



CONSERVATIVE COALITION REMAINS POTENT IN CONGRESS

The "conservative coalition" of Republicans and southern Democrats remained a potent legislative force during 1969, despite a general decrease in the flow of liberal bills the coalition traditionally has worked to block.

The coalition is said to "appear" in either House when the majority of Republicans and the majority of southern Democrats oppose the stand taken by the majority of northern Democrats on any roll-call vote. This happened 114 times in 1969, 69 times in the Senate and 45 in the House, and accounted for 27 percent of all the roll-call votes taken in Congress during the year.

The coalition had not appeared on such a high percentage of votes since 1961, when it appeared on 28 percent of the roll calls.

The coalition succeeded in winning 68 percent of the votes on which it appeared in 1969. This was a decrease of 5 percent from its unusually high 73 percent recorded in 1968, but still was the second-best victory record the coalition had achieved since the beginning of the Kennedy Administration in 1961.

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 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.

During 1969, the coalition appeared on much of the key legislation discussed in Congress. It gave the President a narrow victory in his battle for an antiballistic missile system, but failed to edge Clement F. Haynsworth Jr. past his critics and onto the Supreme Court. In the House, the coalition overrode the objections of liberal Democrats on a move to extend the expiring Voting Rights Act of 1965. But it failed in its bid to reorganize the Office of Economic Opportunity by placing it in the hands of the states. And in the Senate, the coalition won its battle against a ceiling on farm subsidy payments but was defeated as it attempted to delay school integration in the South by authorizing "freedom of choice" attendance plans.

On other crucial votes, the coalition failed to materialize. On a Senate amendment to raise the personal income tax exemption to \$800, southern Democrats joined northern Democrats to push the proposal through over Republican protests. And in the House, a narrow majority of Republicans combined with a huge majority of northern Democrats to permit the seating of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D N.Y.), even though most southern Democrats opposed his return.

The coalition was more effective in the House than it was in the Senate, winning on 71 percent of its House roll calls and 67 percent of its Senate roll calls. This was a sharp reversal of its 1968 performance, when the coalition achieved victory 80 percent of the time in the Senate but only 63 percent in the House. Its 1969 performance was better, however, than its record during the Johnson Administration as a whole. The coalition won an average of 54 percent of its roll calls while Lyndon Johnson was President.

The switch from a Democratic to a Republican Administration also gave the coalition a different role than it played during most of the 1960s, especially in the Senate. No longer was it cast as the foe of a Democratic President and his liberal northern allies. The coalition in 1969 found itself frequently allied with a conservative President against the restricted power of the Congressional liberals.

In 1968, the Senate coalition appeared 32 times in opposition to the legislative wishes of President Johnson and only 14 times in agreement with his publicly stated views. In the House, in 1968, the coalition agreed with President Johnson on only two of 25 roll calls.

In the Senate during 1969, the coalition appeared 19 times in cases where President Nixon had made his position known. Sixteen of those times, it backed the President against the majority of northern Democrats. Twelve of the 16 times, it won. The alliance of Republicans, southern Democrats and a Republican President proved to be a powerful weapon. The coalition in the Senate disagreed with President Nixon on only three occasions and lost on all three.

In the House during 1969, the alliance between the President and the coalition was less frequent but no less powerful. The President agreed with the coalition in the House five times and disagreed with it six times. The coalition won all five of the votes on which the President supported its position. It lost four of the six on which it differed with him.

For both houses, the conservative coalition had an 81-percent victory average when it was in agreement with President Nixon. It had a 22-percent average when it opposed him. It had a 70-percent average when he took no position.

The potential strength of the coalition in the House at the end of 1969 was 283 votes. There were 190 Republicans and 93 southern Democrats in the House. Northern Democrats numbered 150, not counting Speaker John W. McCormack, who rarely votes. There was one vacancy in the House, caused by the death of Rep. Daniel J. Ronan (D Ill.) on Aug. 13.

In the Senate, the coalition had a potential strength at the end of 1969 of 62 votes, with 43 Republicans and 19 southern Democrats. Statistics show, however, that freshman Republicans in the Senate showed some reluctance to support the coalition. The 12 Republican newcomers backed it 53 percent of the time, compared with 65 percent for Republicans as a whole and 67 percent for southern Democrats.

