

'CONSERVATIVE COALITION' APPEARED IN 22% OF ROLL CALLS

The "conservative coalition" of Republicans and Southern Democrats demonstrated its continued potency during the 1960 sessions of the Senate and the House of Representatives. (For definitions, see box)

Number of Coalition Votes

The conservative coalition appeared on 65, or 22 percent, of the 1960 session's 300 roll calls. (For coalition votes see p. 120-122.) The coalition appeared on 17 percent of the 1959 roll calls and 18 percent of the 1958 roll calls. The number of coalition roll calls for 1960, however, was inflated by a series of 10 House roll calls on a single measure, the Area Redevelopment Act.

The results for the last three years:

	Total	Coalition	Percentage
	Roll	Roll	of Coalition
	<u>Calls</u>	<u>Calls</u>	Roll Calls
1960			
Both chambers	300	65	22%
Senate	207	46	22
House	93	19	20
1959			
Both Chambers	302	51	17
Senate	215	40	19
House	87	11	13
1958			
Both Chambers	293	52	18
Senate	200	38	19
House	93	14	15

Victories and Defeats

The 1958 election had cut into the coalition's potential strength in Congress. In 1957 and 1958, Southern Democrats and Republicans held 311 of the 435 House seats and 71 of the 96 Senate seats. During most of the 86th Congress (with slight variations because of deaths, resignations and special elections) Southern Democrats and Republicans held 59 of the 100 Senate seats and 261 of the 437 House seats.

The percentage of coalition victories in coalition roll calls in the <u>Senate</u> remained relatively steady between 1959 and 1960 (from 65 percent in 1959 to 67 percent in 1960). These figures were substantially lower than the percentage of Senate coalition victories in past years: 86 percent in 1958 and 100 percent in 1957.

In the House, the percentage of coalition victories dropped sharply from 91 percent in 1959 to 35 percent in

Definitions

- CONSERVATIVE COALITION -- As used in this study, the term "conservative coalition" means a voting alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats against the Northern Democrats in Congress. This meaning, rather than any philosophic definition of the "conservative" position, provides the basis for CQ's selection of coalition roll calls.
- CONSERVATIVE COALITION ROLL CALL --Any roll call on which the majority of voting Southern Democrats and the majority of voting Republicans oppose the stand taken by the majority of voting Northern Democrats. Roll calls on which there is an even division within the ranks of voting Northern Democrats, Southern Democrats or Republicans are not included.
- The Southern states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. The other 37 states are grouped as the North in this study.
- CONSERVATIVE COALITION SUPPORT SCORE -- Percentage of conservative coalition roll calls on which a Member votes "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote, even if a Member announces his stand, lower his score.
- CONSERVATIVE COALITION OPPOSITION SCORE -- Percentage of conservative coalition roll calls on which a Member votes "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Support and Opposition scores add to 100 percent only if a Member votes on all coalition roll calls.

1960. A major reason for the drop, however, was the large number of votes on the Area Redevelopment Act, a measure which appealed to many normal coalition supporters because of its offer of federal funds to aid their districts. The coalition was defeated 10 times in a series of 10 votes during parliamentary maneuvering on the Area Redevelopment Act. Of the other 9 coalition votes during the year, the coalition won 7, or 78 percent. The coalition's percentage of success in the House has dropped in the last two election years. The pattern runs: 1957, 81 percent success; 1958, 64 percent success; 1959, 91 percent success; 1960, 35 percent success (or 78 percent, excluding Area Redevelopment votes).

The coalition's won-lost record from 1957 through 1960 is shown in these tables:

	Coalition	Coalition	Percentage
	Roll Calls	Victories	Of Victories
<u>1960</u>			
Both Chambers	65	38	58%
Senate	46	31	67
House	19	7	35
<u>1959</u>			
Both Chambers	51	36	71
Senate	40	26	65
House	11	10	91
1958			
Both Chambers	52	41	79
Senate	38	32	86
House	14	9	64
<u>1957</u>			
Both Chambers	28	25	89
Senate	12	12	100
House	16	13	81

Coalition Scores

CQ prepared <u>Coalition Support</u> and <u>Coalition Opposition</u> scores for each Member of Congress on the basis of the coalition votes. The scores measure the percentage of times each Member voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement and in disagreement with the position taken by the conservative coalition.

Composite Scores

The Coalition Support and Coalition Opposition scores below are a composite of the individual scores of Southern Democrats (SD), Republicans (GOP) and Northern Democrats (ND).

		1960		86th	CONC	RESS
	SD	GOP	ND	SD	GOP	ND .
COALITION SUPPORT	•					
Both Chambers	61%	68%	11%	66%	72%	13%
Senate	69	65	17	66	6 8	17
House	57	70	7	66	75	10
COALITION OPPOSITION	NC					
Both Chambers	26	22	75	23	19	72
Senate	21	23	65	24	21	60
House	29	21	81	23	18	80

The figures above indicate that during the 86th Congress, the average Republican Senator and the average Southern Democratic Senator backed the coalition with about equal consistency (68 and 66 percent respectively), while the average Republican Representative tended to support the coalition with slightly more frequency than the average Southern Democratic Representative (75 and 66 percent respectively).

Regional Scores

The parties' composite <u>Coalition Support</u> scores, by region, for 1960:

	East	West	South	Midwest
DEMOCRATS				
Both Chambers	11%	14%	61% 69	8%
Senate	22	20	69	7
House	7	5	57	9
REPUBLICANS				
Both Chambers	58%	77%	70%	75%
Senate	60	66	52	73
House	57	84	79	76

The parties' composite <u>Coalition Opposition</u> scores, by region, for 1960:

	East	West	South	Midwest
DEMOCRATS Both Chambers Senate House	75% 60 80	71% 63 82	26% 21 29	79% 73 82
REPUBLICANS Both Chambers Senate House	33% 34 32	14% 21 10	24% 38 16	14% 11 16

The figures above indicate that:

- Among Democrats, Southerners were, of course, the most consistent backers of the conservative coalition.
 Democrats from all other sections tended to oppose the coalition.
- Among Republicans, there was general support for the coalition. The weakest support among Republican House Members was from the East, and among Republican Senators, from the East and the South. The only Republican Senators from the South were John Sherman Cooper and Thruston B. Morton of Kentucky.

Individual Scores

Highest Coalition Support scorers -- those who voted with the conservative coalition most consistently in 1960:

S	e	n	a	t	

Southern Democrats		Republicans	
Stennis (Miss.)	98%	Hickenlooper Iowa)	96%
Robertson (Va.)	96	Dirksen (Ill.)	93
Byrd (Va.)	96	Curtis (Neb.)	91
McClellan (Ark.)	96	Dworshak (Idaho)	89
Ellender (La.)	93	Williams (Del.)	89
Holland (Fla.)	93	Carlson (Kan.)	87
North	ern D	emocrats	
Frear (Del.)	78%	Bible (Nev.)	50%
Hayden (Ariz.)	59	Byrd (W.Va.)	48
Lausche (Ohio)	50		

House

Southern Democrats -- Four scored 100 percent: Taylor (N.C.), Murray (Tenn.); Fisher (Texas) and Gary (Va.). Others scoring high (all 95 percent): Selden (Ala.); Gathings (Ark.); Haley (Fla.); Flynt (Ga.); Brooks (La.); Abernethy (Miss.); Ashmore, Dorn, McMillan (S.C.); Abbitt, Downing, Hardy and Smith (Va.).

