

SURVEY OF POLITICAL SCIENTISTS PICKS BEST AND WORST SENATORS; McCARTHY DESPISED; TAFT SCORED FOR 'PRESIDENTITIS'; MORSE HIGH

New England Given Top Ranking Spot In Region Ratings

Poll Sober Effort; Not Popularity Test

(Editor's note: The following story, which evaluates the members of the United States Senate, both on their general level of excellence as individuals and on a regional basis, was prepared from replies to a survey of the 180 members of the American Political Science Association who are listed as legislative specialists in the association's directory. The author is associate professor of economics at the University of Denver.)

By DR. BYRON L. JOHNSON

The top five men in the U. S. Senate today, according to the political scientists specializing in legislation, are Senators Douglas of Illinois, Kefauver of Tennessee, Morse of Oregon, Lehman of New York and Fulbright of Arkansas.

The five senators rated lowest are: Cain of Washington, Malone of Nevada, McKellar of Tennessee, Jenner of Indiana and



SEN. JOSEPH McCARTHY "The Worst"

at the very bottom, McCarthy of Wisconsin.

These ratings were made by political scientists listed as legislative specialists by the American Political Science Association. Dr. Byron L. Johnson and Dr. W. E. Butt, who conducted the survey, reported that there is substantial agreement among professional political scientists about the merits of the senators.

This survey is not a popularity contest. It is an effort to measure the consensus of especially qualified judges. Each person submitting a rating is a student of legislation and of the legislature.

The only woman now in the senate, Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, rated sixth. The remaining top 25 senators, in order of preference, were:

Lodge of Massachusetts, Aiken of Vermont, Saltonstall of Massachusetts, McMahon of Connecticut, Monroney of Oklahoma, Ives of New York, Sparkman of Alabama, Humphrey of Minnesota, Benton of Connecticut, Hill of Alabama, O'Mahoney of Wyoming, Duff of Pennsylvania, Moody of Michigan, Tobey of New Hampshire, Flanders of Vermont, Murray of Montana, Green of Rhode Island, Taft of Ohio and Russell of Georgia.

There are 10 Republicans in the top 25. There are 13 Republicans and 32 Democrats among the 45 middle-rank senators. But there are only 3 Democrats among the 25 senators who drew the poorest ratings, Eastland of Mississippi, McCarran of Nevada and McKellar of Tennessee.

The low ranking of one-half of the Republican senators cannot be traced to the party preference of the political scientists. Separate tabulation of the scores of senators in all ranks showed that for one-third, the scores were virtually identical, for another one-third, there was some tendency to rank members of their own party slightly higher, but this was offset by another one-third in which senators drew higher ranking from members of the opposing party. No individual would advance more than a few paces by taking only the rank of his own party.

The top four Democrats, Douglas, Kefauver, Lehman and Fulbright, have virtually identical ratings from both sides of the fence. Republicans and independents would give slightly higher ratings to Morse, Smith of Maine and Lodge and Saltonstall of Massachusetts. On the other hand, the Democrats would give a slightly higher rating to Aiken, a Republican,

and to McMahon, a Democrat. The political scientists were asked to note, as to each man, whether they viewed each of five traits as strong or weak points: Attitude on domestic issues, attitude on foreign issues, legislative ability, intellectual ability and personal integrity.

Senator Paul Douglas was consistently rated ahead of all the others, and high tribute was paid to his ability, training and integrity. One independent summarized the view of many by referring to him as "the measuring stick for all the others."

Senator McCarthy, on the other hand, did badly on all five counts. The opinion of the experts was unanimous that his personal integrity was his weakest point, but his stand on both domestic and foreign issues was almost universally criticized. Only his legislative ability drew any praise, and then only from one-fourth of the Republican respondents.

Comments added to the replies were strong. Republican political scientists characterized him as "not worthy of a Senate seat" and "a disgrace to the U. S. Senate." An outstanding authority on Constitutional law commented, in more restrained language, that McCarthy has "an exceedingly bad record."

While McCarthy, like the cheese in "The Farmer in the Dell," stands alone, Senator Jenner had little competition for runner-up. His score was even lower among the Republicans and independents than among the Democrats. About one-fourth were willing to concede that his personal integrity was strong, however, which distinguishes him somewhat from Senator McCarthy. His crudeness drew special criticism as being beneath the dignity expected of a senator.

The two low-ranking Democrats, Senators McKellar and McCarran, who are chairmen of powerful Senate committees, drew praise for their legislative ability from their critics, even as they deplored the use to which this ability is put.

Senator Butler of Maryland, who displaced Senator Tydings in a bitterly fought campaign in which Senator McCarthy was very active, had that campaign



SEN. ROBERT TAFT "Lacks Personal Integrity"

held against him by members of both parties. Several noted their opinion that he should not have been seated. (His campaign manager admitted violation of the election laws, and a bipartisan Senate subcommittee made a very critical report of the campaign.)

