

BACK OF THE 'CONSERVATIVE COALITION' IS BROKEN

The "conservative coalition" of Republicans and Southern Democrats was a shadow of its former self in 1965. From late New Deal days on through 1964, the coalition had been able to defeat much social welfare legislation pushed by the Northern wing of the Democratic party. In 1965, it sought to scuttle President Johnson's "Great Society" programs but found its support woefully lacking. The coalition wound up with its lowest percentage of victories (33 percent) since Congressional Quarterly started to measure the coalition scores in 1957. (For definitions, see box.)

By far the most dramatic drop in coalition strength occurred in the House. In 1961, President Kennedy's first year in office, the coalition had been able to win 74 percent of the roll calls on which it appeared. But in 1965 it was able to win only 25 percent, and then usually on those votes where the President did not take a position. In the Senate, the coalition's percentage of victories was down to 39 percent, also a record low.

Comparisons to Past Years

Coalition Appearance 1961-1965 -- Percentage of roll calls on which the coalition appeared:

1961	28%	1964	15%
1962	14	1965	24
1963	17		

Coalition Victories 1961-1965 -- Percentage of conservative coalition roll calls won by the coalition:

	Total	Senate	House
1961	55%	48%	74%
1962	62	71	44
1963	50	44	67
1964	51	47	67
1965	33	39	25

Factors Behind Shift

Elections -- Clearly the crucial element in the failure of the conservative coalition in 1965 was the dramatic election gains made by Democrats in the House, and to a lesser extent in the Senate, in 1964. Crippled by unpopular Presidential candidate Barry Goldwater at the head of their ticket, Republicans in 1964 suffered a net loss of 38 House seats and 2 Senate seats. Ironically, Goldwater, who had set out to win new conservative beachheads in American politics, prepared the way for an almost total rout of the conservatives by their liberal opponents. At the same time, some Southern Democrats began to take more moderate positions, further weakening the conservative coalition's base of strength.

Rules -- Coincidentally, the amendments of House rules also set the stage for more liberal victories. The

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. (These roll calls are listed in the 1965 Almanac.) 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 the 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 for which he is eligible.

trimming of the power of conservatives on the House Rules Committee had begun in 1961 with a deliberate addition of enough members to create a slim liberal majority. The expansion was confirmed in 1963, and the new rules adopted at the start of the 89th Congress in 1965, permitting the Speaker to bypass the Rules Committee on bills reported out of legislative committees three weeks or more, completed the preparation for a wave of liberal bills in 1965 (see p. 18).

Among the bills which might have suffered emasculation or total defeat at the hands of the conservative coalition in an earlier year, but which sailed to victory in 1965, were: medical care for the aged under Social Security, aid for elementary education, a sweeping housing bill and establishment of a Department of Housing and Urban Development, a \$1.1 billion aid program for

Appalachia, and vastly increased funds for the President's anti-poverty program.

Southern Democratic Defections -- In the Senate, the coalition suffered from large defections in Southern Democratic ranks. Men like Yarborough (Texas), Bass (Tenn.), Monroney (Okla.), Harris (Okla.) and Long (La.), the new Democratic Whip, rarely supported the coalition. The over-all Senate Southern Democratic coalition support score dropped 8 points in 1965 -- from 68 percent to 60 percent. In the House, Southern support for the coalition also declined, though by a lesser percentage point difference (64 percent in 1964 to 61 percent in 1965). Topping the list of Southern House Democratic opponents of the coalition were two urban Congressmen: Reps. Gonzalez (San Antonio, Texas) and Grider (Memphis, Tenn.), with opposition scores of 96 and 92 percent, respectively.

President and Coalition

The President did not always take a position on coalition votes, but his position was known on 62 of the 112 votes in 1965. When the President and the coalition were pitted against each other, Mr. Johnson came out on top 84 percent of the time -- winning 46 and losing 9. In the Senate, this occurred on 27 roll calls and the President won 21. In the House the President won 25 of the 28 votes where he and the coalition were opposed.

On rare occasions, the President and the conservative coalition lined up on the same side of an issue. This occurred on seven Senate roll calls, ranging from military pay increases to a poll tax ban. On each occasion, the combination of the President and the coalition carried the day.

'Swing' Votes

Although this vote study concentrates on the three main voting blocs in Congress -- Northern Democrat, Southern Democrat and Republican -- the votes provide an indication as well of the voting habits of smaller factions within these blocs. Where the votes were close, the scales may have been tipped by one or several of these factions -- "liberals" in the Southern Democratic camp, Westerners in the Northern Democratic camp, East Coast "liberals" in the Republican camp.

The over-all impact of these groups on coalition voting has not been analyzed separately in this study. However, "swing" Members can be ascertained in a general way through an examination of the individual coalition support and opposition scores. Those with intermediate scores were the "swing" voters upon whom victory or defeat for the coalition often hinged.

To determine more precisely where the winning margin came from on each vote, it is necessary to refer to Congressional Quarterly roll-call vote charts.

Individual Congressmen's scores begin on p. 1092.

Conservative Coalition Scores

Following are the composite Conservative Coalition Support and Opposition scores for 1965:

	<u>Southern Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Northern Democrats</u>
COALITION SUPPORT			
Senate	60%	71%	16%
House	61	74	9

COALITION OPPOSITION

Senate	25%	17%	69%
House	28	17	82

Composite scores for the 88th Congress (1963-64):

	<u>Southern Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Northern Democrats</u>
COALITION SUPPORT			
Senate	65%	64%	17%
House	61	68	11

COALITION OPPOSITION

Senate	20%	23%	70%
House	25	22	75

REGIONAL SCORES

The parties' Coalition Support scores, by region, for 1965:

	<u>East</u>	<u>West</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>Midwest</u>
DEMOCRATS				
Senate	14%	20%	60%	14%
House	5	12	61	12

REPUBLICANS

Senate	56%	80%	82%	76%
House	53	78	90	80

The parties' Coalition Opposition scores, by region, for 1965:

	<u>East</u>	<u>West</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>Midwest</u>
DEMOCRATS				
Senate	72%	65%	25%	71%
House	85	77	28	81
REPUBLICANS				
Senate	34%	11%	11%	5%
House	37	12	3	10

Coalition Strength

As of adjournment Oct. 23, the potential strength of the conservative coalition was 54 (R 32, SD 22) of the 100 votes in the Senate and 240 (R 140, SD 100) of the 432 votes in the House (there were 2 vacancies and the House Speaker is not counted because he rarely votes). This constituted a winning majority in each chamber, but groupings of liberal Southern Democrats and liberal Northern Republicans generally shift the balance of power

away from the coalition's side. The figures below compare coalition appearances in 1965 to the entire 88th Congress (1963-64).

	TOTAL ROLL CALLS	COALITION ROLL CALLS		COALITION VICTORIES	
		No.	% of Total Roll Calls	No.	% of Coalition Roll Calls
1965					
Both Chambers	459	112	24%	37	33%
Senate	258	61	24	24	39
House	201	51	25	13	25

88th Congress

Both Chambers	766	121	16%	61	50%
Senate	534	94	18	43	46
House	232	27	12	18	67

Coalition Victories

Senate. In the area of foreign policy, coalition votes reduced authorizations for the arms control and disarmament agency, development loans, foreign assistance, and technical assistance. The coalition also helped the President to prevent a cut in military aid and pass the automotive products agreement between the U.S. and Canada.