Republicans -- Seventeen scored 100 percent: Teague, Utt (Calif.); Allen, Michel, Springer (Ill.); Avery (Kan.); McIntire (Maine); Cederberg (Mich.); Nelsen (Minn.); Becker, Derounian, Ostertag, Pillion, Wharton (N.Y.); Betts (Ohio); Pelly (Wash.); and Van Pelt (Wis.).

Northern Democrats

Brock (Neb.)	79%	Hull (Mo.)	32%
Jones (Mo.)	47	Cannon (Mo.)	32
McGinley (Neb.)	37	Johnson (Md.)	32

Highest <u>Coalition Opposition</u> scorers -- those who voted against the conservative coalition most consistently:

Senate

Southern Democrats		Republicans	
Gore (Tenn.) Monroney (Okla.) Yarborough (Texas) Johnson (Texas) Kefauver (Tenn.)	63 57	Javits (N.Y.) Case (N.J.) Keating (N.Y.) Cooper (Ky.) Scott (Pa.) Kuchel (Calif.) Smith (Maine)	72% 72 65 59 54 54 52
		, ,	

Northern Democrats

Douglas (Ill.)	96%	Engle (Calif.)	91%
Carroll (Colo.)	96	Hart (Mich.)	91
Jackson (Wash.)	91	Young (Ohio)	89
. ,		Proxmire (Wis.)	89

(Sen. John F. Kennedy (Mass.), the Democratic Presidential nominee, actively opposed the coalition position on 48 percent of the Senate coalition roll calls and did not cast a single vote in its support. Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson (D Texas), the Democratic Vice Presidential nominee, had a 46 percent support, 48 percent opposition score.)

House

Southern Democrats		Republicans	
Perkins (Ky.)	89%	Van Zandt (Pa.)	84%
Brooks (Texas)	84	Fulton (Pa.)	84
Bass (Tenn.)	84	Corbett (Pa.)	84
Watts (Ky.)	84	Halpern (N.Y.)	84
Burke (Ky.)	84	Fenton (Pa.)	79
		Lindsay (N.Y.)	79
		Dwyer (N.J.)	79
		Rogers (Mass.)	79
		Dorn (N.Y.)	79
		O'Konski (Wis.)	79

Northern Democrats -- Twenty scored 100 percent opposition: Cohelan, Johnson, Sisk (Calif.); Kowalski (Conn.); Pfost (Idaho); Price, Shipley (Ill.); Wampler (Ind.); Smith, Wolf (Iowa); George (Kan.); O'Hara (Mich.); Karth, Wier (Minn.); Randall, Sullivan (Mo.); Thompson (N.J.); Porter (Ore.); Toll (Pa.); Johnson (Wis.).

Coalition Issues

Listed below are the major issues, mostly domestic welfare questions, on which the conservative coalition voted in 1960. The roll call (RC) numbers refer to the list of roll calls beginning on the next page.

SENATE

In the Senate, the coalition took these positions:

Campaign Spending: Voted against an amendment to require reports on campaign contributions and spending

in primary elections; the coalition lost (RC 1).

Aid to Education: Defeated an amendment to authorize \$1.1 billion per year for an indefinite period for school construction and teachers' salaries and nailed down the victory with the help of a tie-breaking vote by Vice President Nixon (RC 10,11).

Civil Rights: Defeated a motion to invoke cloture on the filibuster (RC 34). Defeated two attempts to add Part III, empowering the Attorney General to seek injunctions to protect any civil right (RC 35, 59). On four votes, defeated attempts to add alternatives to the Administration plan for court-appointed voting referees or to ease the process for Negroes seeking registration from the referees (RC 42, 44, 60, 61). Defeated an amendment to establish a Permanent Commission on Equal Job Opportunity (RC 57). Defeated an amendment that provided technical assistance to areas desegregating their schools and endorsed the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision (RC 58). Won all nine votes.

Depressed Areas: Voted against a bill authorizing \$251 million in federal loans and grants for the relief of economically depressed rural and industrial areas and against overriding the President's veto of the bill; lost on the first, won on the second (RC 98, 103).

Housing: Voted against an amendment to authorize construction of an additional 37,000 public housing units and against one to authorize 25,000 units; won on the first, lost on the second (RC 125, 126).

Taxes: Defeated an attempt to repeal the 10 percent passenger transportation tax (RC 141). Voted against repeal of the 4 percent tax credit on dividend income; lost (RC 142). Defeated establishment of a 20 percent withholding tax on income from interest and dividends (RC 144). Voted against an amendment to prohibit tax deductions for business entertainment expenses, limit business gift deductions and prohibit deduction of club dues and initiation fees; lost (RC 145). Defeated reduction of oil depletion allowance (RC 147). Won three, lost two.

Minimum Wage: Voted for four amendments to reduce the number of new workers to be covered and lower the proposed minimum wage; lost on all four (RC 179, 182, 183, 184). Voted against passage of the bill, raising the minimum wage to \$1.25 and extending coverage to about 4 million workers; lost (RC 187).

Medical Aid to the Aged: Defeated an amendment to provide medical benefits for all Social Security retirees 68 and over, to be financed by Social Security taxes; won (RC 192).

HOUSE

In the House, the coalition took these positions:

<u>Urban Renewal:</u> Voted against appropriation of \$50 million for urban renewal grants; won (RC 6).

Depressed Areas: Voted against passage of a bill authorizing \$251 million in federal loans and grants to economically depressed areas; lost (RC 36).

Aid to Education: Voted for a substitute measure in an attempt to kill the bill authorizing \$325 million a year for four years for school construction grants and against passage; lost on both (RC 50, 53).

<u>Patents:</u> Voted to relinquish Government ownership of patents under NASA research contracts; won (RC 58).

Minimum Wage: Voted to cut the proposed minimum wage raise and extension of coverage; won (RC75).

65 VOTES IN 1960 WHICH IDENTIFY THE 'CONSERVATIVE COALITION'

The following are the Senate and House votes for 1960 on which a majority of voting Southern Democrats joined a majority of voting Republicans to oppose the position taken by a majority of voting Northern Democrats, thus forming the "Conservative Coalition" which is the subject of this study. For a listing of the coalition votes during 1959, see 1959 Almanac, p. 136, those roll-call votes with an asterisk (*).

The roll calls are listed in their chronological order by the Congressional Quarterly roll call number.

Note that 10 of the 19 House coalition votes for 1960 were cast May 4, during parliamentary maneuvering on a single measure, the Area Redevelopment Act.

Senate Roll Calls (46)

RC 1 -- S 2436. Prevent corrupt practices in federal elections by limiting campaign funds and requiring certain reports. Hennings (D Mo.) and Keating (R N.Y.) amendment to require reports on campaign contributions and spending for candidates and committees in primary elections (including preferential primaries) and conventions or caucuses. Agreed to 50-39 (SD 4-17; ND 30-4; R 16-18), Jan. 19, 1960. The President did not take a position on the amendment; a "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 2 -- S 2436. Hennings (D Mo.) amendment to require political committees operating within one state to report contributions and expenditures in federal elections which exceed \$2,500 annually. Agreed to 53-37 (SD 5-16; ND 34-2; R 14-19), Jan. 20, 1960. The President did not take a position on the amendment. A "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 5 -- S J Res 39. Amend the Constitution to authorize Governors to fill temporary vacancies in the House of Representatives under emergency conditions. Holland (D Fla.) motion to lay on the table a Javits (R N.Y.) amendment, in the nature of a substitute for S J Res 39, to prohibit use of the poll tax or property requirements as qualifications for voting in federal elections through statute rather than constitutional amendment. Tabling motion agreed to 50-37 (SD 21-1; ND 11-21; R 18-15), Feb. 2, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 10 -- S 8. Emergency Federal Assistance for School Construction. Clark (D Pa.) amendment to Committee bill to authorize \$25 per school-age-child, or \$1.1 billion, per year for an indefinite period for school construction and teachers' salaries. Rejected 44-44 (SD 7-14; ND 32-3; R 5-27), Feb. 3, 1960. (A majority vote is required for adoption of an amendment.) A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition.