The 1969 drop in the coalition's effectiveness in the Senate is tied to voting participation. Northern Democratic Senators missed fewer roll-call votes in 1969 than in 1968, when many of them were seeking reelection, and spent considerable time away from Washington.

Northern Democrats answered 84 percent of Senate roll calls in 1969, compared with 71 percent in 1968. Southern Democrats, whose campaigns are often less strenuous, answered 80 percent of the time in 1968, so their 1969 improvement (to 87 percent) represented a smaller change. Republicans answered 84 percent of the time in 1968 and 87 percent in 1969. Thus the northern Democrats, simply by being present in greater numbers on the Senate floor during 1969, were able to prevent several coalition victories.

Key Issues

ABM. The major victory of the year for the conservative coalition and for the President came Aug. 6 when the Senate voted down an amendment to block deployment of the new Safeguard antiballistic missile (ABM) system. The vote was 50-50. Vice President Agnew broke the tie with a vote against the amendment, but his vote was not needed, since amendments cannot win on a tie.

In a battle drawn along coalition lines, 29 of 43 Republicans and 14 of 19 southern Democrats joined to block the amendment over the opposition of 31 of 38 northern Democrats. The amendment, by Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R Maine), would have prevented funds from being used on any aspect of the Safeguard system. Mrs. Smith left the coalition to support her amendment, but rejoined it moments later to help defeat a similar amendment, offered by Senators Philip A. Hart (D Mich.) and John Sherman Cooper (R Ky.), to allow research but not deployment of Safeguard. The Cooper-Hart amendment, backed by all supporters of the Smith amendment except Mrs. Smith, was defeated 49-51. The coalition also showed

its strength in the defeat of another amendment, offered by Sen. Thomas J. McIntyre (D N.H.), which would have permitted limited ABM deployment.

Haynsworth. Judge Clement F. Haynsworth Jr., a southerner nominated by a Republican President, drew strong support from southerners but only moderate support from Republicans as the Senate voted 45-55 to reject his nomination to the Supreme Court. While the southern Democrats backed Haynsworth 16-3, Republicans gave him only 26 votes out of their 43-member ranks. Seventeen Republicans, mostly those from eastern states, joined with 35 of 38 northern Democrats to defeat Haynsworth's nomination.

Most of the Senators who voted against Haynsworth said they did so because they were concerned about the ethics of his financial transactions, although some northern liberals said they could not support him because he had a poor civil rights record.

The nomination was the subject of intensive lobbying in Haynsworth's favor by the Nixon Administration, particularly among junior Republicans. However, five of the Senate's 12 freshman Republicans failed to support the coalition and cast their votes against Haynsworth.

Tax Reform. The coalition appeared on 27 of the Senate roll-call votes involving taxes and spending, winning 20 of the votes and losing seven.

It defeated two early tax-reform amendments proposed by Sen. John J. Williams (R Del.). One would have eliminated a Finance Committee amendment raising the oil depletion allowance from 50 to 65 percent for producers who gross less than \$3 million annually, and the other would have eliminated a Committee amendment raising the allowance from 50 to 70 percent for all producers of gold, copper and silver. The coalition defeated the first amendment 26-34 and the second 23-37.

The coalition then formed to defeat another Williams amendment which would have reduced the depletion allowance from 27 percent to 20 percent for major producers. With northern Democrats split almost evenly on the issue, Republicans and southern Democrats managed to win a 52-38 victory. By rejecting the amendment, the Senate left intact the Finance Committee's decision to reduce the allowance to 23 percent but no further. A Senate-House conference committee eventually agreed on a 22-percent depletion allowance for oil.

In other tax reform votes, the coalition was successful in its efforts to defeat the Kennedy amendment calling for a four-bracket graduated minimum tax in place of the 5-percent minimum tax approved by the Finance Committee. The vote was 24-52, as all 36 voting Republicans and 10 of 12 voting southern Democrats killed the measure over the objections of 22 of 28 voting northern Democrats.

The coalition was also successful in turning back a liberal amendment designed to apply the same tax rates to single persons as married persons filing joint tax returns and another designed to extend a provision denying a business deduction for treble-damage penalty payments for criminal violations of antitrust laws.

It was beaten as it attempted to pass an amendment which would have removed oil and gas well intangible drilling costs from the list of tax-preference items taxed under the minimum income tax. A final success for the coalition came on an amendment by Sen. Russell B. Long (D La.) to allow a tax credit of half the total contributed to political candidates up to a total credit of \$25.

