'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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Both Chambers</th>
<th>Senate</th>
<th>House</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calls</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Coalition</td>
<td>Percentage of Coalition Roll Calls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Senate 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 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:

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.
Consortium
Coalition - 2

The parties' composite Coalition Support scores, by region, for 1960:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>Midwest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEMOCRATS</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REPUBLICANS</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The parties' composite Coalition Opposition scores, by region, for 1960:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>Midwest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEMOCRATS</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REPUBLICANS</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Thurston B. Morton of Kentucky.

Individual Scores

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senator</th>
<th>Southern Democrats</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stennis (Miss.)</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>Hickenlooper (Iowa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robertson (Va.)</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>Dirksen (Ill.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byrd (Va.)</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>Curtis (Neb.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClellan (Ark.)</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>Dworshak (Idaho)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellender (La.)</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>Williams (Del.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland (Fla.)</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>Carlson (Kan.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Northern Democrats

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senator</th>
<th>78%</th>
<th>50%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frear (Del.)</td>
<td>Bible (Nev.)</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayden (Ariz.)</td>
<td>Byrd (W.Va.)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lausche (Ohio)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.) and Ashmore, Dorn, McMillan (S.C.); Abbitt, Downing, Hardy and Smith (Va.).
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, 39). 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 96, 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 65 and over, to be financed by Social Security taxes; won (RC 192).

### HOUSE

In the House, the coalition took these positions:

**Urban Renewal:** 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).

**Patents:** 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 (RC 75).
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 table Douglas (D Ill.) measure, the Area Redevelopment Act.

By a majority of voting Northern Democrats, thus forming a coalition's position. The President did not take a position on the motion. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

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 3 -- S 2436. Amendments 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 3 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 school construction and teachers' salaries.

Rejection of Javits (R N.Y.) amendment to prohibit federal participation in school desegregation 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 11 -- S 8. Dirkse (D Mich.) 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.

Rejection of Javits (R N.Y.) amendment to prohibit federal participation in school desegregation 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 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 12 -- S 8. Emergency Federal Assistance for School Construction. 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 47-52 (SD 17-14; 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 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.) amendment to table Douglas (D III.) amendment to the pending 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 42 -- Civil Rights Proposals. Morse (D Ore.) amendment to table a Javits-Clark (D Pa.) amendment to the pending Administration bill, to provide for court-appointed referees or Presidential 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 24-38), March 24, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion. A "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 37 -- HR 8601. Civil Rights Act of 1960. Dirkse (R Mich.) amendment 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 39 -- HR 8601. A 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 60 -- HR 8601. Dirkse (R Mich.) 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.

RC 61 -- HR 8601. Dirkse (R Mich.) motion to table Hennings (D Mo.) amendment to refer section, adding a plan for Presi- dential appointment of enrollment officers to desegregate and desegregating their schools and endorsing the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision and Cooper (R Ky.) amendment deleting the endorsement. 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. Dirkse (R Mich.) 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 91 -- 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 92 -- S 3058. Mutual Security Act of 1960. 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 Ill.) motion to reconsider the vote that commuted the community antenna TV bill to the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Agreed to 37-36 (SD 15-1; R 24-6), 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 2722. 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 "yea" were required to override the veto). A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition.

RC 104 -- S 3074. Authorize United States membership in the International Development Assn. Williams (R Del.) amendment to continue existing price supports at 75 percent of foreign prices for wheat, "yea" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

RC 105 -- S 3074. Authorize United States membership in the International Development Assn. Ellender (D La.) amendment to allow credits to be used to purchase foreign holdings with foreign currencies 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 2-25), 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. Urges the U.S. from making further payments of U.S. dollars for 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 121 -- S 2759. Wheat Act of 1960. Ellender (D La.) amendment to continue existing price supports at 75 percent of parity for crops harvested in 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. (This amendment was later reconsidered and rejected).

RC 129 -- 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 the extent of 15 percent of net income. Agreed to 15-5 (SD 14-9; ND 1-38; R 2-21), Aug. 19, 1960. The President did not take a position on the amendment. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President'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 16-15; R 5-25), June 20, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

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.

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 the extent of 15 percent of net income. Agreed to 15-5 (SD 14-9; ND 1-38; R 2-21), Aug. 19, 1960. The President did not take a position on the amendment. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

RC 153 -- HR 11776. Appropriate $8,459,412,900 for independent federal agencies in fiscal 1961. Magnuress (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 4-35; R 24-14), June 20, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

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 41-42 (SD 16-14; ND 14-19; R 23-10), June 22, 1960. The President did not take a position on the amendment. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position and also that of the coalition.

RC 182 -- S 3758. Dirksen (R Ill.) amendment, in the form of an amendment, to provide a minimum wage raise to $1.15 and extend to 15 minimum wage laws that not only extension 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 "nay" 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 23-37; R 0-22), 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 mini-mart 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 older, 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)

RC 6 -- HR 10743. Second Supplemental Appropriation Bill for Fiscal 1960. Yates (D Ill.) 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 41-52; ND 152-1; R 43-99), May 4, 1960. A "yea" 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 Cal.) motion to table McCormack (D Mass.) motion to dispense with further proceedings and order the previous question. 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 "nay" 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 "yea" 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.

RC 30 -- S 722. Area Redevelopment Act. McCormack (D Mass.) motion to take a previous position (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 35 -- S 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 150-5; 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 18-54; 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 rule to modify 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 $290 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. Rejected 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. Siak (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 amendment; 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 bill, 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 6-156; R 121-27), June 30, 1960. A "nay" 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 off land 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 "nay" 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 96-51) July 2, 1960. The President did not take a position on the bill. A "nay" was a vote supporting the coalition's position.

122 -- 1960 CQ ALMANAC
# Conservative Coalition - 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.

### 1. 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.

### 2. 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.

### 3. 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.

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

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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.

1. **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.

2. **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.

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