transpired in August 1964. The Gulf of Tonkin Incident and the subsequently debunked Second Gulf of Tonkin Incident impressed upon the Congress the need to grant broad authority to the President as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, to escalate the prosecution of the war and provide military assistance to any southeast Asian nation that requests it. The joint Gulf of Tonkin resolution granted the President the authority to prosecute the war as he sees fit without a constitutionally prescribed Congressional declaration of war.

Source:

Dell, Christopher and Stephen W. Stathis. <u>Major Acts of Congress and Treaties Approved by the Senate</u>, 1789-1980. Government Division (CRS), Sept. 1, 1982. 97th Congress, 2nd Session, 82-156 GOV. ProQuest Congressional, CRS-1982-GOV-0005

War or Peace?

Cold War Continues

On August 5, 1964, representatives from the United States, along with their colleagues from the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, signed the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, also known as the Partial Test Ban Treaty or Limited Test Ban Treaty. The treaty prohibited all tests of nuclear devices in the atmosphere, under water, or in outer space—i.e. all but underground nuclear tests. The treaty was the first formal arms limitation agreement signed by the United States and the Soviet Union and would become the basis for future efforts to stem nuclear proliferation. Be that as it may, on October 16, 1965, China conducted its first successful nuclear test, becoming the fifth global nuclear power after the U.S. the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and France.

Vietnam War

House	Senate
Majority	Majority
Party:	Party:
Democrat	Democrat
(259 seats)	(66 seats)
Minority Party: Republican	Minority Party: Republican
(176 seats)	(34 seats)
Other	Other
Parties 0	Parties 0
Speaker of	Majority
the House:	Leader:
John W.	Mike
McCormack	Mansfield



Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield

Despite ongoing increases in U.S. expenditures and assignment of military and civilian personnel to assist South Vietnam in their struggle against North Vietnam, the conflict in Vietnam seemed to intensify in the period immediately preceding the 88th Congress. The numerical strength of Việt Cộng guerrillas was increasing steadily. Buddhist activism in South Vietnam was met with increasingly severe countermeasures and violence spread. In November 1963 South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem was deposed and executed in a coup led by Major General Duong Van Minh. In January 1964, the Minh government was overthrown by General Nguyen Khanh. Students and Buddhists in South Vietnam held demonstrations against the policies of the South Vietnamese government and rioting ensued. During the spring of 1964, as the military situation failed to improve, pressure began to build for a more significant increase in U.S. forces.

In August 1964, a pair of incidents involving U.S. Navy ships participating in the war effort were to greatly expand American involvement in the former French colony. First, on August 2, the U.S. Navy destroyer USS Maddox was set upon by North Vietnamese torpedo boats while conducting a routine signals intelligence patrol in the Gulf of Tonkin. Then, two days later, on August 4, the National Security Agency claimed that a second North Vietnamese attack on a U.S. Navy patrol occurred in the Gulf of Tonkin. Though the so-called Second Gulf of Tonkin Incident was later proved to have been apocryphal, the events convinced the U.S. Congress to approve a joint Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which granted the President the authority, absent even a constitutionally prescribed Congressional declaration of war, to order assistance to any southeast Asian nation that requests it. In the immediate term, this led to a marked escalation in the U.S. aerial bombing campaign, not only against North Vietnamese Army and Việt Cộng targets in North and South Vietnam, but also against Pathet Lao positions in nominally neutral Laos. The President would also sharply increase the number of U.S. ground forces in Vietnam subsequent to the Gulf of Tonkin incident, from 20,000 at the end of 1964, to a high of over 500,000 in 1968.

Source:

Committee on Armed Services. House. $\underline{\textit{United States - Vietnam Relations}}$, 1945-1967. GPO, Jan. 1, 1971. 92nd Congress, 1st Session, 71-H202-14. ProQuest Congressional, CMP-1971-ASH-0003

Economic Trends and Conditions

Although economic gains had been realized during the previous two years, at the beginning of the 88th Congress the rate of expansion was beginning to slow and unemployment stood at about 50 percent above the interim goal of a 4.5 percent employment rate. The widening gap between total demand and potential output tended to hold down prices, consumption, investment, savings, employment, and output. In 1964, the outlook was positive, with tax cuts anticipated to accelerate an existing economic expansion. As expected, the economy did respond positively. During 1964 the unemployment rate fell from 5.5 to 4.8, the gross national product rose, personal income rose,

and corporate profits rose, but the wide gap between potential demand and output of useful goods and services persisted.