Senator Taft drew a surprisingly low rank of 24th, rather than in the first 10, as many would expect. The Republican and independent reviewers were just as critical of his foreign policy position as the Democrats. Three-fourths of both groups rated that as a weak point. The Republicans tended to support his domestic views, naturally enough; one-fourth of the Democrats also viewed his domestic policy as a strong point. Political scientists of all parties are completely unanimous in praise of Senator Taft's legislative and intellectual ability.

Personal Integrity
Senator Taft's personal integrity was rated as a weak point by 23 per cent of these professionals. At least some of this criticism was attributed directly to his handling of Senator McCarthy. It is worthy of note that McCarthy's outspoken critics rated high. Senator Smith ranking sixth and Benton ranking 15th. Taft was also criticized as having "been too much affected with 'presidentitis'."

Many of the best senators are newcomers. Twelve of the first

20 senators are still in their first term of six years, and 4 more are now in their eighth year of service. Only 4 of the top 20 have been in the Senate longer than 10 years.

Worthy of special note is the meteoric rise of the ex-capital reporter, Blair Moody, as senator from Michigan, to 19th rank, in less than one year. While Senator Moody has not yet won spurs for his legislative ability, his intellectual ability, integrity and approach to both domestic and foreign issues won great acclaim from both parties. Gov. Williams' choice of a replacement for the able and respected late Senator Vandenberg was noted as "a man to watch"—"shows promise."

On the accompanying table no rating is shown for Senator Wherry, due to his death during the time this study was being made.

Regions Get Ratings

Three New England states, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Vermont, are among the top five states in the general excellence of their senators. New York takes second place, Alabama fourth and Illinois sixth.

The regions ranked with respect to the excellence of their senators as follows: New England, Middle Atlantic, West South Central, South Atlantic, East South Central, Pacific, Mountain, West North Central and East North Central.

Indiana Weakest

Indiana was credited with the weakest team of senators (Capehart and Jenner), followed by Nevada (McCarran and Malone), Wisconsin (McCarthy and Wiley), Idaho (Dworshak and Welker), Nebraska (based on Wherry and

Butler), and Maryland (Butler and O'Connor).

Honors among the top six states are equally divided between the parties. Republicans Lodge and Saltonstall constitute the top state team and share Republican honors with Ives of New York, Aiken and Flanders of Vermont and Dirksen of Illinois. These six are balanced by Democrats including: Lehman of New York, McMahon of Benton of Connecticut, Hill and Sparkman of Alabama and Douglas of Illinois.

Among the senators from the New England area, only Senators Brewster of Maine and Bridges of New Hampshire failed to rank among the upper half in the rating of individual senators.

From the Middle Atlantic area, only Senator Martin of Pennsylvania failed to make the upper group.

In the third ranking area, the West South Central states, only McClellan of Arizona and Ellender of Louisiana failed to rank among the upper half.

Senators from the Southeast (including the South Atlantic and East South Central census areas) tended to be about average, with the exception of higher ranking senators from Alabama, Georgia and West Virginia, and Senator Williams of Delaware won acclaim for his handling of tax scandals.

Senator Morse of Oregon is the top Senator in his region, ranking third nationally. Other Senators from the West, including Mountain and Pacific areas, tend to be about average, except for high ranking Senators from Arizona, New Mexico, and Wyoming. Low ranking states



SEN. WAYNE L. MORSE Third-Best in Senate

in the area are Nevada, Idaho, and Utah.

The 12 North Central States currently provide many of the worst Senators. Only Illinois and Minnesota placed both their Senators in the upper half of the group. Senators Moody of Michigan (19th) and Taft of Ohio (24th) are the only others in the upper half, in the opinion of the political scientists. Three-fourths of the Senators from this area are to be found in the lower half of the Senate. Although this area provides only 24 of the 96 Senators, it provides 12 of the lowest 24 members in this ranking.

Tennessee was distinguished by providing both one of the best (Kefauver, who ranked second), and one of the worst, (McKellar, who ranked third from the bottom). McKellar's only

strong point noted was his legislative ability.

Ohio's famous team of presidential aspirants rated very badly with the political scientists. While they all had respect for Taft's legislative and intellectual ability, three-fourths of the respondents in both parties felt that he was weak on foreign issues, and 23 per cent questioned his personal integrity, especially since his equivocation about Senator McCarthy, whom they all apparently despise. More than one-third of them gave Senator Bricker credit for personal integrity, but this was the only strength he showed in the poll.