RC 11 -- S 8. Dirksen (R III.) motion to table a motion to reconsider the vote on Clark's amendment. Vice President Nixon voted ''yea'' to break a 44-44 tie (SD 14-7; ND 2-33; R 28-4), Feb. 3, 1960. A ''yea'' was a vote supporting the President's position, and also that of the coalition.

RC 13 -- S 8. School Construction Assistance Act of 1960. Morse (D Ore.) amendment to Committee bill to include a two-year program of \$75 million in loans to private schools at 2.75 percent interest rate for school construction. Rejected 37-49 (SD 2-19; ND 22-11; R 13-19), Feb. 4, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition.

RC 34 -- Civil Rights Proposals. Douglas (D III.)-Javits (R N.Y.) motion to limit debate by invoking cloture on the civil rights filibuster (two-thirds majority required), Rejected 42-53 (SD 0-24; ND 30-9; R 12-20), March 10, 1960 (64 'yeas'' were required for adoption). The President did not take a position on the motion. A 'nay' was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 35 -- Civil Rights Proposals. Johnson (D Texas) motion to table Case (R S.D.) amendment to the pending Administration bill to add Part III, empowering the Attorney General to seek injunctions to protect any civil right. Tabling motion agreed to 55-38 (SD 24-0; ND 10-28; R 21-10), March 10, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition,

RC 42 -- Civil Rights Proposals. Dirksen (R III.) motion to table Douglas (D III.)-Javits (R N.Y.) amendment to the third section of the Administration bill, to provide for Presidential appointment of federal registrars to enroll Negroes after the President received 50 complaints of discrimination and investigated them. Tabling motion agreed to 53-24 (SD 21-0; ND 8-19; R 24-5), March 18, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion. A ''yea'' was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 44 -- Civil Rights Proposals. Morse (D Ore.) motion to table a Javits-Clark (D Pa.) amendment to the third section of the Administration bill, to provide for court-appointed referees or Presidentially appointed enrollment officers to register Negroes after a court has found a pattern or practice of discrimination. Tabling motion agreed to 51-43 (SD 21-3; ND 6-32; R 24-8), March 24, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 57 -- HR 8601. Civil Rights Act of 1960. Dirksen (R Ill.) motion to table Javits (R N.Y.) amendment to establish a permanent Commission on Equal Job Opportunity. Tabling motion agreed to 48-38 (SD 23-0; ND 4-27; R 21-11), April 1, 1960. A ''nay' was a vote supporting the President's position. A ''yea' was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 58 -- HR 8601. Mansfield (D Mont.) motion to table Keating (R N.Y.) amendment providing technical assistance to areas desegregating their schools and endorsing the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision and Cooper (R Ky.) amendment deleting the endorsement. Tabling motion agreed to 61-30 (SD 24-0; ND 13-20; R 24-10), April 4, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 59 -- HR 8601. Dirksen (R III.) motion to table Javits (R N.Y.) amendment to allow the Attorney General to enter private suits for school desegregation and McNamara (D Mich.) amendment to add Part III, empowering the Attorney General to seek injunctions to protect any civil right. Tabling motion agreed to 56-34 (SD 24-0; ND 9-23; R 23-11), April 4, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition

RC 60 -- HR 8601. Dirksen (R III.) motion to table Hart (D Mich.) amendment to the referees plan, requiring that a Negro must prove to the referee only that he is qualified to vote. Tabling motion agreed to 52-38 (SD 22-2; ND 7-25; R 23-11), April 4, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position

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RC 61 -- HR 8601. Dirksen (R III.) motion to table Hennings (D Mo.) amendment to referee section, adding a plan for Presidentially appointed enrollment officers to register Negroes. Tabling motion agreed to 58-26 (SD 24-0; ND 10-21; R 24-5), April 4, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 65 -- HR 8601. Dirksen (R III.) motion to table Carroll (D Colo.) amendment to the referees provision to permit the courts to waive the requirements that a Negro seeking a court certificate to vote must prove he tried to register with state authorities and was rejected after a pattern of discrimination was found by the courts. Tabling motion agreed to 62-32 (SD 21-3; ND 13-23; R 28-6), April 6, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 82 -- S 3058. Mutual Security Act of 1960. Ellender (D La.) amendment to delete a provision authorizing grants of surplus agricultural commodities to promote economic development in underdeveloped areas. Agreed to 45-38 (SD 15-6; ND 14-18; R 16-14), May 2, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 91 -- S 3058. Johnson (D Texas) motion to table (kill) a Fulbright (D Ark.) amendment specifying that the President need not apply the freedom of navigation principles expressed in the Douglas amendment (RC 77) in situations where nations receiving U.S. aid are engaged in actions detrimental to United Nations peace efforts. Tabling motion agreed to 45-39 (SD 5-16; ND 26-7; R 14-16), May 2, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion. A "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 98 -- S 722. Area Redevelopment Act. Authorize federal loans and grants totaling \$251 million for the relief of economically depressed rural and industrial areas. Johnson (D Texas) motion to concur in the House version of the bill. Agreed to 45-32 (SD 6-9; ND 34-2; R 5-21), May 6, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition.

RC 101 -- S 2653. Require the licensing and regulation of community antenna television systems by the Federal Communications Commission. Monroney (D Okla.) motion to recommit (kill) the bill. Agreed to 39-38 (SD 15-1; ND 4-25; R 20-12), May 18, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 102 -- S 2653. Kerr (D Okla.) motion to table a Dirksen (R III.) motion to reconsider the vote that recommitted the community antenna TV bill to the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Tabling motion agreed to 38-36 (SD 15-1; ND 4-25; R 19-10), May 18, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 103 -- S 722. Area Redevelopment Act of 1960, authoriz-

RC 103 -- S 722. Area Redevelopment Act of 1960, authorizing federal loans and grants totaling \$251 million for the relief of economically depressed areas. Passage of the bill over the President's veto (two-thirds majority required). Failed to pass 45-39 (SD 8-12; ND 32-2; R 5-25), May 24, 1960 (56 "yeas" were required to override the veto). A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition.

RC 108 -- HR 10087. Permit U.S. firms with foreign holdings to claim credits against U.S. taxes for taxes paid to foreign countries either on a country-by-country basis or by treating all foreign taxes collectively. Gore (D Tenn.) motion to recommit (kill) the bill. Rejected 24-58 (SD 5-15; ND 17-10; R 2-33), June 1, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion. A "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 110 -- S 3074. Authorize United States membership in the International Development Assn. Williams (R Del.) amendment prohibiting the U.S. from making "gift" donations of U.S.-owned foreign currencies to the IDA without prior Congressional approval. Agreed to 39-33 (SD 11-9; ND 9-12; R 19-12), June 2, 1960. The President did not take a position on the amendment. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 117 -- S 2759. Wheat Act of 1960, setting wheat price supports for the 1961, the 1962 and 1963 crop years and cutting total wheat acreage 20 percent. Ellender (D La.) amendment to set price supports at 75 percent in 1961, 70 percent in 1962 and 65 percent in 1963 and cut acreage 20 percent. Agreed to 45-41 (SD 11-9; ND 14-19; R 20-13), June 9, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition. (This amendment was later reconsidered and rejected).