In the House, the coalition appeared only once in connection with the tax reform bill. It was successful on a vote which established a closed rule for consideration of the bill, a rule under which amendments from the floor were generally prohibited. On the vote to establish the closed rule, 50 of 86 voting southern Democrats joined with 148 of 178 voting Republicans to win out over 79 of 145 voting northern Democrats.

Defense. On military issues, the Senate coalition was successful on seven votes and lost on three, despite the intense criticism directed at the military during two months of Senate debate. Three of the major victories came as the Senate defeated amendments designed to limit or prevent deployment of the Safeguard ABM system.

The coalition also won victories in the Senate by defeating an amendment to block construction of a new nuclear aircraft carrier (CVAN-69) and by defeating another amendment to block funds for an Air Force manned bomber (AMSA-B1A).

Its only two significant defeats in the Senate on defense issues came on amendments to provide audits by the General Accounting Office on major military contracts and to provide that no funds be used to finance Defense Department-sponsored research on nonmilitary issues.

In the House, the coalition was successful on the only four military votes in which it appeared. It won on a procedural vote which effectively prevented liberals from removing a provision of the military construction bill forbidding picketing and demonstrating at the Pentagon. On this vote, 84 of 85 voting southern Democrats joined with 167 of 189 voting Republicans to prevail over a bare majority of voting northern Democrats, 74 of 146. Two of the other victories came on procedural questions in which the coalition defeated foes of the Safeguard ABM plan. The vote on the ABM was not as close in the House as it was in the Senate, and the Safeguard was finally approved by a vote of 270-93.

Education and Welfare. On these issues, the Senate coalition won six votes but lost eight. In an early vote dealing with the closing of Job Corps centers, the Senate rejected a plan to defer the closing of 59 of the centers. In this vote, all 40 voting Republicans received help from 9 of 16 voting southern Democrats to defeat 33 of 36 voting northern Democrats.

The coalition also won its Senate battle for an amendment to give Governors veto power over legal service projects, as the vote divided along unmistakable coalition lines. Voting Republicans favored it 30-6, and voting southern Democrats backed it 14-2. Northern Democrats opposed the plan 32-1, but the coalition came out victorious in an over-all 45-40 vote.

In a final success, the Senate provided another victory for the coalition as it adopted an amendment cutting \$292.1 million from Office of Economic Opportunity appropriations for fiscal 1970. The coalition was then defeated as it attempted to slice the same \$292.1 million from programs scheduled for fiscal 1971. Although only one Republican opposed the cut for fiscal 1970, 11 others defected in the second vote, giving northern liberals enough votes to win 47-33.

Republican defections also handed the coalition a defeat on the issue of food stamps for the poor. Although only five southern Democrats backed the plan to provide \$1.25 billion for the stamps in fiscal 1970, 16 Republicans

voted with the northern Democrats as the money was authorized 54-40. All but two of 35 voting northern Democrats favored the additional money.

In the House, the coalition won five times on votes dealing with social issues and lost three times.

The major victory came as the House approved an amendment limiting the extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to two years rather than five. Republicans proved loyal to the coalition as they backed the limitation 175-9. Southern Democrats were more divided, but voted 52-32 for the limited extension. Northern Democrats opposed the limitation 143-8, but it was adopted on a 235-184 vote. Another coalition success came as the House adopted an amendment barring federal aid to any college not in accordance with the Higher Education Amendments of 1968. The purpose of the amendment was to force colleges to cut off loans to those who participate in campus riots.

In the last days of the session, however, the coalition suffered an unexpected defeat as the House rejected 231-163 a plan to give the antipoverty program to the states. It was the unusual unanimity of northern Democrats that blocked a coalition victory, as 139 of 146 voting northern Democrats opposed the amendment.

Foreign Affairs. Here the coalition was successful in the Senate on three of five votes. It acted to block an amendment by Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D Maine) to authorize \$80 million to encourage Vietnamese land reform and succeeded on a 33-51 roll-call. The coalition also provided the votes as the Senate adopted a proposal by Sen. Thomas Dodd (D Conn.) to eliminate the prohibition on further grants of military aid to Greece. The vote on the Dodd amendment was 45-38.