The Great Society

Upon assuming the Presidency after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, President Lyndon B. Johnson quickly laid out what would be the ambitious domestic agenda for his Presidency. Dubbed "The Great Society," President Johnson took aim at ending nothing less than poverty and racial discrimination and injustice in the United States. Several of the Great Society programs were holdovers from President Kennedy's domestic agenda.

During the 88th Congress, President Johnson was able to usher several of his Great Society proposals through the Congress. Perhaps the most significant of these earliest programs was the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Broadly speaking, the Act prohibited discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. More directly, the key aim of the 1964 Act was guaranteeing the voting rights of African Americans, chiefly in those southern states with a history of suppression of Black voters. The Act also established a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, with a mandate to increasing employment opportunities in African American communities.

Aside from protecting civil rights, the other major plank of the Great Society was President Johnson's "War on Poverty." The major salvo in this war was the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, enacted in August 1964. The Act authorized the establishment of local Community Action Agencies, regulated by the Federal government, and charged with increasing communities use of new Federal programs for combatting poverty. These new Federal programs authorized by the Act include the Job Corps, which facilitated employment and education centers for young men and women to learn the skills required to work in various professions, the Work Study Program, which provided grants to colleges and universities to fund part-time employment for students from low-income families, the Loans to Rural Families program, which provided loans to low-income rural families for the purposes of increasing their income generating capacity, and small loan and investment incentive program, which made funds available to develop and support small businesses.

ohn W. McCormack,

1962 to January 2, 1971

Massachusetts: Speaker, second session,

Eighty-seventh Congress through Ninety-first Congress, from January 10,

Speaker of the House

John W. McCormack

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and Girl Scouts who bro bondbooks to members of Congress in Scutember 1963.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and Girl Scouts Who Brought Handbooks to Members of Congress in September 1963

Sources:

Committee on Economic. Joint. <u>1964 Joint Economic Report. Report of the Joint Economic Committee on the Jan. 1964 Economic Report of the President, with Minority and other Views</u>. GPO, Jan. 1, 1964. 88th Congress, 2nd Session, J0293. ProQuest Congressional, CMP-1964-ECJ-0007

Committee on Economic. Joint. <u>1965 Joint Economic Report. Report of the Joint Economic Committee on the Jan. 1965 Economic Report of the President with Minority and other Views.</u> GPO, Mar. 1, 1965. 89th Congress, 1st Session, J0340. ProQuest Congressional, CMP-1965-ECJ-0002

Major Treaties

Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Bound the signatories, which included the United States, the U.S.S.R., and more than a hundred other nations, "to prohibit, to prevent, and not to carry out any nuclear weapon test explosion, or any other nuclear explosion at any place under its jurisdiction or control (a) in the atmosphere, beyond its units including outer space, or underwater, including territorial water or high seas, or (b) in any other environment if such explosion causes radioactive debris to be present outside the territorial units of the state under whose jurisdiction or control such explosion is conducted." Signatories also pledged to refrain from causing, encouraging, or in any way participating in any nuclear test anywhere else. Concluded August 5, 1963. Approved by the Senate Sept. 24, 1963. (14 UST. 1313-1387)*

* UST refers to the State Department's multivolume series which began in 1950 entitled: United States Treaties and Other International Agreements.

Source:

Dell, Christopher and Stephen W. Stathis. <u>Major Acts of Congress and Treaties Approved by the Senate, 1789-1980</u>. Government Division (CRS), Sept. 1, 1982. 97th Congress, 2nd Session, 82-156 GOV. ProQuest Congressional, CRS-1982-GOV-0005

Landmark U.S. Supreme Court Decisions

NAACP v. Button, holding that the solicitation of legal and professional businesses is allowable and protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments as political expression, 371 U.S. 415 (1963)

Kennedy v. Mendoza-Martinez, holding that those with dual citizenship cannot have their American citizenship revoked as a result of draft evasion under the Fifth and Sixth Amendments, 372 U.S. 144 (1963)

Gideon v. Wainwright, holding that States must provide defense counsel to indigent criminal defendants charged with crimes that carry a sentence of imprisonment, 372 U.S. 335 (1963)

Gray v. Sanders, holding unconstitutional Georgia system of electing Statewide officials, 372 U.S. 368 (1963)