Domestic policy victories for the coalition in the Senate included the defeat of a Kennedy (D Mass.) amendment to the voting rights bill prohibiting poll taxes (Johnson opposed the Kennedy amendment); postponing the deadline for cigarette labeling; cutting appropriations for D.C. poverty assistance; supporting the President's guidelines for military pay increases; rejecting cuts in public works and the Atomic Energy Commission; rejecting an amendment to the D.C. Criminal Code bill deleting the 3-hour interrogation limit by D.C. police; and refusing to invoke cloture on a filibuster blocking a bill to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

House. There was no coalition victory in the House in the foreign policy area.

Domestically, the coalition victories included the defeat of a bill to provide pay raises to the Supreme Court; a series of victories on the Voting Rights Act of 1965; giving state Governors power to veto certain anti-poverty programs; killing the Administration-backed plan for D.C. home rule; killing automatic pay increases for Members of Congress and federal executives and judges; and deleting appropriations for rent supplement payments and the \$6 million contract authority for new dwellings under the program.

Coalition Defeats

Senate. In the Senate, coalition defeats included failures to scuttle foreign aid appropriations, to halt passage of the Housing and Urban Development Act (providing rent supplements) and to halt passage of a bill setting up a Department of Housing and Urban Development. A proposed constitutional amendment on the apportionment of state legislatures obtained a majority but not the two-thirds vote necessary for approval.

House. In the House the coalition failed to deter the final passage of foreign aid legislation or appropriations. Other coalition defeats included the failure to prevent the adoption of new rules to bypass the House Rules Committee and prevent delay of final action on a bill; failure to prevent passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act; failure to kill the "medicare" bill; failure to prevent the establishment of the Department of Housing and Urban Development; failure to halt expanded funds for the President's anti-poverty program; failure in holding up revision of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act; failure to prevent the D.C. home rule bill from coming to the floor; and failure to prevent five bills from coming up under the 21-day rule. The House failed to delete rent supplement payments from the Housing and Urban Development Act, but later succeeded in deleting appropriations for them from a supplemental appropriations bill. (See House victories, above)

Individual Scores

SUPPORT

Highest Coalition Support scorers -- those who voted with the conservative coalition most consistently in 1965:

Senate

<u>Southern Democrats</u>		<u>Republicans</u>	
Eastland (Miss.)	93%	Fannin (Ariz.)	95%
Ervin (N.C.)	93	Thurmond (S.C.)	93
Stennis (Miss.)	92	Dominick (Colo.)	92
Hill (Ala.)	87	Jordan (Idaho)	92
Holland (Fla.)	87	Williams (Del.)	90
Russell (S.C.)	87*	Simpson (Wyo.)	90
		Tower (Texas)	87

*Not eligible for all coalition roll calls in 1965.

Northern Democrats

Lausche (Ohio)	62%
Byrd (W.Va.)	57
Bible (Nev.)	52
Cannon (Nev.)	41
Hayden (Ariz.)	26
Mansfield (Mont.)	26

House

<u>Southern Democrats</u>		<u>Republicans</u>	
Haley (Fla.)	100%	Hutchinson (Mich.)	100%
Whitener (N.C.)	100	Betts (Ohio)	100
Marsh (Va.)	100	Duncan (Tenn.)	100
Satterfield (Va.)	100	Poff (Va.)	100
Smith (Va.)	100	Lipscomb (Calif.)	98
Fountain (N.C.)	98	Gurney (Fla.)	98
Dowdy (Texas)	98	Hansen (Idaho)	98
Abbitt (Va.)	98	Reid (Ill.)	98
Tuck (Va.)	98	Gross (Iowa)	98
		Dole (Kan.)	98
		Langen (Minn.)	98
		Davis (Wis.)	98

Northern Democrats

Hull (Mo.)	82%
Baring (Nev.)	78
Ichord (Mo.)	65
Jones (Mo.)	61
Morris (N.M.)	51
Secrest (Ohio)	47
Randall (Mo.)	45
Walker (N.M.)	43
Roush (Ind.)	37
Moeller (Ohio)	37
Pike (N.Y.)	33

OPPOSITION

Senate

Southern Democrats

Republicans

Yarborough (Texas)	74%	Case (N.J.)	79%
Bass (Tenn.)	69	Javits (N.Y.)	79
Monroney (Okla.)	67	Smith (Maine)	41
Harris (Okla.)	62	Kuchel (Calif.)	39
Long (La.)	57	Boggs (Del.)	26
Gore (Tenn.)	49	Fong (Hawaii)	26
Fulbright (Ark.)	44	Scott (Pa.)	26

Northern Democrats

Proxmire (Wis.)	95%
Douglas (Ill.)	92
Ribicoff (Conn.)	89
Mondale (Minn.)	89
Nelson (Wis.)	89
Inouye (Hawaii)	85
Tydings (Md.)	85
Pell (R.I.)	85

House

Southern Democrats

Republicans

Gonzalez (Texas)	96%	Reid (N.Y.)	86%
Gridler (Tenn.)	92	Halpern (N.Y.)	80
Perkins (Ky.)	88	Horton (N.Y.)	71
Albert (Okla.)	88	Dwyer (N.J.)	65
Pepper (Fla.)	86	Fulton (Pa.)	61
Fascell (Fla.)	84	Schweiker (Pa.)	61

Northern Democrats

Price (Ill.)	100%
Annunzio (Ill.)	100
Murphy (Ill.)	100
Karsten (Mo.)	100
Daniels (N.J.)	100
Minish (N.J.)	100
McGrath (N.J.)	100
Farbstein (N.Y.)	100
Gilbert (N.Y.)	100
Scheuer (N.Y.)	100

1965 COALITION VOTES

Following are the Senate and House votes for 1965 on which the "conservative coalition" appeared. Symbols:

JV -- Johnson victory. JD -- Johnson defeat.
Positions listed refer to conservative coalition.

SENATE VOTES (61)

Coalition Victories

Foreign Policy (7)

RC 28 -- HR 2998. Authorize appropriations of \$40 million for fiscal years 1966-68 for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Foreign Relations Committee amendment to reduce the authorization to \$20 million for fiscal 1966-67. Accepted 50-38: R 24-6; D 26-32 (ND 12-27; SD 14-5), March 10, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JD).

RC 95 -- S 1837. The Foreign Assistance Act of 1965. Lausche (D Ohio) amendment reducing from 20 to 15 percent the amount of development loan funds the President could use for loans and grants to the International Development Assn., the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Finance Corp. Accepted 42-39: R 20-6; D 22-33 (ND 9-29; SD 13-4), June 11, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 97 -- S 1837. Church (D Idaho) amendment to reduce the fiscal 1966 and 1967 authorizations for military aid by \$115 million, to \$1,055,000,000. Rejected 38-43: R 10-18; D 28-25 (ND 21-17; SD 7-8), June 11, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 99 -- S 1837. The Foreign Assistance Act of 1965. Morse (D Ore.) amendment to limit the total authorization under the Act for each of fiscal years 1966-67 to \$3,243,000,000, a reduction of \$185 million below the amount contained in the bill for fiscal 1966. Accepted 40-35: R 16-10; D 24-25 (ND 15-20; SD 9-5), June 11, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JD).

RC 233 -- HR 10871. Fiscal 1966 foreign aid appropriations. Saltonstall (R Mass.) amendment to reduce funds for technical cooperation and development grants by \$20 million, for supporting assistance by \$20 million and for international organizations by \$10 million. Accepted 45-35: R 24-2; D 21-33 (ND 10-27; SD 11-6), Sept. 23, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JD).