In the House, the coalition was active on foreign affairs but met with only mixed success, winning on seven roll calls and losing on six. Three of the victories came in votes dealing with military aid to Nationalist China, as the House adopted and later voted to retain legislation providing \$54.5 million in funds for the Nationalist Chinese Air Force. Other coalition wins came as the House adopted a resolution commending President Nixon's efforts for "peace with justice" in Vietnam, after providing that the resolution could not be amended on the floor. On final passage of the resolution, the coalition proved unnecessary as northern Democrats generally supported the coalition's position. Only one Republican, Rep. Ogden R. Reid (R N.Y.) voted with 54 northern Democrats in voicing reservations about the resolution.

Civil Rights. In the House, the coalition was active in the battle over the controversial Administration voting rights plan and the fight over the seating of Adam Clayton Powell. The coalition broke apart on the roll-call votes on the Whitten desegregation amendment and the Philadelphia Plan for hiring minority workers.

Powell was finally seated and fined \$25,000 as the coalition broke down in its efforts to have the New York Democrat barred for a further period.

The coalition was successful in blocking two procedural moves by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D N.Y.) aimed at having Powell seated with no punishment, and northern liberals were able to block a plan which would have barred Powell temporarily pending the result of an investigation. Finally the compromise was adopted, providing for seating with punishment. The coalition col-

lapsed, as 101 of 185 voting Republicans joined the liberals in agreeing to the compromise.

On the voting rights issue, the coalition and the Nixon Administration won their battle to weaken the 1965 Voting Rights Act by removing strict federal controls over voting in the South and replacing them with less specific controls over voting throughout the country. In another strictly drawn test of coalition strength, 69 of 82 voting southern Democrats and 129 of 178 voting Republicans joined to support the Administration plan over the objection of 141 of 151 voting northern Democrats. The final vote was 208-203.

Other Key Votes. In key action on agriculture, the coalition won a Senate battle to block legislation to limit farm subsidies to \$20,000. In this vote, northern Democrats were able to muster only 17 of 30 votes, enabling 25 of 38 voting Republicans and 15 of 19 voting southern Democrats to win out. The action killed a House-passed plan to establish the \$20,000 limitation (on which Republicans differed with the southerners).

Another coalition victory came as the Senate approved the nomination of Otto F. Otepka to the Subversive Activities Control Board. On a motion to recommit the nomination, 35 of 41 voting Republicans joined 14 of 17 southern Democrats for Otepka as northern Democrats divided, with 29 opposing Otepka and 21 backing him.

Conservative Coalition Successes by Area in 1969

Area	Senate		
	Appearances	Victories	Defeats
Agriculture	1	1	0
Appointments	3	2	1
Civil Rights and Urban Affairs	4	4	0
Defense	10	7	3
Education and Welfare	14	6	8
Electoral Vote	1	1	0
Foreign Affairs	5	3	2
General Government	4	2	2
Taxes and Spending	27	20	7
Total	69	46	23

Area	House		
	Appearances	Victories	Defeats
Agriculture	1	1	0
Civil Rights and Urban Affairs	3	2	1
Defense	4	4	0
Education and Welfare	8	5	3
Electoral Vote	2	1	1
Foreign Affairs	13	7	6
General Government	9	8	1
Taxes and Spending	5	4	1
Total	45	32	13

Coalition Appearance 1961-69. Percentage of roll calls on which the coalition appeared:

1961	28%	1966	25%
1962	14	1967	20
1963	17	1968	24
1964	15	1969	27
1965	24		

Coalition Victories 1961-68

	Total	Senate	House
1961	55%	48%	74%
1962	62	71	44
1963	50	44	67
1964	51	47	67
1965	33	39	25
1966	45	51	32
1967	63	54	73
1968	73	80	63
1969	68	67	71

Conservative Coalition Scores

Following are the composite conservative coalition Support and Opposition scores for 1969:

	Southern Democrats	Republicans	Northern Democrats
Coalition Support			
Senate	67%	65%	21%
House	68	67	18
Coalition Opposition			
Senate	20%	24%	65%
House	18	22	69

REGIONAL SCORES

The parties' coalition support scores, by region, for 1969:

	East	West	South	Midwest
Democrats				
Senate	23%	29%	67%	11%
House	16	19	68	21
Republicans				
Senate	47%	73%	75%	70%
House	52	65	86	69