RC 121 -- S 2759. Wheat Act of 1960. Ellender (D La.) amendment to continue existing price supports at 75 percent of parity for crop years 1961-63, to cut total acreage by 20 percent, and to authorize payments-in-kind equal to 50 percent of potential production on land retired under the acreage cut. Agreed to 48-34 (SD 11-8; ND 13-20; R 24-6), June 9, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition.

RC 123 -- S J Res 170. Authorize appointment jointly by the Senate and the House of a private citizen U.S. Commission on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, provide for the Commission's participation in an international convention of citizens from NATO nations, and authorize \$300,000 for Commission expenses. Passed 51-44 (SD 10-14; ND 30-9; R 11-21), June 15, 1960. The President did not take a position on the bill. A "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 125 -- S 3670. Housing Act of 1960. Clark (D Pa.) amendment to authorize construction of an additional 37,000 public housing units. Rejected 38-42 (SD 6-14; ND 25-5; R 7-23), June 16, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition.

RC 126 -- S 3670. Clark (D Pa.) amendment to authorize construction of an additional 25,000 public housing units. Agreed to 42-39 (SD 6-14; ND 29-2; R 7-23), June 16, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition.

RC 127 -- S 3670. Bennett (R Utah) amendment to eliminate a provision requiring an annual estimate by the President of the Nation's housing needs. Agreed to 44-37 (SD 11-9; ND 5-26; R 28-2), June 16, 1960. The President did not take a position on the amendment. A ''yea'' was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 139 -- HR 12381. Provide a one-year increase in the national debt ceiling from its permanent level of \$285 billion to \$293 billion and extend for one year the current 52 percent corporate income tax rate, certain excise tax rates and the 10 percent taxes on local telephone calls and passenger transportation. Johnson (D Texas) motion to table Gore (D Tenn.) amendment which would add to the Finance Committee amendments repealing telephone and transportation taxes a provision to prevent excessive depletion deductions on certain minerals. Tabling motion agreed to 39-26 (SD 11-6; ND 9-19; R 19-1), June 18, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 141 -- HR 12381. Finance Committee amendment to repeal the 10 percent tax on passenger transportation. Rejected 29-55 (SD 6-15; ND 18-15; R 5-25), June 20, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition.

RC 142 -- HR 12381. McCarthy (D Minn.) amendment to repeal the 4 percent tax credit on dividend income exceeding \$50 from domestic corporations. Agreed to 42-41 (SD 9-10; ND 30-2; R 3-29), June 20, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition.

RC 144 -- HR 12381. Proxmire (D Wis.) amendment to establish a 20 percent withholding tax on income from interest and dividends. Rejected 24-62 (SD 3-18; ND 19-13; R 2-31), June 20, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition.

RC 145 -- HR 12381. Provide for a one-year increase in the national debt ceiling and extend corporate and certain excise tax rates. Clark (D Pa.) amendment to prohibit tax deductions for business entertainment expenses, except for food and beverages, to limit to \$10 per person the amount of a business gift that is tax deductible and to prohibit deductions for dues or initiation fees to social, athletic or sporting clubs. Agreed to 45-39 (SD 8-13; ND 28-3; R 9-23), June 20, 1960. The President did not take a position on the amendment. A "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 147 -- HR 12381. Douglas (D III.) amendment to reduce the across-the-board 27.5 percent depletion allowance for oil and gas producers and substitute the following allowance scale: 27.5 percent for producers earning less than \$1 million a year, 21 percent for producers earning between \$1 million and \$5 million a year and 15 percent for producers earning more than \$5 million a year. Rejected 30-56 (SD 4-17; ND 18-14; R 8-25), June 20, 1960. The President did not take a position on the amendment. A "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 153 -- HR 11776. Appropriate \$8,459,412,900 for independent federal agencies in fiscal 1961. Magnuson (D Wash.) motion to table Javits (R N.Y.) amendment prohibiting the use of funds for the construction of airport facilities which would contain segregated facilities. Tabling motion agreed to 58-29 (SD 21-0; ND 14-19; R 23-10), June 22, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 160 -- HR 12381. Public Debt Limit and Tax Extension Act of 1960, providing for an increase in the national debt limit and extending corporate and certain excise tax rates for one year. Adoption of the conference report. Agreed to 61-32 (SD 17-5; ND 10-27; R 34-0), June 28, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition.

RC 178 -- S 3758. Increase minimum wage and overtime protection and extend coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, Holland (D Fla.) amendment to prohibit the Secretary of Labor from regulating the conditions of employment of all U.S. migrant agricultural workers. Rejected 42-56 (SD 16-8; ND 4-37; R 22-11), Aug. 16, 1960. The President did not take a position on the amendment. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 179 -- S 3758. Holland (D Fla.) amendment to reduce the number of new workers to be covered from about 5 million to about 280,000. Rejected 39-56 (SD 15-8; ND 4-36; R 20-12), Aug. 17, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 182 -- S 3758. Dirksen (R III.) amendment, in the form of a substitute, to provide a minimum wage raise to \$1.15 and

RC 182 -- S 3758. Dirksen (R III.) amendment, in the form of a substitute, to provide a minimum wage raise to \$1.15 and extend \$1 minimum wage but not overtime protection to workers employed by retail or service chains having five or more establishments and operating in two or more states. Rejected 39-54 (SD 14-9; ND 2-35; R 23-10), Aug. 17, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition.

RC 183 -- S 3758. Prouty (R Vt.) amendment to retain the proposed \$1.25 minimum wage but provide \$1.10 for newly covered workers and limit extension of coverage. Rejected 41-56 (SD 13-11; ND 2-38; R 26-7), Aug. 17, 1960. The President did not take a position on the amendment. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 184 -- S 3758. Morse (D Ore.) motion to table Monroney (D Okla.) amendment to limit coverage extension to retail and service employees in chains operating in two or more states, regardless of the employer's volume of business. Tabling motion agreed to 50-48 (SD 5-19; ND 37-4; R 8-25), Aug. 18, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion. A "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 186 -- S 3758. Cooper (R Ky.) amendment to retain existing overtime exemptions for certain workers in industries processing agricultural commodities. Accepted 50-46 (SD 17-7; ND 2-37; R 31-2), Aug. 18, 1960. The President did not take a position on the amendment. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 187 -- HR 12677. Senate-amended version of the House's minimum wage bill, raising the minimum wage to \$1.25 and extending coverage to about 4 million workers. Passed 62-34 (SD 11-13; ND 36-3; R 15-18), Aug. 18, 1960. The President did not take a position on the bill. A 'nay' was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 192 -- HR 12580. Social Security Amendments of 1960. Anderson (D N.M.) amendment providing medical benefits for all Social Security retirees 68 and over, to be financed by an increase in the Social Security payroll tax. Rejected 44-51 (SD 4-18; ND 39-1; R 1-32), Aug. 23, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition.