RC 242 -- HR 9042. Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965. Gore (D Tenn.) motion to postpone further consideration of the bill until Jan. 10, 1966. Rejected 32-43: R 2-19; D 30-24 (ND 24-10; SD 6-14), Sept. 30, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 243 -- HR 9042. Hartke (D Ind.) amendment to direct the Tariff Commission to study and report to Congress on the U.S.-Canadian automotive agreement by Jan. 15, 1966, and provide for the agreement to take effect 90 days later (unless Congress voted to reject it). Rejected 34-40: R 3-17; D 31-23 (ND 22-12; SD 9-11), Sept. 30, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

Domestic Policy (17)

RC 26 -- S Con Res 2. Establish a Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress. Clark (D Pa.) amendment to delete language which prohibited the Committee from making recommendations on the rules, parliamentary procedures, practices and/or precedents or the consideration of any matter on the floor of either chamber. Rejected 29-58: R 4-25; D 25-33 (ND 25-14; SD 0-19), March 9, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 34 -- HR 5721. Provide acreage-poundage marketing quotas on flue-cured tobacco beginning with the 1965 crop if ap-

proved by two-thirds of the growers in a referendum. Talmadge (D Ga.) amendment to preserve the rights of a group of Georgia and Florida growers to continue a legal suit to require the Secretary of Agriculture to consider type 14 of flue-cured tobacco as a separate classification of tobacco in determining adjustments in acreage allotments. Accepted 47-23; R 23-2; D 24-21 (ND 17-18; SD 7-3), April 5, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 52 -- S 1564. Voting Rights Act of 1965. Kennedy (Mass.) amendment to prohibit the collection of a poll tax as a condition for registration or voting in state or local elections and to authorize enforcement machinery; the amendment stipulated that if the Congressional ban on poll taxes were upset in court, no person could be denied the right to vote during the period of a year after the entry of a final judgment in such an action because of his failure to pay a poll tax or to make timely payment if he had paid the tax due for one year, within a period of 45 days prior to an election. (The amendment deleted Section 9 of the bill, which authorized the Attorney General to institute proceedings for relief against enforcement of state poll taxes as a condition for voting when such tax had the purpose or effect of denying a person the right to vote.) Rejected 45-49; R 6-25; D 39-24 (ND 34-9; SD 5-15), May 11, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 118 -- S 559. Federal Cigarette Labeling Act. Neuberger (D Ore.) amendment to provide a one-year (rather than a three-year) prohibition against the imposition of any requirement that cigarette advertising contain a health warning, and to make other changes in S 559 as reported. Rejected 29-49; R 2-23; D 27-26 (ND 24-12; SD 3-14), June 16, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 123 -- HR 6453. Appropriate \$364,358,347 for the District of Columbia in fiscal 1966. Ribicoff (D Conn.) motion to table (kill) Byrd (D W.Va.) amendment offered as a substitute for a pending Ribicoff amendment to aid \$341,753 to permit District of Columbia entry into the federal program of Aid to Families with Dependent Children of Unemployed Parents. Motion rejected 40-47; R 5-20; D 35-27 (ND 31-11; SD 4-16), June 22, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JD).

RC 131 -- S 596. Authorize a program of grants for planning and development of multi-purpose regional medical complexes to fight heart disease, cancer, stroke and other major diseases. Pastore (D R.I.) motion to table (kill) Long (D La.) amendment to limit the waiver of patent rights on inventions and processes developed through research financed by grants or contracts in connection with the bill. Tabling motion adopted 55-36; R 27-1; D 28-35 (ND 15-27; SD 13-8), June 28, 1965. The President did not take a position on the motion.

RC 135 -- HR 8147. Duty-Free Exemption for Returning Tourists. Smathers (D Fla.) amendment in the form of a substitute to extend for one year, to July 1, 1966, the existing law allowing \$100 exemption at wholesale (rather than retail) prices and of one gallon (rather than one quart) of alcoholic beverages. Rejected 39-51; R 8-21; D 31-30 (ND 25-18; SD 6-12), June 29, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 138 -- HR 8147. Smathers (D Fla.) amendment to establish special exemptions for purchases from American Samoa, Guam, the Virgin Islands, Canada, Mexico, the Bahama Islands and Bermuda. Rejected 41-45; R 13-15; D 28-30 (ND 22-20; SD 6-10), June 29, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 176 -- S J Res 66. Dirksen (R Ill.) amendment to delete the wording of the baseball resolution and to substitute the language of S J Res 2, as modified, proposing a constitutional amendment to permit one house of a state legislature to be apportioned on the basis of geography, political subdivisions and population. Accepted 59-39; R 29-3; D 30-36 (ND 12-33; SD 18-3), Aug. 4, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 180 -- HR 9075. Provide an average 10.4-percent pay increase for uniformed personnel of the armed services, Reserves, Coast Guard, Public Health Service and Coast and Geodetic Survey at an estimated annual cost of \$1,048,029,000. Nelson (D Wis.)

amendment to increase pay raises for enlisted personnel with less than two years' service. Rejected 34-53; R 12-19; D 22-34 (ND 20-17; SD 2-17), Aug. 11, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 185 -- HR 8283. Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965. Dirksen (R Ill.) motion to table Long (D La.) motion to reconsider the vote by which the Fannin amendment was defeated. Rejected 44-45; R 2-29; D 42-16 (ND 35-5; SD 7-11), Aug. 17, 1965. The President did not take a position on the motion.

RC 200 -- HR 9220. Appropriate \$4,327,589,000 for public works projects and the Atomic Energy Commission in fiscal 1966. Nelson (D Wis.) amendment to cut \$10 million from Bureau of Reclamation construction funds for the Westlands Irrigation District in the Central Valley project in California. Rejected 24-50; R 0-23; D 24-27 (ND 21-13; SD 3-14), Aug. 23, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 202 -- HR 9221. Appropriate \$46,877,063,000 for the Defense Department for fiscal 1966. Nelson (D Wis.) amendment to restore \$15.2 million for the Army's Special Training and Enlistment Program (STEP) and delete language prohibiting use of funds in the bill for STEP. Rejected 27-67; R 2-30; D 25-37 (ND 21-20; SD 4-17), Aug. 25, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JD).

RC 208 -- HR 5688. District of Columbia Criminal Code Amendments. Tydings (D Md.) and Kennedy (D N.Y.) amendment to delete provision authorizing three-hour aggregate interrogation of criminal suspects by District police. Rejected 26-67; R 3-28; D 23-39 (ND 23-19; SD 0-20), Aug. 31, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 214 -- HR 9567. Higher Education Act of 1965. Dirksen (R Ill.) amendment (as modified by Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D N.C.)) to stipulate that no provision of any law could be construed to authorize Government direction, supervision or control over the membership practices or internal operations of any fraternal organization, fraternity or sorority, private club or religious organization of any educational institution if the facilities of the organization were not owned by the institution of higher education and if the organization's activities were privately financed. (Ervin's modification added the ownership and financing stipulation.) Accepted 60-28; R 27-2; D 33-26 (ND 15-26; SD 18-0), Sept. 2, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 222 -- HR 9811. Food and Agriculture Act of 1965. Brewster (D Md.) amendment putting a \$25,000 annual ceiling on price support loans and payments any producer could receive under the bill. Rejected 33-56; R 11-18; D 22-38 (ND 20-18; SD 2-20), Sept. 14, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 248 -- HR 77. Mansfield (D Mont.) motion that the Senate invoke cloture on debate on Mansfield's Oct. 1 motion to make HR 77, for repeal of Section 14(b), the pending business of the Senate. Cloture motion rejected 45-47; R 5-26; D 40-21 (ND 36-5; SD 4-16), Oct. 11, 1965. With 92 Senators voting, 62 votes were needed for cloture. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JD).