The parties' coalition opposition scores, by region, for 1969:

	East	West	South	Midwest
Democrats				
Senate	67%	54%	20%	74%
House	72	68	18	66
Republicans				
Senate	46%	15%	12%	15%
House	37	17	6	20

Individual Scores Support

Highest Coalition Support Scorers. Those who voted with the conservative coalition most consistently in 1969:

HOUSE

Southern Democrats		Republicans	
Brinkley (Ga.)	98%	Crane (Ill.)*	100%
Marsh (Va.)	98	Ruth (N.C.)	100
Satterfield (Va.)	98	Hammerschmidt	
Haley (Fla.)	96	(Ark.)	96
Waggonner (La.)	96	Bray (Ind.)	96
Daniel (Va.)	96	Myers (Ind.)	96
Jones (N.C.)	93	Jonas (N.C.)	96
Lennon (N.C.)	93	Miller (Ohio)	96
Burleson (Texas)	93	Duncan (Tenn.)	96
		Poff (Va.)	96
		Whitehurst (Va.)	96

Northern Democrats	
Ichord (Mo.)	87%
Hull (Mo.)	84
Baring (Nev.)	80
Randall (Mo.)	78
Slack (W.Va.)	62
Aspinall (Colo.)	53
Burlison (Mo.)	53
Kee (W. Va.)	53

SENATE

Southern Democrats		Republicans	
Ervin (N.C.)	93%	Curtis (Neb.)	97%
Holland (Fla.)	91	Allott (Colo.)	96
Talmadge (Ga.)	90	Hruska (Neb.)	94
Stennis (Miss.)	88	Bennett (Utah)	94
Byrd (Va.)	84	Hansen (Wyo.)	94
Allen (Ala.)	83	Fannin (Ariz.)	94
McClellan (Ark.)	83	Gurney (Fla.)	93

Northern Democrats	
Bible (Nev.)	77%
Byrd (W.Va.)	59
Cannon (Nev.)	45
Randolph (W.Va.)	42
Dodd (Conn.)	41
McGee (Wyo.)	38

*Not eligible for all roll calls in 1969

Opposition

Highest Coalition Opposition Scorers. Those who voted against the conservative coalition most consistently in 1969:

HOUSE

Southern Democrats		Republicans	
Eckhardt (Texas)	78%	Reid (N.Y.)	87%
Gonzalez (Texas)	78	Whalen (Ohio)	84
Perkins (Ky.)	58	Gude (Md.)	80
Brooks (Texas)	56	Conte (Mass.)	80
Gibbons (Fla.)	53	Horton (N.Y.)	80
Pepper (Fla.)	53	Halpern (N.Y.)	80
Wright (Texas)	53	Morse (Mass.)	76

1969 Coalition Votes

Following is a list of all 1969 Senate and House roll-call votes on which the conservative coalition appeared. The votes are listed by CQ roll-call number and may be looked up in this book.

SENATE VOTES (69)

Coalition Victories—Foreign Policy: (3)—201, 203, 229.
 Domestic policy: (43)—1, 15, 18, 25, 30, 34, 39, 40, 44, 54, 55, 56, 71, 74, 79, 102, 104, 125, 126, 130, 136, 137, 142, 148, 149, 161, 162, 165, 175, 182, 183, 184, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 196, 211, 216, 231, 232.

Coalition Defeats—Foreign Policy: (2)—112, 208.
 Domestic Policy: (21)—4, 29, 33, 58, 59, 60, 67, 84, 85, 105, 135, 147, 150, 156, 166, 169, 171, 181, 206, 222, 240.

HOUSE VOTES (45)

Coalition Victories—Foreign Policy: (7)—135, 136, 142, 143, 147, 171.

Domestic Policy: (25)—2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 14, 17, 20, 33, 38, 59, 64, 69, 71, 91, 92, 99, 105, 109, 117, 133, 150, 151, 160, 161.

Coalition Defeats—Foreign Policy: (6)—11, 12, 78, 137, 148, 169.

Domestic Policy: (7)—41, 45, 46, 82, 94, 153, 167.