House Roll Calls (19)

 $\frac{RC~6~-~HR~10743.}{fiscal~1960.~Yates}$ (D III.) amendment to appropriate \$50 million, as proposed in the budget but refused by the Appropriations Committee, to liquidate obligations already made for urban renewal and slum-clearance grants. Rejected 158-187 (SD 32-64; ND 107-13; R 19-110), Feb. 29, 1960. A ''yea'' was a vote supporting the President's position. A ''nay'' was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 26 -- S 722. Area Redevelopment Act. Authorize federal loans and grants totaling \$251 million for the relief of economically depressed rural and industrial areas. Davis (D Ga.) motion to table McCormack (D Mass.) motion to dispense with further proceedings and order the previous question. Tabling motion rejected 167-222 (SD 52-41; ND 2-152; R 113-24) May 4, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion; a "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 27 -- S 722. Area Redevelopment Act. McCormack (D Mass.) motion to order the previous question (end debate) on dispensing with further proceedings. Agreed to 223-164 (SD 40-53; ND 152-2; R 31-109) May 4, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion; a "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 28 -- S 722. Area Redevelopment Act. McCormack (D Mass.) motion to dispense with further proceedings. Agreed to 224-160 (SD 38-52; ND 152-1; R 34-107) May 4, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion; a "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 29 -- S 722. Area Redevelopment Act. Davis (D Ga.) motion to table second McCormack (D Mass.) motion to dispense with further proceedings and order the previous question. Tabling motion rejected 153-231 (SD 51-39; ND 1-53; R 101-39), May 4, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion; a "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

"yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 30 -- S 722. Area Redevelopment Act. McCormack (D Mass.) motion to order the previous question (end debate) on dispensing with further proceedings. Agreed to 235-153 (SD 40-51; ND 154-1; R 41-101), May 4, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion; a "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 31 -- S 722. Area Redevelopment Act. McCormack (D Mass.) motion to dispense with further proceedings. Agreed to 237-152 (SD 41-52; ND 153-1; R 43-99) May 4, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion; a "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 32 -- S 722. McCormack (D Mass.) motion to order the previous question on dispensing with further proceedings. Agreed to 238-148 (SD 44-48; ND 153-1; R 41-99), May 4, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion; a "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 33 -- S 722. Area Redevelopment Act. McCormack (D Mass.) motion to dispense with further proceedings. Agreed to 238-150 (SD 43-50; ND 153-0; R 42-100), May 4, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion; a "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 34 -- S 722. Area Redevelopment Act. Halleck (R Ind.) question of whether the House would consider the bill. Agreed to 221-171 (SD 39-56; ND 154-2; R 28-113) May 4, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position; a "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 36 -- \$ 722. Area Redevelopment Act. Passage of the bill, authorizing \$251 million in federal loans and grants to chronically depressed industrial and rural areas. Passed 202-184 (SD 29-63; ND 150-6; R 23-115) May 4, 1960. A 'nay' was a vote supporting the President's position and also the position of the coalition.

RC 45 -- H Res 488. A rule for debate on HR 2331, to establish the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park in Maryland. (Cost for the first five years was estimated at \$8,550,000; total cost was estimated at \$12 million.) The Budget Bureau did not oppose the bill. Motion to adopt the rule rejected 134-227 (SD 18-64; ND 97-40; R 19-123) May 19, 1960. The President did not take a position on the bill; a ''nay'' was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 50 -- HR 10128. School Construction Assistance Act of 1960. Bow (R Ohio) amendment, in the nature of a substitute, to return to each state annually, for school construction use, 25 percent of the federal tax on cigarettes sold in the state. Rejected 181-219 (SD 80-19; ND 6-156; R 95-44) May 26, 1960. A ''nay'' was a vote supporting the President's position; a ''yea'' was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 53 -- HR 10128 -- School Construction Assistance Act of 1960, authorizing \$325 million a year for four years in federal matching grants to the states for public school construction. Passage of the bill. Passed 206-189 (SD 10-89; ND 152-8; R 44-92) May 26, 1960. The President did not take a position on the bill; a "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 56 -- H Res 550. A closed rule for debate on HR 12381, increasing the national debt ceiling for one year from \$258 billion to \$293 billion and extending for one year the current corporate income tax rate, certain excise tax rates and taxes on local telephone calls and passenger transportation. Rule adopted 204-181 (SD 56-38 ND 56-95; R 92-48), June 8, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position and also the coalition's position.

RC 58 -- HR 10249. Amendment to the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958. Sisk (D Calif.) motion to recommit the bill to the House Science and Astronautics Committee with instructions to delete a section relinquishing Government ownership of patents under NASA research contracts. Rejected 120-270 (SD 17-79; ND 103-50; R 0-141) June 9, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion; a "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 75 -- HR 12677. Increase minimum wage protection under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. Kitchin (D N.C.) substitute amendment for the Committee hill, extending \$1-an-hour wage protection but no overtime protection to employees of interstate retail chains and raising the hourly minimum for previously covered workers to \$1.15. Agreed to 211-203 (SD 84-18; ND 6-158; R 121-27), June 30, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition.

RC 82 -- HR 2467. Authorize the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency to pay a relocation allowance to owners or tenants forced to move offland acquired by the FAA. Committee substitute amendment for the bill as introduced, which covered only residents of Chantilly, Va. Agreed to 190-164 (SD 66-24; ND 23-114; R 101-26) July 2, 1960. The President did not take a position on the amendment. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 83 -- HR 2467 (see above). Passage of the bill as amended. Passed 183-167 (SD 65-25; ND 22-111; R 96-31) July 2, 1960. The President did not take a position on the bill. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

Conservative Support-Opposition Scores

Senate Conservative Coalition - 1960 and 86th Congress

The chart below shows how often individual Senators voted "with" and "against" the conservative coalition. The figures are based on Senate roll calls on which the majority of voting Republicans and the majority of voting Southern Democrats, forming a conservative coalition, opposed the stand taken by the majority of voting Northern Democrats.

- CONSERVATIVE COALITION SUPPORT, 1960. Percentage of 46 conservative coalition roll calls on which Senator voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.
- CONSERVATIVE COALITION OPPOSITION, 1960. Percentage
 of 46 conservative coalition roll calls on which Senator voted
 "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and
 Opposition scores.
- CONSERVATIVE COALITION SUPPORT, 86th Congress. Percentage of 86 conservative coalition roll calls in 1959 and 1960 on which Senator voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.
- 4. CONSERVATIVE COALITION OPPOSITION, 86th Congress. Percentage of 86 conservative coalition roll calls in 1959 and 1960 on which Senator voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

*Not eligible for all coalition roll calls during the period of the study.
-Not a Senator during the period of the study.