Rank of State Senatorial Teams

Rank	State	Rank	State
1.	Massachusetts	RR	
2.	New York	DR	
3.	Connecticut	DD	
4.	Alabama	DD	
5.	Vermont	RR	
6.	Illinois	DR	
7.	Wyoming	RR	
8.	Minnesota	DR	
9.	Arizona	DR	
10.	Georgia	DD	
11.	Rhode Island	DD	
12.	Arkansas	DD	
13.	Oklahoma	DD	
14.	Oregon	RR	
15.	Texas	DD	
16.	West Virginia	DD	
17.	New Mexico	DD	
18.	Michigan	DR	
19.	Pennsylvania	RR	
20.	Maine	RR	
21.	New Jersey	RR	
22.	South Carolina	DD	
23.	New Hampshire	RR	
24.	Montana	DR	
25.	Delaware	DR	
26.	Louisiana	DD	
27.	North Carolina	DR	
28.	California	RR	
29.	Colorado	DR	

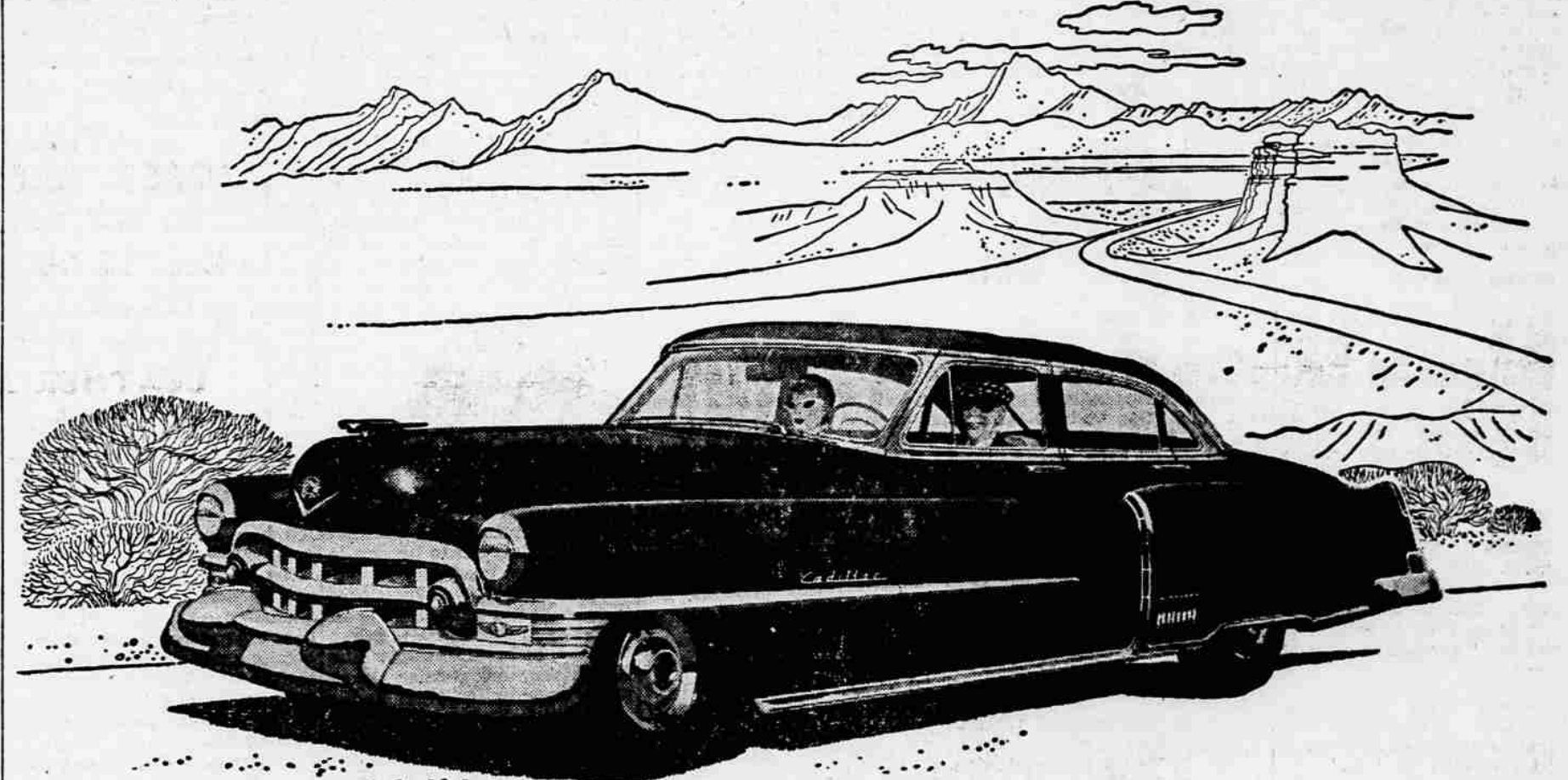
30.	Virginia	DD
31.	Tennessee	DD
32.	Florida	DD
33.	North Dakota	RR
34.	Kentucky	DD
35.	Kansas	RR
36.	Iowa	DR
37.	Ohio	RR
38.	South Dakota	RR
39.	Missouri	DD
40.	Mississippi	DD
41.	Utah	RR
42.	Washington	DR
43.	Maryland	DR
44.	Nebraska	RR
45.	Idaho	RR
46.	Wisconsin	RR
47.	Nevada	DR
48.	Indiana	RR

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