Coalition Defeats

Foreign Policy (3)

RC 19 -- HR 45. Amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act of 1959 to authorize a \$750 million increase in the U.S. contribution to the Bank's Fund for Special Operations. Lausche (D Ohio) amendment providing that during the period of the bill's authorization the Bank's board of governors may not float any new security issues in the United States. Rejected 35-46; R 17-8; D 18-38 (ND 8-29; SD 10-9), Feb. 24, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 92 -- S 1837. Gruening (D Alaska) amendment to delete the provision urging that the United States and other free world nations place an increasing portion of their aid programs on a multilateral basis, and the provision broadening the existing authorization for the President to use up to 10 percent of development loan funds for loans to the International Development Assn. so as to permit the

use of up to 20 percent of such funds for loans and grants to the IDA, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Finance Corporation. Rejected 40-46: R 16-11; D 24-35 (ND 10-28; SD 14-7), June 10, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 245 -- HR 10871. Fiscal 1966 foreign aid appropriations. Adoption of the conference report (H Rept 1103) appropriating \$3,218,000,000 for foreign assistance and \$714,188,000 for related programs in fiscal 1966. Adopted 40-23: R 8-10; D 32-13 (ND 25-2; SD 7-11), Oct. 5, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

Domestic Policy (34)

RC 38 -- HR 2362. Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Prouty (R Vt.) amendment to provide that after allocation of set amounts of Title III funds to the U.S. possessions and states (as provided in the bill), the remaining funds would be allocated on the basis of the number of school-age children in, and the per capita income of, each state (rather than on the basis of number of school children and a state's population). Rejected 38-56: R 22-10; D 16-46 (ND 1-42; SD 15-4), April 8, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 40 -- HR 2362. Dominick (R Colo.) amendment to delete the Title I allocation formula and provide that a state's assistance be determined by a \$200 grant for each school-age child from a low-income family, or on relief, plus an additional amount based on the percentage of state funds spent for education. Rejected 38-53: R 22-10; D 16-43 (ND 3-38; SD 13-5), April 8, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 41 -- HR 2362. Ervin (D N.C.) amendment to require the Commissioner of Education to give 30 day's notice in the Federal Register of any proposed disbursements under the Act; permit any taxpayer to bring suit in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia challenging the constitutionality of any disbursement; and direct the Commissioner to withhold disbursements so challenged pending final determination of the suit. Rejected 32-53: R 16-14; D 16-39 (ND 3-34; SD 13-5), April 9, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 56 -- S 1564. Voting Rights Act of 1965. Prouty (R Vt.) amendment to specify that Government court challenges of poll taxes, which the bill directed the Attorney General to undertake, be based on the use of the taxes to deny or abridge the right to vote because of race or color. (The amendment added the "race or color" stipulation.) Rejected 34-44: R 21-7; D 13-37 (ND 2-31; SD 11-6), May 13, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 64 -- S 1564. Voting Rights Act of 1965. Ervin (D N.C.) amendment to permit the federal district court for the District of Columbia to shift cases filed by state and local governments for relief from the federal examiners' machinery, from its jurisdiction to the jurisdiction of federal courts in the petitioners' own areas. Rejected 32-49: R 14-13; D 18-36 (ND 2-34; SD 16-2), May 24, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 65 -- S 1564. Tower (R Texas) amendment to authorize the Attorney General to initiate investigations of voting practices in counties or states whenever he received 25 or more written complaints from residents of such areas alleging that they had been denied the ballot and, if such an investigation revealed a pattern or practice of discrimination, authorize the appointment of federal voting examiners to order the registration of voters in the area; the amendment deleted the "automatic" triggering formulas in the bill. Rejected 29-49: R 14-12; D 15-37 (ND 1-33; SD 14-4), May 24, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 143 -- HR 6675. Social Security Amendments. Curtis (R Neb.) amendment to provide that a hospital patient under the basic health insurance plan pay a deduction of either \$40 or the amount of his previous year's income tax liability, whichever was greater, and that a patient under the supplementary health care plan pay an annual deduction of \$50 or the previous year's income tax liability,

whichever was greater. (HR 6675 provided only the \$40 and \$50 deductions.) Rejected 41-51: R 25-4; D 16-47 (ND 3-40; SD 13-7), July 8, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV)

RC 146 -- HR 6675. Morton (R Ky.) amendment to delete language extending compulsory Social Security coverage to self-employed physicians and interns. Rejected 41-50: R 23-7; D 18-43 ND 4-39; SD 14-4), July 9, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 149 -- HR 6675. Curtis (R Neb.) amendment requiring deductions based on income tax liability during the first five years that the two health care plans were in effect. (The amendment was identical to a July 8 amendment by Curtis (RC 143) except that the previous amendment provided no time limit on the deductions.) Rejected 40-52: R 25-4; D 15-48 (ND 1-43; SD 14-5), July 9, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 158 -- S 2213. Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. Bennett (R Utah) amendment to modify Kuchel (R Calif.) amendment broadening the prevailing federal wage requirements on projects assisted by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) to cover new programs authorized by S 2213. The modification confined the scope of the Kuchel amendment to residential dwellings for the use of 12 or more families. Rejected 35-51: R 19-10; D 16-41 (ND 1-37; SD 15-4), July 14, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 159 -- S 2213. Tower (R Texas) amendment to delete language in the bill providing a program of rent supplements to low-income families. Rejected 40-47: R 24-5; D 16-42 (ND 6-35; SD 10-7), July 15, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 160 -- S 2213. Tower (R Texas) amendment to reduce the appropriations authorization for rent supplements from \$50 million in fiscal 1966, \$100 million in fiscal 1967, \$150 million in fiscal 1968 and \$200 million in fiscal 1969 to \$10 million in fiscal 1966, \$20 million in fiscal 1967, \$30 million in fiscal 1968 and \$40 million in fiscal 1969. Rejected 38-49: R 24-4; D 14-45 (ND 3-37; SD 11-8), July 15, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 162 -- HR 7984. Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. Passage of the bill providing rent supplements to low-income families and extending and amending laws relating to public housing, urban renewal and community facilities. Passed 54-30: R 7-19; D 47-11 (ND 38-1; SD 9-10), July 15, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 171 -- S 1118. District of Columbia Charter Act. Dominick (R Colo.) amendment to make the federal payment to the District subject to annual appropriations by Congress. Rejected 38-48: R 27-2; D 11-46 (ND 2-41; SD 9-5), July 21, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 177 -- S J Res 66. Passage of the bill (as amended by substitution of modified language of S J Res 2) proposing a constitutional amendment to permit one house of a state legislature to be apportioned on the basis of geography, political subdivisions and population. Rejected 57-39: R 29-3; D 28-36 (ND 10-33; SD 18-3), Aug. 4, 1965. (Two-thirds of Senators voting -- 64 in the case of S J Res 66 -- are required for approval of a proposed constitutional amendment.) The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 179 -- HR 6927. Department of Housing and Urban Development Act. Passage of the bill establishing a cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development to be headed by a Secretary appointed by the President with Senate confirmation; transferring to the Secretary all the functions, powers and duties of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Federal Housing Administration, the Public Housing Administration and the Federal National Mortgage Assn., and specifying other functions, powers and duties of the Department. Passed 57-33: R 10-19; D 47-14 (ND 39-2; SD 8-12), Aug. 11, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 183 -- HR 8283. Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965. Dominick (R Colo.) amendment to reduce the fiscal 1966 appropriations authorization of \$1,650,000,000 to \$1,097,500,000. Rejected 40-51: R 27-4; D 13-47 (ND 1-39; SD 12-8), Aug. 17, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 184 -- HR 8283. Fannin (R Ariz.) amendment, proposed as a substitute for pending Javits amendment to delete from the bill the section which eliminated the Governor's veto power over certain federal anti-poverty programs. Rejected 45-45: R 29-2; D 16-43 (ND 5-35; SD 11-8), Aug. 17, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 186 -- HR 8283. Long (D La.) motion to reconsider the vote by which the Fannin amendment was defeated. (On this roll call, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey cast a 46th "nay" vote, although his vote was not necessary to reject the motion.) Rejected 45-45: R 29-2; D 16-43 (ND 5-36; SD 11-7), Aug. 17, 1965. The President did not take a position on the motion.