Northern Democrats	
Ryan (N.Y.)	100%
Hathaway (Maine)	96
Fraser (Minn.)	96
Koch (N.Y.)	96
Helstoski (N.J.)	93
Minish (N.J.)	93
Ottinger (N.Y.)	93
Bingham (N.Y.)	93
Gilbert (N.Y.)	93

SENATE

Southern Democrats		Republicans	
Harris (Okla.)	70%	Case (N.J.)	71%
Yarborough (Texas)	58	Javits (N.Y.)	71
Gore (Tenn.)	49	Goodell (N.Y.)	70
Fulbright (Ark.)	42	Schweiker (Pa.)	65
Spong (Va.)	41	Brooke (Mass.)	61

Northern Democrats	
Hart (Mich.)	94%
McGovern (S.D.)	94
Nelson (Wis.)	90
Mondale (Minn.)	87
Kennedy (Mass.)	85

Senate Conservative Coalition—1969 & 90th Congress

The chart below shows how often individual Senators voted "with" or "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. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

1969

90th Congress

1. Conservative Coalition Support, 1969. Percentage of 69 conservative coalition roll calls in 1969 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, 1969. Percentage of 69 conservative coalition roll calls in 1969 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, 90th Congress. Percentage of 126 conservative coalition roll calls in 1967 and 1968 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, 90th Congress. Percentage of 126 conservative coalition roll calls in 1967 and 1968 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 eligible for all roll calls in 1969.
- * Not eligible for all roll calls in 90th Congress.
- Not a Member of the 90th Congress.

															CONSERVATIVE COALITION 1969 AND 90th CONGRESS				
1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4						
ALABAMA					IOWA					NEW HAMPSHIRE									
Allen	83	10	—	—	Hughes	6	78	—	—	McIntyre	32	62	24	63					
Sparkman	71	12	63	21	Miller	77	10	78	11	Cotton	90	9	70	14					
ALASKA					KANSAS					NEW JERSEY									
Gravel	23	54	—	—	Dole	87	7	—	—	Williams	7	81	6	83					
Stevens	59	14	—	—	Pearson	77	22	75	21	Case	25	71	17	78					
ARIZONA					KENTUCKY					NEW MEXICO									
Fannin	94	0	82	5	Cook	61	23	—	—	Anderson	26	17	45	42					
Goldwater	45	1	—	—	Cooper	45	36	39	40	Montoya	36	54	29	43					
ARKANSAS					LOUISIANA					NEW YORK									
Fulbright	23	42	32	29	Ellender	74	16	73	13	Goodell	17	70	0*	73*					
McClellan	83	4	91	4	Long	77	7	60	21	Javits	23	71	13	60					
CALIFORNIA					MAINE					NORTH CAROLINA									
Cranston	13	74	—	—	Muskie	9	81	13	60	Ervin	93	4	75	6					
Murphy	84	4	65	8	Smith	70	30	59	25	Jordan	87	3	71	5					
COLORADO					MARYLAND					NORTH DAKOTA									
Allott	96	3	76	4	Tydings	10	68	11	72	Burdick	29	58	27	63					
Dominick	84	6	70	11	Mathias	28	54	—	—	Young	88	9	83	9					
CONNECTICUT					MASSACHUSETTS					OHIO									
Dodd	41	55	24*	48*	Kennedy	3†	85†	2	59	Young	13	75	17	71					
Ribicoff	12	80	15	58	Brooke	25	61	26	54	Saxbe	36	42	—	—					
DELAWARE					MICHIGAN					OKLAHOMA									
Boggs	72	22	67	30	Hart	1	94	4	78	Harris	16	70	21	50					
Williams	67	32	81	17	Griffin	67	23	44	43	Bellmon	77	13	—	—					
FLORIDA					MINNESOTA					OREGON									
Holland	91	7	76	13	McCarthy	12	55	6	24	Hatfield	35	58	30	44					
Gurney	93	3	—	—	Mondale	3	87	4	75	Packwood	48	46	—	—					
GEORGIA					MISSISSIPPI					PENNSYLVANIA									
Russell	58	12	67	6	Eastland	74	6	77	3	Schweiker	33	65	—	—					
Talmadge	90	6	64	8	Stennis	88	3	95	2	Scott	57	36	35	44					
HAWAII					MISSOURI					RHODE ISLAND									
Inouye	20	64	12	59	Eagleton	17	72	—	—	Pastore	25	57	14	65					
Fong	59	35	50	37	Symington	16	33	40	52	Pell	12	81	10	77					
IDAHO					MONTANA					SOUTH CAROLINA									
Church	14	77	21	42	Mansfield	36	49	21	46	Hollings	68	17	53	13					
Jordan	84	13	83	7	Metcalf	28	55	15	63	Thurmond	87	1	91	1					
ILLINOIS					NEBRASKA					SOUTH DAKOTA									
Percy	42	42	34	44	Curtis	97	0	86	2	McGovern	1	94	10	58					
Smith	46†	15†	—	—	Hruska	94	0	83	2	Mundt	45	0	81	8					
INDIANA					NEVADA					TENNESSEE									
Bayh	9	71	18	52	Bible	77	19	56	27	Gore	28	49	23	49					
Harke	13	75	20	57	Cannon	45	29	52	25	Baker	77	7	73	7					