Scores for Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D Ore.) who served until his death March 9, 1960:

Col. 3

Col. 4

70

	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4	CONSER	₹VAT	IVE		
ALABAMA Hill Sparkman ALASKA	61 52	33 24	50 45	44 40	INDIANA Hartke Capebart	4 63	76 4	16 65	64 10	NEBRASKA Curtis Hruska	91 83	9 7	94 83	6	COAL 19		N		
Bartlett	11	83	19	74	Hickenlooper	96	2	93	1	NEVADA Bible	50	50	56	40					
Gruening	15	85	16	78	Martin	65	15	74	ģ	Cannon	39	57	42	56		1	2	3	4
ARIZONA				, 0	KANSAS	00		, -	•	NEW HAMPSHIRE	3,	3,	74	30				_	
Hayden	59	24	58	31	Carlson	87	11	77	13		70	2	70	2	SOUTH CAROLINA	4			
Goldwater	63	4	67	3	Schoeppel	72	ii	81	8	Bridges Cotton	83	7	87	3	Johnston	70	26	62	3.
ARKANSAS	-	•	٧,	•	KENTUCKY	, -	٠.	٠.	•	NEW JERSEY	00	′	0,	,	Thurmond	89	7		
Fulbright	61	22	53	26	Cooper	39	59	43	53	Williams	11	80	9	84	SOUTH DAKOTA				
McClellan	96	-2	97	ĩ	Morton	65	17	73	16	Case	22	72	36	59	Case	76	20	66	14
CALIFORNIA	. •	-	••		LOUISIANA	•••	.,	, •		NEW MEXICO		, _	50	٠,	Mundt	72	13	76	13
Engle	4	91	10	85	Ellender	93	4	81	10	Anderson	30	54	34	52	TENNESSEE				
Kuchel	43	54	50	43	Long	65	33	53	42	Chavez	35	26	33	30	Gore	28	65	24	66
COLORADO		٠.	••		MAINE	-	-	50		NEW YORK	00	20	33	30	Kefauver	22	39	19	51
Carroll	0	96	0	98	Muskie	15	61	13	67		26	72	30	66	TEXAS				
Allott	63	26	76	17	Smith	48	52	57	43	Javits	33	65	47	51	Johnson	46	48	44	48
CONNECTICUT					MARYLAND		~-	٠.		Keating NORTH CAROLINA		00	77	٥,	Yarborough	30	57	23	67
Dodd	9	65	15	65	Beall	59	30	66	23	Ervin	87	7	85	7	UTAH				
Bush	72	26	74	21	Butler	78	7	79	-5	Jordan	87	2	85	á	Moss	9	70	12	73
DELAWARE					MASSACHUSETT		•		•	NORTH DAKOTA	٠,	•	05	•	Bennett	80	2	80	3
Frear	78	15	74	14	Kennedy	3 0	48	1	56	Burdick	0*	88*	_	_	VERMONT				
Williams	89	11	93	7	Saltonstall	76	20	79	16	Young	80	15	76	17	Aiken	63	33	55	36
FLORIDA				•	MICHIGAN					OHIO	-		, •	.,	Prouty	74	26	69	26
Holland	92	2	92	2	Hart	2	91	3	92	Lausche	50	50	65	35	VIRGINIA				
Smathers	59	13	62	14	McNamara	õ	78	ĩ	81	Young	4	89	12	84	Byrd	96	0	94	0
GEORGIA					MINNESOTA	-	. •	•	٠.	OKLAHOMA		٠,		-	Robertson	96	0	97	C
Russell	80	9	83	6	Humphrey	0	63	1	71	Kerr	54	33	55	34	WASHINGTON				
Talmadae	80	7	86	5	McCarthy	4	72	ġ	79	Monroney	33	63	28	66	Jackson	7	91	6	92
HAWAII					MISSISSIPPI			•	•	OREGON				-	Magnuson	4	76	6	80
Long	11	87	9*	′87*	Eastland	74	0	78	2	Morse	4	76	2	84	WEST VIRGINIA				
Fong	57	35	61*	31*	Stennis	98	Õ	98	ō	Lusk		46*	_	-	Byrd	48	50	42	56
IDAHO					MISSOURI		•		-	PENNSYLVANIA					Randolph	15	72	20	69
Church	13	70	13	63	Hennings	4	35	7	52	Clark	9	80	6	85	WISCONSIN				
Dworshak	89	7	90	3	Symington	4	65	6	73		43	54	55	44	Proxmire	2	89	6	90
ILLINOIS				-	MONTANA	•		-	. •	Scott RHODE ISLAND		-	55	•	Wiley	54	24	53	2
Douglas	2	96	5	90	Mansfield	26	63	23	69	Green	28	46	26	52	WYOMING				_
Dirksen	93	4	87	3	Murray	17	39	13	40	Pastore	11	80		77	McGee	24	63	19	65
		•		-		.,	٠,	. •	-	rustore		30	10	//	O'Mahoney	9	17	9	23

Democrats in this type; Republicans in Italics

Conservative Support-Opposition Scores

House Conservative Coalition - 1960 and 86th Congress

The chart below shows how often individual Representatives voted "with" and "against" the conservative coalition. The figures are based on House roll calls on which the majority of voting Republicans and the majority of voting Southern Democrats, forming a conservative coalition, opposed the stand taken by the majority of voting Northern Democrats.

- CONSERVATIVE COALITION SUPPORT, 1960. Percentage of 19 conservative coalition roll calls on which Representative voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.
- CONSERVATIVE COALITION OPPOSITION, 1960. Percentage
 of 19 conservative coalition roll calls on which Representative
 voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the position of the
 conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support
 and Opposition scores.
- 3. CONSERVATIVE COALITION SUPPORT, 86th Congress. Percentage of 30 conservative coalition roll calls on which Representative voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.
- 4. CONSERVATIVE COALITION OPPOSITION, 86th Congress. Percentage of 30 conservative coalition roll calls on which Representative voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.
- *Not eligible for all coalition roll calls during the period of the study.
- -Not a Member of the House during the period of the study.