RC 187 -- HR 8283. Prouty (R Vt.) amendment to substitute for pending Javits amendment new language to permit a state legislature to divest a Governor of his veto power over certain anti-poverty programs. Rejected 44-47: R 29-2; D 15-45 (ND 3-37; SD 12-8), Aug. 17, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 189 -- HR 8283. Allott (R Colo.) amendment to reduce the fiscal 1966 appropriations authorization of \$1.65 billion to the fiscal 1965 level of \$947.5 million, and to establish a joint Congressional committee to study the federal anti-poverty program. Rejected 39-48: R 25-3; D 14-45 (ND 1-38; SD 13-7), Aug. 18, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 191 -- HR 8283. Prouty amendment to allow a Governor 20 days in which to veto a proposed anti-poverty program (instead of the 30 days allowed under existing law). Rejected 43-44: R 27-2; D 16-42 (ND 3-35; SD 13-7), Aug. 18, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 192 -- HR 8283. Prouty amendment to retain a state Governor's veto power over certain programs until the end of fiscal 1966. Rejected 43-43: R 27-2; D 16-41 (ND 3-34; SD 13-7), Aug. 18, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 193 -- HR 8283. Dominick amendment to retain the Governor's veto power over community action programs. Rejected 42-43: R 27-1; D 15-42 (ND 4-35; SD 11-7), Aug. 18, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 194 -- HR 8283. Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965. Prouty (R Vt.) amendment to retain the Governor's veto power over certain proposed anti-poverty projects which permitted "excessive" salaries, permitted "political exploitation" of the poor, permitted employment in a community action agency of a person convicted of a crime; denied adequate representation of the poor in planning and running projects; or created "social unrest." Rejected 44-48: R 29-2; D 15-46 (ND 2-39; SD 13-7), Aug. 19, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 195 -- HR 8283. Dominick (R Colo.) amendment to retain the Governor's veto power over proposed community action programs sponsored by private organizations. Rejected 42-49: R 27-4; D 15-45 (ND 2-38; SD 13-7), Aug. 19, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 198 -- HR 8283. Prouty amendment to reduce the authorization by \$150 million and to delete a section authorizing programs employing chronically unemployed poor adults. Rejected 41-47: R 27-3; D 14-44 (ND 3-38; SD 11-6), Aug. 19, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 212 -- HR 3157. Railroad Retirement Act Amendments. Long (D La.) point of order challenging the constitutionality of a Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee amendment attaching a tax provision to a nonrevenue bill. (The amendment increased the annual taxable compensation base for the railroad retirement system from \$450 to \$550 a month, generating additional revenue of

\$87 million a year.) Point of order rejected 41-44: R 20-8; D 21-36 (ND 6-33; SD 15-3), Sept. 1, 1965. The President did not take a position on the point of order.

RC 219 -- HR 9811. Food and Agriculture Act of 1965. Bass (D Tenn.) amendment to delete from the bill a provision transferring authority over importation of foreign farm workers in the United States from the Secretary of Labor to the Secretary of Agriculture. Accepted 46-45 (the 46th "yea" vote was cast by Vice President Humphrey to break a tie): R 2-28; D 43-17 (ND 36-6; SD 7-11), Sept. 13, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 220 -- HR 9811. Pastore (D R.I.) motion to table (kill) a motion by Bass (D Tenn.) to reconsider the vote by which Bass amendment (above) was accepted. Adopted 45-44: R 2-28; D 43-16 (ND 36-5; SD 7-11), Sept. 13, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 228 -- S 2084. Cotton (R N.H.) amendment permitting the Secretary of Commerce to override state determinations of roadside areas exempted from billboard control requirements on the Interstate System and new (but not existing) primary roads. Rejected 33-48: R 18-8; D 15-40 (ND 2-33; SD 13-7), Sept. 16, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 229 -- S 2084. Randolph (D W.Va.) amendment to permit outdoor advertising in which the size, lighting and spacing were determined by agreement between the states and the Secretary of Commerce in areas zoned industrial or commercial by state law or in unzoned areas determined through agreement between the states and the Secretary to be used for these purposes. (This replaced a provision which did not specifically require that the Secretary participate in these determinations.) Accepted 44-40: R 1-22; D 43-18 (ND 36-5; SD 7-13), Sept. 16, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 253 -- HR 11588. Second Supplemental Appropriations bill for fiscal 1966. Saltonstall (R Mass.) amendment to delete the \$360,000 appropriation for rent supplement payments and the \$12 million contract authority for new dwellings under the program in fiscal 1966; the amendment also provided a \$400,000 increase (to \$850,000) in funds for drafting the supplements plan. Rejected 37-45: R 22-5; D 15-40 (ND 3-34; SD 12-6), Oct. 20, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 254 -- HR 11588. Saltonstall amendment to delete half the appropriation for rent supplements and half of the contract authority for new dwellings; the amendment also provided a \$400,000 increase in funds for planning. Rejected 37-41: R 22-3; D 15-38; (ND 4-33; SD 11-5), Oct. 20, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

HOUSE VOTES (51)

Coalition Victories

Domestic Policy (13)

RC 2 -- H Res 1. Authorizing the Speaker to administer the oath of office to five Mississippi Congressmen-elect. Albert (D Okla.) motion to consider the previous question, cutting off debate and precluding amendments. Motion agreed to 276-149: R 115-24; D 161-125 (ND 66-123; SD 95-2), Jan. 4, 1965. The President did not take a position on the vote.

RC 20 -- HR 5374. Passage of the bill to provide a \$3,000-a-year pay increase for the Chief Justice (to \$43,000) and the eight Associate Justices (to \$42,500) of the Supreme Court, retroactive to Jan. 1, 1965. Rejected 178-202: R 23-104; D 155-98 (ND 134-30; SD 21-68), March 17, 1965. The President did not take a position on the bill.

RC 21 -- HR 5688. Amend the District of Columbia crime laws. Mathias (R Md.) motion to recommit the bill to the House District Committee with instructions to hold public hearings on "criminal legislation" for the District of Columbia. Rejected 166-216: R 20-98; D 146-118 (ND 142-33; SD 4-85), March 22, 1965. The President did not take a position on the motion.

RC 22 -- HR 5688. Passage of the bill amending the District of Columbia crime laws to nullify the Mallory and Durham rules of evidence, allow investigative arrests, establish robbery as a crime of violence, set mandatory minimum sentences for certain crimes and provide new controls over obscene materials. Passed 251-131: R 106-11; D 145-120 (ND 59-117; SD 86-3), March 22, 1965. The President did not take a position on the bill.