Abington Township School District v. Schempp, holding that State-sponsored Bible reading in public schools is unconstitutional, 374 U.S. 203 (1963)

Sherbert v. Verner, holding that the refusal to provide unemployment compensation due to religious practice reasons violates the First and Fourteenth Amendments, 374 U.S. 398 (1963)

Wesberry v. Sanders, holding that congressional districts must be approximately equal in population, 376 U.S. 1 (1964)

New York Times v. Sullivan, holding that public criticism of public figures is acceptable unless motivated by actual malice, 376 U.S. 254 (1964)

Reynolds v. Sims, holding that State legislature districts must be roughly equal in population, 377 U.S. 533 (1964)

Malloy v. Hogan, holding that the Fourteenth Amendment protects defendants against self-incrimination and demands the establishment of guilt by evidence that is free and separate from a suspect's or witnesses' statements, or voluntarily offered without any improper influence, 378 U.S. 1 (1964)

Bell v. Maryland, holding that service cannot be refused to someone due to their race, as detailed in state and local laws of Maryland, 378 U.S. 226 (1964)

Escobedo v. Illinois, holding that the denial of a person's request to counsel in the time between arrest and indictment is a violation of the Sixth Amendment, 378 U.S. 478 (1964)

Aptheker v. Secretary of State, holding that the restriction of a person's right to travel abroad was unconstitutional under the Fifth Amendment, 378 U.S. 500 (1964)

Heart of Atlanta Motel v. U.S., upholding the validity of Congressional efforts to use the commerce clause to pursue remedies for racial discrimination, 379 U.S. 241 (1964)

Source:

Costello. George A. and Johnny H. Killian. *Constitution of the United States of America, Analysis and Interpretation.* Senate, Jan. 1, 1996. 103rd Congress, 1st Session, S. Doc. 103-6. ProQuest Congressional, 14152 S.doc.6

1963 Events

- **Apr. 10:** Nuclear submarine U.S.S. Thresher lost at sea with all persons aboard while engaged in a deep test dive
- **Apr. 16:** Martin Luther King, arrested in connection with a civil rights demonstration in Birmingham Ala., issues Letter from a Birmingham Jail
- June 12: Civil rights leader Medgar Evers is assassinated
- **July 15:** George C. Wallace, Governor of Alabama, testifies before Congress that "Racial bias, when you talk about bias, segregation of the races is in the best interests of all concerned"
- **Aug. 20:** *Vietnam War* <u>South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem</u> <u>imposes martial law</u>
- Aug. 28: Martin Luther King delivers his "I Have a Dream" speech

- **Nov. 1:** *Vietnam War* <u>Diem regime in South Vietnam overthrown in a coup led by General Duong Van Minh</u>
- **Nov. 22:** President John F. Kennedy is assassinated; Lyndon B. Johnson is sworn in as the 36th President aboard *Air Force One*
- Nov. 24: The killing of Lee Harvey Oswald, the alleged assassin of President Kennedy, by Jack Ruby is captured on live television

1964 Events

- **Jan. 30:** *Vietnam War* <u>South Vietnamese government led by General</u> Minh overthrown in a coup led by General Nguyen Khanh
- Mar. 27: Alaska experiences a devastating earthquake
- **June 21:** <u>Civil rights activists Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Chaney are murdered in Mississippi</u>
- **Aug. 2:** *Vietnam War* <u>Destroyer USS Maddox engages in battle with North Vietnamese patrol boats in the Gulf of Tonkin</u>
- **Aug. 4:** *Vietnam War* <u>USS Maddox and USS Turner Joy reported to be under attack by North Vietnamese vessels</u>
- **Aug. 5:** *Vietnam War* <u>US aircraft launch retaliatory attacks against North Vietnamese patrol bases destroying ships and facilities</u>
- **Aug. 10:** *Vietnam War* <u>Gulf of Tonkin resolution passes with near majority in both Chambers</u>
- Oct. 14: USSR leader Nikita Khrushchev replaced by Leonid Brezhnev and Alexei Kosygin
- Nov. 3: President Johnson re-elected with a crushing majority
- **Dec. 1:** A treaty designating Antarctica as a preserve for scientific research is signed by 12 nations
- **Dec. 10:** Martin Luther King accepts the Nobel Peace Prize

Source:

"American Citizens Missing in Mississippi." Congressional Record. 88th Congress, 2nd Session (June 23, 1964) Vol. 110, pp. 14676-14677. ProQuest Congressional, CR-1964-0623