													_						
	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		,	2	3	4					
ALABAMA					25 Kasem	0	79	0	77	HAWAII									
3 Andrews	42	5	60	7	17 King	5	95	3	97	AL Incuye	11	84	-	-					
1 Boykin	37	5	50	10	26 Roosevelt	0	95	0	97	IDAHO					CONSE	RVAT	IVE		
7 Elliott	16	79	23	57	21 Hiestand	89	0	93	0	1 Pfost			10	87	COAL	ITIOI	Ν		
2 Grant	42	0	53	10	22 Holt	84	11	90	7	2 Budge	95	0	93	0	19	60			
9 Huddleston	84	16	83	17	18 Hosmer	89	11	87	13	ILLINOIS									
8 Jones	26	58	40	50	16 Jackson	32	0	53	0	25 Gray	- 11	89	7	93					
5 Rains	26	21	40	27	24 Lipscomb	95	5	97	3	21 Mack	5	84	7	83					
4 Roberts	37	11	47	10	15 McDonough	89	5	93	3	24 Price	0	100	0	100					
6 Selden	95	5	97	3	20 Smith	95	5	97	3	23 Shipley	0	100	0	100					
ALASKA				- 1	COLORADO				_	16 Allen	100	0	100	0	·				
AL Rivers	16	84	17	80	4 Aspinall	11	89	23	73	17 Arends	79	Ō	83	3		1	2	3	4
ARIZONA					2 Johnson	0	79	7	77	19 Chiperfield	89	Õ	83	3		•	4	3	4
2 Udall	5	79	7	83	1 Rogers	11	37	23	43	14 Hoffman	95	5	97	3					
1 Rhodes	95	5	93	7	3 Chenoweth	42	58	63	37	15 Mason	74	ō	80	ŏ	IOWA				
ARKANSAS	. •	•	. •	- 1	CONNECTICUT		••		-	18 Michel	100	Õ	100	ŏ		5	84	17	77
5 Alford	74	0	77	7	2 Bowles	5	79	3	87	20 Simpson	84	16	90	10	5 Smith	ŏ	100	13	87
1 Gathings	95	5	97	3	1 Daddario	5	95	3	97	22 Springer	100	Ö	97	3	2 Wolf	ŏ	100	10	90
4 Harris	79	16	80	13	3 Gigimo	5	95	3	97	Chicago-Cook Cou		٠	• •	٠	3 Gross	84	16	90	10
2 Mills	58	42	70	30	4 Irwin	11	84	10	87	12 Vacancy					8 Hoeven	95	5	97	3
6 Norrell	74	11	83	7	AL Kowalski	Ö	100	3	93	1 Dawson	5	79	3	87	7 lensen	89	5	83	7
3 Trimble	42	58	50	50	5 Monagan	ıĭ	84	17	80	5 Kluczynski	16	68	13	77	4 Kyl	89	11	-	_
CALIFORNIA		-	-	30	DELAWARE	• •	•	''	~	7 Libonati	21	79	13	87	1 Schwengel	79	21	77	23
7 Cohelan	0	100	0	97	AL McDowell	5	79	10	70	3 Murphy	5	95	7	93		,,	21	′′	20
14 Hagen	11	89	13	83	FLORIDA	•	• •	, .	, •	6 O'Brien	11	79	7	87	5 Breeding	11	89	37	70
2 Johnson	Ö	100		100	2 Bennett	26	74	50	50	2 O'Hara	5	95	á	97	2 George	٠ <u>,</u>	100	17	83
11 McFall	5	95	7	93	4 Foscell	32	68	50	50	11 Pucinski	11	89	7	93	3 Hargis	ŏ	95	ió	87
1 Miller (C.W.)	ő	89	ó	93	7 Haley	95	5	97	3	8 Rostenkowsk		89	á	90	1 Avery	100	,0	100	ő
8 Miller (G.P.)	ŏ	74	ŏ	83	5 Herlong	47	ŏ	67	ŏ	9 Yates	. 5	89	7	90	4 Rees	95	5	93	3
3 Moss	11	89	7	93	8 Matthews	47	53	63	37	13 Church	79	21	83	17	6 Smith	79	5	80	3
29 Saund	5	95	7	90	6 Rogers	42	58	60	40	10 Collier	84	16	90	ió	KENTUCKY	//	J	ου.	J
5 Shelley	õ	84	3	87	3 Sikes	42	58	57	40	4 Derwinski	89	11	90	10	3 Burke	16	84	27	73
27 Sheppard	11	58	17	57	1 Cramer	95	5	97	73	INDIANA	0,		70	10	4 Chelf	21	16	37	17
12 Sisk	'n	100	ĺ,	100	GEORGIA	/3	,	′′	٠	11 Barr	11	74	20	70	2 Natcher	21	79	43	57
6 Baldwin	74	26	63	37	8 Blitch	63	11	77	7	3 Brademas	5	95	3	97	7 Perkins	11	89	13	87
10 Gubser	79	21	87	13	10 Brown	89	ii	87	13	8 Denton	5	95	10	90	5 Spence	26	74	27	63
4 Mailliard	63	32	67	30	5 Davis	84	5	87	3	10 Harmon	21	58	33	53	1 Stubblefield	21	79	40	60
13 Teague	100	0		30	4 Flynt	95	0	97	0	9 Hogan	5	95	10	90	6 Watts	16	84	40	60
28 Utt	100	0	100	0	3 Forrester	89	11	93	7	1 Madden	5 5	93 84	7	90 87	8 Siler	21	68	50	43
30 Wilson	84	11	87	10	9 Landrum	68	5	80	3	5 Roush	-	89	17	83		21	08	20	43
9 Younger	84	11	90	0	7 Mitchell	21	53	40		6 Wampler	11				2 Boggs	21	47	40	40
		U	ΥU	U	2 Pilcher				43	4 Adair	0	100	3	97	2 Doggs 4 Brooks	26	47	43	40
Los Angeles Count 23 Dovle	•	00		00	2 Filcher 1 Preston	74	ō	77	7	4 Haair 7 Bray	26	11	53	7		95	5	87	7
19 Holifield	0	89 89	13	80 93	6 Vinson	79	5	80	10	/ Bray 2 Halleck	42	53	57	33	1 11-1-11	32	,5	53	3
17 Hollitela	0	89	0	73	O VINSON	74	5	80	7	2 Halleck	95	5	90	3	O MICOMARII	74	11	77	7