RC 43 -- HR 7091. Second Supplemental Appropriations bill for fiscal 1965. Keogh (D N.Y.) motion that the House recede from its disagreement with the Senate's addition of \$942,000 for subsidies for helicopter services in New York City, Los Angeles and Chicago. Rejected 144-228: R 34-97; D 110-131 (ND 103-53; SD 7-78), April 29, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JD).

RC 83 -- HR 6400. Voting Rights Act of 1965. Cramer (R Fla.) amendment to provide penalties of up to \$10,000 in fines and/or up to five years imprisonment for falsifying voting registration information or buying votes (applicable only to federal elections.) Adopted 253-165: R 136-0; D 117-165 (ND 37-153; SD 80-12), July 9, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 85 -- HR 6400. Gilbert (D N.Y.) amendment to stipulate that a person could not be denied the right to vote because of inability to read or write English if he demonstrated that he had successfully completed the sixth grade (or any other grade equivalent to whatever level of education a state demands) in a school under the American flag that was conducted in a language other than English. Rejected 202-216: R 10-125; D 192-91 (ND 171-19; SD 21-72), July 9, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 153 -- HR 8283. Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965. Ayres (R Ohio) motion to recommit the conference report on the bill to the conference committee, with instructions to insist on a House provision permitting a State Governor to veto certain anti-poverty programs, but authorizing federal officials to override a veto. Adopted 209-180: R 127-0; D 82-180 (ND 17-160; SD 65-20), Sept. 15, 1965. The President did not take a position on the motion.

RC 165 -- HR 7371. Amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 by repealing exemptions for nonprofit religious, charitable or educational organizations and for all partnerships and trusts, except "family-type" trusts terminating within 25 years or not later than the death of the beneficiary. Bennett (D Fla.) amendment to repeal all other major exemptions from the Act. Accepted 199-178: R 116-3; D 83-175 (ND 30-142; SD 53-33), Sept. 23, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 174 -- HR 4644. District of Columbia Charter Act. Multer (D N.Y.) amendment, as amended by Sisk (D Calif.) substitute, providing for election of a District of Columbia Charter Board, if D.C. voters favored home rule in a referendum, to draw up a charter which would be submitted to D.C. voters in another referendum and, if approved, would take effect in 90 days if not disapproved by either chamber of Congress. (The original Multer amendment would have substituted for HR 4644 the provisions of a Senate bill (S 1118) modified to provide for annual Congressional appropriation of the federal payment, election of the Mayor and Council for four-year terms in non-Presidential election years, changes in D.C. voter requirements and authority for the President to use federal troops or take over local police.) Accepted 227-174: R 105-23; D 122-151 (ND 50-134; SD 72-17), Sept. 29, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JD).

RC 178 -- HR 10281. Government Employees Salary Comparability Act of 1965. Broyhill (R N.C.) motion to recommit the bill to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee with instructions to delete a provision authorizing an automatic pay increase for Members of Congress and federal executives and judges effective January 1967. Adopted 238-140: R 115-7; D 123-133 (ND 55-118; SD 68-15), Sept. 30, 1965. The President did not take a position on the motion.

RC 187 -- HR 2020. Southern Nevada Water Project. Passage of the bill authorizing \$81,003,000 for construction by the Interior

Department of a municipal and industrial water supply system in Southern Nevada. Passed 240-134; R 108-12; D 132-122 (ND 53-115; SD 79-7), Oct. 7, 1965. The President did not take a position on the bill.

RC 194 -- HR 11588. Second Supplemental Appropriations bill for fiscal 1966. Harvey (R Mich.) amendment to delete the \$180,000 appropriation for rent supplement payments and the \$6 million contract authority for new dwellings under the program in fiscal 1966. Accepted 185-162: R 99-2; D 86-160 (ND 24-141; SD 62-19), Oct. 14, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JD).

Coalition Defeats

Foreign Policy (7)

RC 55 -- HR 7750. Foreign Assistance Act of 1965. Adair (R Ind.) motion to recommit the bill to the Foreign Affairs Committee with instructions to reduce funds for development loans by \$130,958,000, and to stipulate that labor unions participating in Latin American housing projects be "non-Communist dominated" as well as "free." Rejected 178-219: R 116-14; D 62-205 (ND 13-116; SD 49-39), May 25, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 56 -- HR 7750. Foreign Assistance Act of 1965. Passage of the bill, authorizing appropriations of \$3,367,670,000 for foreign aid in fiscal 1966. Passed 249-148: R 44-86; D 205-62 (ND 167-12; SD 38-50), May 25, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 120 -- HR 7750. Foreign Assistance Act of 1965. Adoption of the conference report (H Rept 811) on the bill authorizing appropriations of \$3.36 billion for foreign aid in fiscal 1966. Adopted 244-150: R 39-86; D 205-64 (ND 166-14; SD 39-50), Aug. 19, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 124 -- HR 2580. Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments. MacGregor (R Minn.) amendment to limit immigration from Western Hemisphere countries into the United States to 115,000 persons annually. Rejected: 189-218: R 121-13; D 68-205 (ND 13-170; SD 55-35), Aug. 25, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 136 -- HR 10871. Fiscal 1966 foreign aid appropriations. passage of the bill appropriating \$3,285,000,000 for foreign assistance and \$716,453,000 for related programs in fiscal 1966. Passed 239-143: R 40-81; D 199-62 (ND 163-10; SD 36-52), Sept. 8, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 182 -- HR 10871. Shriver (R Kan.) motion to recommit the conference report (H Rept 1103) with instructions that House conferees insist upon retention of a House provision prohibiting aid to nations that sold, furnished or shipped strategic goods to North Viet Nam. Rejected 164-174: R 105-2; D 59-172 (ND 17-136; SD 42-36), Oct. 1, 1965. The President did not take a position on the motion.

RC 183 -- HR 10871. Adoption of the conference report appropriating \$3,218,000,000 for foreign assistance and \$714,188,000 for related programs in fiscal 1966. Adopted 204-127: R 33-70; D 171-57 (ND 141-10; SD 30-47), Oct. 1, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

Domestic Policy (31)

RC 3 -- H Res 8. Adopt the rules of the 88th Congress with an amendment making these changes in the rules: allow the Speaker to recognize a Member to call up for floor action a bill that had been before the Rules Committee for 21 days without being granted a rule; allow the Speaker to recognize a Member to make a privileged motion to send a bill to conference by majority vote; and eliminate the existing rule that allowed a Member to demand an engrossed copy of a bill prior to final action on the bill. Albert (D Okla.) motion to consider the previous question, cutting off debate and precluding amendments. Motions agreed to 224-202: R 16-123; D 208-79 (ND 185-4; SD 23-75), Jan. 4, 1965. The President did not take a position on the vote.

RC 19 -- H Res 276. Open rule (permitting amendments and one hour of general debate) for floor consideration of HR 5374 increasing the pay of Supreme Court Justices by \$3,000. Adopted 202-183: R 33-93; D 169-90 (ND 141-27; SD 28-63), March 17, 1965. The President did not take a position on the rule.

