'62 Elections: Same Story, Second Verse
As Off-Year Races Produce Stand-Off

By EUGENE KEILIN

Theodore White said of the 1960 elections in his book "The Making of the President," "All across the country, wherever a break in vote structure can be detected, the break favored the Republicans.

"At the grass roots they wrenched away from Democrats complete control over both houses of no less than seven state legislatures and added control of one or another house of legislature in six additional states. They added two Senators. And, most importantly, they added twenty-one Congressmen to the number of seats they held in the House of Representatives.

"IT IS THE Congressional results that most perplex political prediction. For it is in the character of new Congressmen, elected for the first time, that one normally detects ground swells of American political movement—and in the first testing of the sixty-three freshmen Congressmen elected in 1960 (in the fight over the enlargement of the all-powerful House Rules Committee) Kennedy was...to observe that these new Congressmen voted against him by 44 to 19.

"If the American people chose in 1960 a man impatient to move his country forward, they

Dr. Francis L. Loewenheim, Assistant Professor of History, will discuss "Kennedy and the 88th Congress" on KPRC-TV at midnight tonight.

also chose, to accompany him to Washington, the most conservative Congress in six years.

"FOR THE apparent Democratic majority of 262 Representatives in the House includes 101 Democrats from the Old South—of whom more than half are permanent allies of the Republicans on domestic matters. The Americans had chosen, in fact, to send to Washington a Congress that fell permanently short by twelve to twenty votes of giving John F. Kennedy a natural working majority."

"For a Democratic President," White concludes, "like John F. Kennedy who, both by temperament and political philosophy, believes that the government he commands must act, the sense of inaction is galling, and the congressional elections of 1960 are bitter to the taste. He cannot act freely or boldly, but must bargain for half a dozen or a dozen votes at each proposal and each movement forward until, finally, his direction and leadership becomes clear enough to the people at large to force Congress to follow—or give him a new Congress of his own in 1962."

IF THIS sense of frustration was galling early in the administration's first year, it must have become doubly so as the 87th Congress wore on.

The President had his legislative victories, to be sure, but many involved measures whose bipartisan sponsorship and support assured passage under any leadership. Many others, more important but less clearcut, involved either serious compromise or the politically-expensive process of bargaining long and hard for just enough votes.

Even more embarrassing and discouraging to the administration were the many key Kennedy proposals which died either in the hands of their authors or were killed in the pigeon holes of committees to save them from certain defeat if brought to a vote.

THAT PRESIDENT Kennedy