Committee on Atomic Energy. Joint. *Continuation of Hearings on the Navy's investigation of the Loss of the USS Thresher.* Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, July 23, 1963. 87th Congress, 1st Session, 88 JAto-T.1. ProQuest Congressional, HRG-1963-AEJ-0017

Committee on Foreign Relations. Committee on Armed Services. Senate. <u>Southeast Asia Resolution.</u> Senate, Aug. 6, 1964, Nov. 1966. 88th Congress, 2nd Session, 89th Congress, 2nd Session, 88 S1754-16 (Y4.F76/2:As4/3). ProQuest Congressional, HRG-1964-FOR-0006

Committee on Foreign Relations. Senate. *Executive Sessions of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Historical Series). Vol. XV.* Senate. Jan. 11, 16, 25, Feb. 4-5, 21, May 13, June 5, July 9, 23, 29, Aug. 28, Sept. 26, Oct. 3, 8-11, Nov. 5, 1963. 88th Congress, 1st Session, 87-S381-12 (Y4.F76/2:Ex3/2/v.15). ProQuest Congressional, HRG-1963-FOR-0001

"Jack Ruby Trip to Cuba Revealed." Congressional Record, 88th Congress, 2nd Session (Jan. 22, 1964) Vol. 110, p. 948. ProQuest Congressional, CR-1964-0122

Johnson, Lyndon B. <u>Message to the Congress. Address of the President of the United States</u> <u>delivered before a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives.</u> Committee of the

Whole House, Nov. 27, 1963. 88th Congress, 1st Session, H.doc.178. ProQuest Congressional, 12567 H.doc.178

"Just a Bit Phony." Congressional Record, 88th Congress, 1st Session, (Apr. 22, 1963) Vol. 109, p. A2354. ProQuest Congressional, CR-1963-0422

"Medgar Evers." Congressional Record, 88th Congress, 1st Session, (June 13, 1963) Vol. 109, p. A3796. ProQuest Congressional, CR-1963-0613

Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs. House. <u>Antarctica Report – 1965.</u> Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. House, Apr. 12-13, May 6-7, June 15, 1965. 89th Congress, 1st Session, 89 H2152-1 (Y4.In8/14:89/6). ProQuest Congressional, HRG-1965-IIA-0008

Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs. House. <u>To Provide Assistance to the State of Alaska for the Reconstruction of Areas Damaged by the Earthquake of March 1964 and Subsequent Seismic Waves.</u> Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. House, June 11, 1964. 88th Congress, 2nd Session, 88 HIni-T.370. ProQuest Congressional, HRG-1964-IIA-0152

Young, Don E. <u>Commemorating the "I Have a Dream" Speech at the Lincoln Memorial.</u>
Committee on Resources. House, Nov. 4, 1999. 106th Congress, 1st Session, H. Rpt. 106-448 (Y1.1/8:106-448). ProQuest Congressional, 14605 H.rp.448

Major Acts

Outdoor Recreation Act. Gave statutory authority to the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation as a centralized planning agency with the responsibility for studying and encouraging coordinated and rapid development of recreational facilities at all levels of government. Approved May 28, 1963. (77 Stat.49; PL88-29) (Regulatory History)

Equal Pay Act of 1963. Provided that no employer subject to the Fair Labor Standards Act could discriminate on the basis of sex in payment of wages for jobs requiring equal skill, effort and responsibility. Permitted differences in wages based on seniority, merit, and piecework. Forbade employers from reducing the wages of any employee in order to comply, and unions from urging employees to discriminate against employees on the basis of sex. Approved June 10, 1963. (77 Stat. 56; PL88-38) (Regulatory History)

Revenue Act of 1964. Reduced individual tax rates from the existing 20-to-91 percent to 16-to-77 percent in 1964 and to 14-to-70 percent in 1965. Reduced 18 percent withholding tax to 14 percent, and corporate tax rates from 52 to 48 percent. Tightened tax rules governing the operation of stock option plans, sick pay exclusions, and provided stricter limits on tax deductions resulting from casualty and theft losses. Increased taxes on the sale of a building resulting from "accelerated" depreciation practices, and reduced the capital gains tax on taxpayers 65 and older. Created a new deduction for moving expenses, liberalized child-care deductions, broadened investment tax credits, and provided a minimum standard deduction. Approved Feb. 26, 1964. (78 Stat. 19; PL88-272) (Regulatory History)