RC 25 -- HR 2362. Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Goodell (R N.Y.) motion to recommit the bill to the House Education and Labor Committee with instructions to substitute for the Title I allocation formula a straight \$200 grant for each child from a low-income family. Rejected 149-267: R 89-42; D 60-225 (ND 3-187; SD 57-38), March 26, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 26 -- HR 2362. Passage of the bill, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, providing: a three-year program of grants to states for allocation to school districts with large numbers of children from low-income families; grants for purchase of books and library materials; funds to improve educational research; and grants to strengthen state departments of education. Passed 263-153: R 35-96; D 228-57 (ND 187-3; SD 41-54), March 26, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 34 -- HR 6675. Provide a basic compulsory health insurance program for the aged financed mainly by a payroll tax, a supplementary voluntary health insurance program financed by general revenue and contributions from participants, increases in Social Security cash benefits and expansion of the Kerr-Mills program, child health-care program and other federal-state public assistance programs. Byrnes (R Wis.) motion to recommit the bill to the House Ways and Means Committee with instructions to report it back with the provisions of a substitute bill, HR 7057, which would provide a voluntary, comprehensive health insurance program for the aged financed by general revenue and contributions from participants. Rejected 191-236: R 128-10; D 63-226 (ND 3-188; SD 60-38), April 8, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 71 -- HR 6927. Passage of the bill establishing a cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development to be headed by a Secretary appointed by the President with Senate confirmation; transferring to the Secretary all the functions, powers and duties of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Federal Housing Administration, the Public Housing Administration and the Federal National Mortgage Association; and specifying other functions, powers and duties of the Department. Passed 217-184: R 9-118; D 208-66 (ND 170-10; SD 38-56), June 16, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 72 -- H Res 416. Provide funds for each Representative to hire a college student for summer work as a "student Congressional intern" to be paid \$300 per month. Adopted 229-153: R 41-81; D 188-72 (ND 148-22; SD 40-50), June 16, 1965. The President did not take a position on the resolution.

RC 80 -- HR 7984. Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. Harvey (R Mich.) motion to recommit the bill to the Banking and Currency Committee with instructions to delete the rent supplements provision and language authorizing home improvement grants to homeowners in urban renewal areas. Rejected 202-208: R 130-4; D 72-204 (ND 21-163; SD 51-41), June 30, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 81 -- HR 7984. Passage of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, providing rent supplements to low-income families and extending and amending laws relating to public housing, urban renewal and community facilities. Passed 245-169: R 26-109; D 219-60 (ND 176-8; SD 43-52), June 30, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 86 -- HR 6400. Voting Rights Act of 1965. Collier (R Ill.) motion to recommit the bill to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to report back a Republican substitute (HR 7896) which provided remedies to voter discrimination on a county-by-county basis rather than statewide for "massive discrimination" areas as provided in HR 6400. Rejected 171-248: R 115-21; D 56-227 (ND

2-188; SD 54-39), July 9, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 91 -- HR 8926. Coinage Act of 1965. Battin (R Mont.) amendment to retain 40 percent silver in dimes and quarters. Rejected 187-218: R 96-37; D 91-181 (ND 44-139; SD 47-42), July 14, 1965. A "nay" vote was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 94 -- HR 8283. Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965. Quie (R Minn.) motion to recommit the bill to the House Education and Labor Committee with instructions to: (1) delete a section which allowed federal officials to override a state Governor's veto of certain federal anti-poverty activities and (2) reduce the fiscal 1966 appropriations authorization of \$1.9 billion to the fiscal 1965 level of \$947.5 million. Rejected 178-227: R 121-13; D 57-214 (ND 6-174; SD 51-40), July 22, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 95 -- HR 8283. Passage of the bill, authorizing appropriations of \$1.9 billion for the Government's anti-poverty program in fiscal 1966 and making other changes in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Passed 245-158: R 24-110; D 221-48 (ND 176-2; SD 45-46), July 22, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 98 -- HR 7984. Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. Adoption of the conference report (H Rept 679) on the bill, providing a program of rent supplements to low-income families, and extending and amending laws relating to public housing, urban renewal and community facilities. Adopted 251-168: R 26-110; D 225-58 (ND 179-7; SD 46-51), July 27, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 100 -- HR 77. The repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. Griffin (R Mich.) motion to recommit (kill) the bill. Rejected 200-223: R 120-19; D 80-204 (ND 7-181; SD 73-23), July 28, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 101 -- HR 77. Passage of the bill to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act permitting state right-to-work laws under which the union shop is prohibited. Passed 221-203: R 21-117; D 200-86 (ND 182-8; SD 18-78), July 28, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (JV).

RC 113 -- HR 9918. D.C. Motor Vehicle Insurance Protection from Uninsured Drivers. Sickles (D Md.) amendment to provide new text for HR 9918. Sickles amendment created an unsatisfied judgment claims fund into which all uninsured District of Columbia resident motorists must pay \$40. It also required all insured drivers to include in their policies protection against injuries and property damage caused by uninsured drivers. HR 9918 required motorists who were involved in serious accidents or traffic violations to post a \$500 deposit and did not require insured motorists to carry protection against uninsured motorists. Sickles substitute text accepted 173-156: R 39-66; D 134-90 (ND 119-22; SD 15-68), Aug. 9, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 115 -- S 1648. Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. Sisk (D Calif.) amendment to increase the annual authorization for public works and development facilities to \$500 million from \$400 million, limit the program to four rather than five years and increase the number of areas eligible for such grants. Accepted 196-194: R 9-119; D 187-75 (ND 143-28; SD 44-47), Aug. 12, 1965. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

Procedural roll calls prior to action on 21-day resolutions

RC 140 -- Albert (D Okla.) motion to dispense with further proceedings under the sixth quorum call of the day. Agreed to 225-121: R 49-76; D 206-45 (ND 168-2; SD 38-43), Sept. 13, 1965. The President did not take a position on the motion.

RC 141 -- Hall (R Mo.) motion to table (kill) Albert (D Okla.) motion to order the previous question (end debate) on his (Albert's) pending motion that the Journal of the previous day's proceedings be approved as read. Hall's motion rejected 138-244: R 95-33; D 43-211 (ND 2-171; SD 41-40), Sept. 13, 1965. The President did not take a position on the motion.

(Continued on p. 1110)

Conservative Support - Opposition Scores

House Conservative Coalition -- 1965 & 88th 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, 1965. Percentage of 51 conservative coalition roll calls in 1965 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, 1965. Percentage of 51 conservative coalition roll calls in 1965 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, 88th Congress. Percentage of 27 conservative coalition roll calls in 1963 and 1964 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, 88th Congress. Percentage of 27 conservative coalition roll calls in 1963 and 1964 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.

Headnotes

- Not a Member of the 88th Congress
- † Not eligible for all roll calls in 1965
- * Not eligible for all roll calls in the 88th Congress