Democrats in this type; Republicans in Italics

	1	2	3	4		1 .	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
6 Morrison	5	58	23	40	NEBRASKA					7 Lennon	89	5	93	3	6 McMillan	95		97	3
5 Passman 7 Thompson	89 0	5 58	93 20	3 37	4 McGinley	37	21 58	83 53	17 43	5 Scott 11 Whitener	74 84	0 11	77 90	0 7	2 Riley 1 Rivers	79 79	11	87 83	7
3 Willis	79	11	83	7	1 Weaver	53 · 42	47 5	67 63	33 3	10 Jonas NORTH DAKOTA	95	5	97	3	SOUTH DAKOTA 1 McGovern	0	89	7	83
2 Coffin 1 Oliver	5 11	95 89	10 7	93 93	NEVADA AL Baring	0	84	13	77	AL Burdick AL Short	0 74	74 11	0 80	<i>77</i> 10	2 Berry TENNESSEE	95	5	97	3
3 McIntire MARYLAND	100	0	97	3			37	60	37	OHIO 9 Ashley	.5	37	13	50	6 Bass 9 Davis	16 47	84 37	37 47	63 33
2 Brewster 4 Fallon	11	84 84	27 30	67 63	NEW JERSEY		26	23	40	11 Cook 20 Feighan	11	84 84	17 20	73 80	8 Everett 4 Evins	89 32	11 58	90 50	10 40
6 Foley 7 Friedel	16	84 84	17 13	80 83	14 Daniels	5 '	89 95	7 3	93 97	18 Hays 19 Kirwan	5 21	95 63	7 17	87 70	3 Frazier 5 Loser	32 84	58 16	43 83	43 17
3 Garmatz 1 Johnson	0 32	95 68	7 47	90 53		11 3	95 84	0 7	93 90	17 Levering 10 Moeller	11 16	89 74	20 23	80 70	7 Murray 2 Baker	100 32	58	100 53	0 40
5 Lankford MASSACHUSETTS	5 21	74	27	60 70		74	00 5	0 70	97 10	6 Vacancy 21 Vanik	5	95	7	93	1 Reece TEXAS	89	0	87	0
2 Boland 13 Burke	5	68 95	20 7	93	8 Canfield	16 6	16 68	57 10	33 50 70	14 Ayres 13 Baumhart 8 Betts	53 53	32 32	67	27 20	3 Beckworth 2 Brooks	16	58 84	57 30	43 70
4 Donohue 7 Lane	5 21	79 79	20 20	83 77	5 Frélinghuysen	84	79 11	30 73	23	22 Bolton 16 Bow	95 95	5	93	0 7	17 Burleson 22 Casey	37 32	5 68	57 50	7 47
8 Macdonald 12 McCormack	16 21	63 79	10 20	70 77	9 Osmers	84	16 16	73 80	17 20	7 Brown 12 Devine	95 89	5	93 93	3	7 Dowdy 21 Fisher	42 100		100	3 0
11 O'Neill 3 Philbin	5	79 79	3	87 83	7 Widnall		21 16	70 70	23 17	15 Henderson 2 Hess	84 79	11 5	90 87	7	13 Ikard 20 Kilday	42 47	58 53	57 60	43 40
6 Bates 1 Conte	84 26	16 74	90 33	10 67	NEW MEXICO AL Montoya		47	3	63 23	5 Latta 4 McCulloch	74 95	0 5	83 97 97	3	15 Kilgore 19 Mahon	42 47	58 53	60 63	40 33
10 Curtis 9 Keith	74 79	11 21	67 83	23 13	AL Morris NEW YORK 41 Dulski		26 95	40 3	93	23 Minshall 3 Schenck	95 95 95	5 5	93 97	3	1 Patman 11 Poage	26 68	74 26	43 73	57 23
14 Martin 5 Rogers	11 21	42 79	33 33	27 57	30 O'Brien	26	74 84	23 33	73 67	1 Scherer OKLAHOMA	84	5 16	90	10	4 Rayburn 18 Rogers	37	11	53	13
MICHIGAN 7 O'Hara		100	0	100	27 Barry	84	0	87 100	3	3 Albert 2 Edmondson	21 5	74 74	33 20	60	16 Rutherford 6 Teague	47 26	53 11	60 47	40 13
12 Bennett 8 Bentley	32 11 53	63 53	33 40 67	63 33 33	2 Derounian 1	00 00 84	0 1	00 73	0 17	5 Jarman 6 Morris	42 0	58 68	60 13	67 40 67	8 Thomas 9 Thompson	16 37	79 63	27 50	63 50
18 Broomfield 10 Cederberg	100	47 0 74	97 50	33 0 47	33 Kilburn	16 47	0	30 50	0	4 Steed 1 Belcher	11 95	53	33 97	40	10 Thornberry 12 Wright	37 38 47	63 47 0	53 57 63	47 33 3
6 Chamberlain 5 Ford	84 58	16 42	90 70	10 30	39 Ostertag 1	00 00	0	97 97	3	OREGON 3 Green	0	95	3	93	14 Young 5 Alger UTAH	95	Ŏ	97	ő
9 Griffin 4 Hoffman 3 Johansen	95 95	5	90 97	3	34 Pirnie		11	90 78†	7 15†	4 Porter 2 Ullman		100 95	3	90 97	2 King 1 Dixon	21 89	79 11	30 90	70 10
11 Knox 2 Meader	58 89	32 0	73 93	20 0	35 Riehlman		1 i 5	90 90	10	1 Norblad PENNSYLVANIA	84	ίĭ	90	7	VERMONT AL Meyer	0	95	3	93
Detroit-Wayne Cou 13 Diggs		74	0	77	28 St. George	84	Ŏ 11	90 93	0 7	25 Clark 21 Dent	11 5	89 89	10 3	90 93	VIRGINIA 4 Abbitt	95	5	97	3
15 Dingell 17 Griffiths	5	95 79	3	93 77	31 Taylor	ii :	i i I I	33 67	, 7 17	11 Flood 30 Holland	16 11	84 89	20 7	80 93	1 Downing 3 Gary	95 100	5	97 100	3
16 Lesinski 1 Machrowicz	0 11	95 89	7 10	87 90	38 Weis	84 00	0	73 97	10	28 Moorhead 26 Morgan	11 16	89 74	10 10	90 83	2 Hardy 7 Harrison	95 79	0	87 87	7 0
14 Rabaut MINNESOTA	5	89	10	70	New York City 8 Anfuso		53	3	70	10 Prokop 19 Quigley	5	89 84	3	93 87	9 Jennings 8 Smith	47 95	53 0	57 97	43
8 Blatnik 4 Karth	5 0	79 100	7 0	83 100	24 Buckley 11 Celler	5	0	3	23 73	14 Rhodes 15 Walter	0 11	89 26	0 20	93 40	5 Tuck 10 Broybill	89 95	0	93 97	0 3
6 Marshall 3 Wier	16		23	43 100	7 Delaney 23 Gilbert	5 8	39 28*	3	93	17 Schneebeli 29 Corbett	75* 16	25* 84	23	70	6 Poff WASHINGTON	95	5	9 7	3
7 Andersen 1 Quie	74 63	26 37	83 77	17 23	19 Farbstein	0 8	34 74	0 7	87 80	8 Curtin 9 Dague	32 42	68 58	40 60	53 37	7 Magnuson 5 Horan	5 95	95 5	10 93	90 3
5 Judd 9 Langen	37 95	47 5	57 97	33	6 Holtzman 10 Kelly	5 8	39 58	3	93 77	12 Fenton 27 Fulton	21	79 84	47 27	53 73	3 Vacancy 4 May	95	0	90	3
2 Nelsen MISSISSIPPI	100	ŏ	97	ŏ	0 Vil.	16 6	53 39	10	70 87	23 Gavin 24 Kearns	32 32	47 68	57 47	30 53		100 47	0 32	97 50	3 47
1 Abernethy 6 Colmer	95 89	5 11	97 93	3 7	16 Powell	0 3	32 32	0	47 53	13 Lafore 7 Milliken	26 42	0 58	53 63	0 37	2 Westland WEST VIRGINIA	95	5	87	3
3 Smith 2 Whitten	74 79	26 21	77 87	23 13	18 Santangelo 20 Teller	0 8	39 25	3	87 93	16 Mumma 22 Saylor	37	58 74	57 13	37 70	3 Bailey 4 Hechler	0 5	95 95	3 17	87 77
4 Williams 5 Winstead	84 89	0	90 93	00	21 Zelenko	5 6	8		77 0	18 Vacancy 20 Van Zandt	16	84	30	70	5 Kee 6 Slack	0	95 95	10 10	87 90
MISSOURI 5 Bolling	5	95	3	97	12 Dorn	16 7	79 74	27 13	70 73	Philadelphia 1 Barrett	5	84	3	90	2 Staggers 1 Moore	11	79 74	7 37	87 63
7 Brown 9 Cannon	0 32	74 16	7 5 0	77	4 Halpern	11 8	34	17 23	77 77	3 Byrne 2 Granahan	5	95 95	3	97 87	WISCONSIN 1 Flynn	0	95	0	97
8 Carnahan 4 Randall	0	11	10	7 93		89 1		87	13	5 Green 4 Nix		84 84	3	87	9 Johnson 2 Kastenmeier	0 5		7 3	93 93
6 Hull 10 Jones	32 47	63 42	57 67	40 27	9 Alexander 3 Barden	21 1		50 80	7	6 Toll RHODE ISLAND		100		100	5 Reuss 4 Zablocki	5 11	89 89	3 17	90 83
1 Karsten 11 Moulder	5 16	95 84	3 27	97 60	1 Bonner 4 Cooley	26	5	43 77	13 10	2 Fogarty 1 Forand	5 5	84 32	13 10	73 43	8 Byrnes 7 Laird	74 84	16 11	83 83	10 7
3 Sullivan 2 Curtis	0 4 7	100 53	3 50	97 47	6 Durham 2 Fountain	79	0	73 87	10 7	SOUTH CAROLINA 4 Ashmore	95	5	93	3	10 O'Konski	21 100	79 0		60 0
MONTANA 2 Anderson	5	26	3	40	12 Taylor 1		0*	- 90	3	3 Dorn 5 Hemphill	95 89	5 11	97 90	3 10	3 Withrow WYOMING	42	0	40	10
1 Metcalf		84	0	90						Republicans in Italics					AL Thomson	95	5	97	3

Democrats in this type; Republicans in Italics