Civil Rights Act of 1964. Expanded Federal powers to protect voting rights. Granted authority to the Justice Department to participate in a law suit involving the failures of State or local authorities to desegregate public

accommodations, public facilities, and public schools. Outlawed discrimination in federally funded projects, and the denial of equal job opportunities in businesses and unions with more than 25 members. Also created a Community Relations Service and an Equal Opportunity Commission to end employment discrimination. Approved July 2, 1964. (78 Stat. 241; PL88-352) (Regulatory History)

Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964. Authorized the Administrator of the Housing and Rome Finance Agency to make \$375 million in Federal grants and loans to States and localities for acquiring, constructing and improving facilities and equipment for mass transportation systems owned, operated, leased, or otherwise used by a public transportation authority. Approved July 9, 1964. (78 Stat. 302; PL88-365) (Regulatory History)

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. Declared support for "the determination of the President, as Commander-in-Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression in Vietnam." Affirmed the United States determination to assist any member of protocol State of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty which requested aid in defense of its freedom. Approved Aug. 10, 1964. (78 Stat. 384; PL88-408)

Government Employees Salary Act of 1964. Provided \$536 million for salary increases for 1.7 million Federal employees covered by the five statutory pay systems; \$9.6 million to 7,643 legislative branch employees and 536 Members of Congress (including the Puerto Rican Resident Commissioner); \$3 million to 407 Federal and D.C government executives; and \$8.2 million to 5,769 judicial branch employees and 486 Federal judges. Approved Aug.14, 1964. (78 Stat. 400; PL88-426) (Regulatory History)

Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Authorized 10 separate programs under the supervision of the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity designed to make a coordinated attack on the multiple causes of poverty. Together these programs were designed to alleviate the combined problems of illiteracy, unemployment and lack of public services which, according to the statistics of the Johnson Administration, left one-fifth of the Nation's population impoverished. Approved Aug. 20, 1964. (78 Stat. 508; PL88-452) (Regulatory History)

Food Stamp Act of 1964. Provided for a permanent food-stamp program financed by the Federal Government. Authorized a \$375 million appropriation to cover the Federal costs of the program for the first three years (fiscal years 1965-67). As enacted, the program was intended to aid low-income families to improve their diets. Approved Aug. 31, 1964. (78 Stat. 703; PL88-525) (Regulatory History)

Interest Equalization Tax Act. Imposed a tax of 15 percent of value on new issues of foreign stock and a similar tax on bonds geared to their maturity, generally effective July 19, 1963, and continuing to the end of 1965. Exempted from the tax were: new issues of any country if the President found the tax would imperil stability of the international monetary system;

securities of less developed countries; direct investment by Americans in foreign companies; commercial bank loans; and a variety of specialized types of foreign securities. Approved Sept. 2, 1964. (78 Stat. 809; PL88-563) (Regulatory History)

Wilderness Act. Established a National Wilderness Preservation System for land, water, mineral, and wildlife conservation purposes. Designated as part of the system, 9.1 million acres of National Forest lands which by administrative action had previously been classified as "wilderness," "wild," or "canoe areas." Approved Sept. 3, 1964. (78 Stat. 890; PL88-577)

Land and Water Conservation Fund Act. Created a Land and Water Conservation Fund, to be administered by the Secretary of the Interior, which would receive revenues from various Federal sources. Money from the fund could be used to make grants to the States to help acquire recreational land and to develop recreational facilities; and to finance acquisition of recreational land by Federal agencies. Designed to accelerate State and Federal acquisition of lands suitable for outdoor recreation while they were still available. Approved Sept. 3, 1964. (78 Stat. 897; PL88-578) (Regulatory History)

National Defense Education Act Amendments, 1964. Extended the provisions of the 1958 National Defense Education Act to June 30, 1968. Broadened the act to cover important new academic objectives; extended school aid programs to "federally-impacted" areas for one year; and enacted an expanded library services program. Raised NDEA student loans from the existing \$135 million to \$195 million by 1968, and fellowships from 1,500 to 7,500 by 1968. Approved Oct. 16, 1964. (78 Stat. 1100; PL88-665)

Source:

Dell, Christopher and Stephen W. Stathis. *Major Acts of Congress and Treaties Approved by the Senate.* 1789-1980. Government Division (CRS), Sept. 1, 1982. 97th Congress, 2nd Session, 82-156 GOV. ProQuest Congressional, CRS-1982-GOV-0005

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