	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
ALABAMA					Los Angeles Co.					GEORGIA				
3 Andrews	49	0	93	0	29 Brown	2	86	0	63	7 Davis	80	18	63	26
8 Jones	35	47	30	37	25 Cameron	4	69	4	78	6 Flynt	82	4	56	26
5 Selden	90	10	74	19	22 Corman	0	90	4	93	1 Hagan	82	10	78	11
4 Andrews	84	4	--	--	21 Hawkins	2	86	0	93	9 Landrum	43	41	59	15
6 Buchanan	96	0	--	--	19 Holifield	2	76	7	85	4 Mackay	24	67	--	--
2 Dickinson	80	2	--	--	17 King	6	94	4	89	2 O'Neal	88	4	--	--
1 Edwards	96	0	--	--	26 Vacancy					10 Stephens	59	27	63	26
7 Martin	65	0	--	--	30 Roybal	2	84	0	78	8 Tuten	88	12	63	26
ALASKA					31 Wilson	8	59	4	59	5 Weltner	24	53	30	67
AL Rivers	4	80	15	85	28 Bell	51	49	63	33	3 Callaway	90	0	--	--
ARIZONA					23 Clawson	82	2	82*	5*	HAWAII				
3 Senner	8	80	30	52	32 Hosmer	51	20	63	30	AL Matsunaga	2	96	4	89
2 Udall	10	86	11	89	24 Lipscomb	98	2	100	0	AL Mink	6	92	--	--
1 Rhodes	86	2	85	4	27 Reinecke	88	4	--	--	IDAHO				
ARKANSAS					20 Smith	94	2	74	7	1 White	24	61	26	56
1 Gathings	96	2	96	4	COLORADO					2 Hansen	98	2	--	--
4 Harris	51	45	63	15	4 Aspinall	22	51	33	63	ILLINOIS				
2 Mills	49	29	59	26	3 Evans	10	84	--	--	21 Gray	14	84	22	70
3 Trimble	18	82	30	48	2 McVicker	16	67	--	--	24 Price	0	100	7	93
CALIFORNIA					1 Rogers	16	84	19	81	19 Schisler	12	86	--	--
5 Burton	0	92	0*	100*	CONNECTICUT					23 Shipley	18	63	26	33
7 Cohelan	2	96	0	89	1 Daddario	2	69	4	67	16 Anderson	76	4	85	11
33 Dyal	4	92	--	--	3 Giaimo	8	90	0	93	17 Arends	80	8	78	22
9 Edwards	0	94	0	85	6 Grabowski	0	94	0	78	14 Erlenborn	88	10	--	--
18 Hagen	22	75	30	63	4 Irwin	4	90	--	--	20 Findley	78	8	78	19
34 Hanna	6	82	7	63	5 Monagan	16	82	7	81	12 McClory	53	24	63	11
2 Johnson	10	90	30	67	2 St. Onge	0	84	0	81	18 Michel	76	12	67	22
4 Leggett	2	86	7	85	DELAWARE					15 Reid	98	2	85	7
15 McFall	8	92	11	85	AL McDowell	6	92	4	67	22 Springer	73	12	70	19
8 Miller	2	80	4	78	FLORIDA					Chicago—Cook Co.				
3 Moss	4	76	15	74	2 Bennett	90	10	81	19	7 Annunzio	0	100	--	--
16 Sisk	16	67	22	67	4 Fascell	16	84	22	67	1 Dawson	0	88	7	74
38 Tunney	14	78	--	--	9 Fuqua	84	4	78	7	5 Kluczynski	2	82	4	70
37 Van Deerlin	8	86	7	85	10 Gibbons	22	73	30	59	3 Murphy	0	100	11	89
14 Baldwin	51	47	63	67	7 Haley	100	0	100	0	2 O'Hara	0	86	0	100
1 Clausen	82	8	81	4	5 Herlong	88	6	81	4	11 Pucinski	10	86	4	85
10 Gubser	94	6	74	26	8 Matthews	90	6	67	19	6 Ronan	0	96	--	--
6 Mailliard	47	39	30	56	3 Pepper	8	86	15	70	8 Rostenkowski	4	90	4	89
12 Talcott	94	0	81	11	6 Rogers	78	22	81	19	9 Yates	6	90	--	--
13 Teague	82	16	81	19	1 Sikes	82	8	85	4	10 Collier	92	8	70	19
35 Utt	82	4	74	7	12 Cramer	96	0	74	19	4 Derwinski	71	6	70	19
36 Wilson	84	0	67	4	11 Gurney	98	0	74	4	13 Rumsfeld	71	22	81	19
11 Younger	96	0	63	15										

Democrats in this type; Republicans in italics

Conservative Support - Opposition Scores

Senate Conservative Coalition -- 1965 & 88th 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, 1965. Percentage of 61 conservative coalition roll calls in 1965 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, 1965. Percentage of 61 conservative coalition roll calls in 1965 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, 88th Congress. Percentage of 94 conservative coalition roll calls in 1963 and 1964 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, 88th Congress. Percentage of 94 conservative coalition roll calls in 1963 and 1964 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.

Headnotes

- Not a Member of the 88th Congress
- † Not eligible for all roll calls in 1965
- # Score as a Representative in the 88th Congress

															CONSERVATIVE COALITION 1965 and 88th Congress				
	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
ALABAMA					INDIANA					NEBRASKA									
Hill	87	11	65	22	Bayh	10	74	11	61	Curtis	62	3	82	0					
Sparkman	54	11	57	28	Hartke	13	70	13	72	Hruska	84	3	83	1					
ALASKA					IOWA					NEVADA									
Bartlett	18	79	17	81	Hickenlooper	84	7	74	12	Bible	52	44	47	48					
Gruening	15	69	22	61	Miller	70	7	72	13	Cannon	41	44	34	47					
ARIZONA					KANSAS					NEW HAMPSHIRE									
Hayden	26	48	35	40	Carlson	79	8	71	11	McIntyre	20	74	19	76					
Fanmin	95	5	--	--	Pearson	62	3	78	2	Cotton	80	10	88	3					
ARKANSAS					KENTUCKY					NEW JERSEY									
Fulbright	31	44	39	44	Cooper	62	25	57	31	Williams	8	80	7	85					
McClellan	75	3	88	5	Morton	85	11	66	13	Case	15	79	24	69					
CALIFORNIA					LOUISIANA					NEW MEXICO									
Kuchel	59	39	39	56	Ellender	77	13	81	9	Anderson	21	52	20	50					
Murphy	66	10	--	--	Long	25	57	60	19	Montoya	10	79	37#	52#					
COLORADO					MAINE					NEW YORK									
Allott	85	11	78	11	Muskie	15	72	9	83	Kennedy	10	79	--	--					
Dominick	92	2	79	0	Smith	59	41	38	62	Javits	11	79	11	83					
CONNECTICUT					MARYLAND					NORTH CAROLINA									
Dodd	8	52	15	77	Brewster	8	72	18	72	Ervin	93	5	91	5					
Ribicoff	5	89	12	85	Tydings	3	85	--	--	Jordan	85	10	88	6					
DELAWARE					MASSACHUSETTS					NORTH DAKOTA									
Boggs	59	26	66	31	Kennedy	11	80	3	62	Burdick	11	75	16	76					
Williams	90	7	87	10	Saltonstall	64	21	51	26	Young	82	3	73	9					
FLORIDA					MICHIGAN					OHIO									
Holland	87	10	80	10	Hart	5	84	4	85	Lausche	62	20	72	19					
Smathers	34	30	40	30	McNamara	8	82	3	90	Young	18	66	21	63					
GEORGIA					MINNESOTA					OKLAHOMA									
Russell	62	5	82	9	McCarthy	7	38	7	84	Harris	33	62	--	--					
Talmadge	85	5	86	9	Mondale	7	89	--	--	Monroney	23	67	28	69					
HAWAII					MISSISSIPPI					OREGON									
Inouye	15	85	12	87	Eastland	93	3	82	1	Morse	18	75	29	60					
Fong	64	26	43	56	Stennis	92	5	82	3	Neuberger	8	70	3	79					
IDAHO					MISSOURI					PENNSYLVANIA									
Church	11	46	20	71	Long	20	61	18	55	Clark	8	66	3	81					
Jordan	92	2	91	3	Symington	31	49	28	59	Scott	48	26	26	52					
ILLINOIS					MONTANA					RHODE ISLAND									
Douglas	5	92	11	84	Mansfield	26	62	18	60	Pastore	10	82	9	78					
Dirksen	77	8	59	17	Metcalf	18	74	11	82	Pell	8	85	7	84					

Democrats in this type; *Republicans in italics*

(a) Strom Thurmond (S.C.), elected a Democrat in 1960, became a Republican Sept. 16, 1964. Score for 88th Congress is based on his votes as a Democrat.