Democrats in this type; Republicans in italics

House Conservative Coalition—1969 & 90th 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. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

1969

90th Congress

1. Conservative Coalition Support, 1969. Percentage of 45 conservative coalition roll calls in 1969 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, 1969. Percentage of 45 conservative coalition roll calls in 1969 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, 90th Congress. Percentage of 105 conservative coalition roll calls in 1967 and 1968 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, 90th Congress. Percentage of 105 conservative coalition roll calls in 1967 and 1968 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 eligible for all roll calls in 1969.
- * Not eligible for all roll calls in 90th Congress.
- Not a Member of the 90th Congress.

1969					90th Congress					CONSERVATIVE COALITION 1969 AND 90th CONGRESS									
	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4					
ALABAMA					Los Angeles Co.					GEORGIA									
3 Andrews	82	2	85	0	17 Anderson	9	89	—	—	3 Brinkley	98	2	90	4					
7 Beville	78	13	83	10	29 Brown	7	69	8	52	6 Davis	67	11	79	10					
5 Flowers	78	7	—	—	22 Corman	4	82	3	64	7 Flynt	69	2	80	1					
8 Jones	44	42	40	46	21 Hawkins	2	87	1	67	1 Hagan	84	4	81	0					
4 Nichols	71	9	78	4	19 Holifield	16	64	6	86	9 Landrum	71	7	54	10					
6 Buchanan	84	9	86	8	26 Rees	7	69	1	75	2 O'Neal	64	0	91	4					
2 Dickinson	82	2	76	2	30 Roybal	2	84	3	76	10 Stephens	58	7	60	15					
1 Edwards	80	7	81	9	31 Wilson	27	64	7	64	8 Stuckey	80	4	84	3					
ALASKA					28 Bell	38	27	35	36	4 Blackburn	87	4	81*	3*					
AL Pollock	60	7	58	16	23 Clawson	80	9	73	4	5 Thompson	91	4	87	7					
ARIZONA					27 Goldwater	74†	0†	—	—	HAWAII									
2 Udall	11	82	8	80	32 Hosmer	51	24	66	16	AL Matsunaga	11	82	4	83					
1 Rhodes	82	11	78	11	24 Lipscomb	36	0	95	3	AL Mink	9	91	0	97					
3 Steiger	93	2	91	4	20 Smith	84	4	90	3	IDAHO									
ARKANSAS					25 Wiggins	69	27	73	13	2 Hansen, O.	62	29	—	—					
1 Alexander	60	24	—	—	COLORADO					1 McClure	87	2	85	8					
2 Mills	56	24	74	13	4 Aspinall	53	33	32	42	ILLINOIS									
4 Pryor	47	47	61	29	3 Evans	20	78	25	67	21 Gray	38	42	22	62					
3 Hammerschmidt	96	2	91	6	1 Rogers	33	67	30	62	24 Price	33	64	8	88					
CALIFORNIA					2 Brotzman	69	31	72	25	23 Shipley	47	47	42	46					
5 Burton	13	78	1	94	CONNECTICUT					16 Anderson	42	38	57	30					
7 Cohelan	11	84	2	88	1 Daddario	0	80	5	81	17 Arends	69	24	76	10					
9 Edwards	7	69	2	82	3 Giaimo	29	58	15	70	14 Erlenborn	71	24	67	22					
34 Hanna	21†	50†	15	66	5 Monagan	29	56	24	70	20 Findley	42	51	73	20					
2 Johnson	27	71	20	75	2 St. Onge	7	80	2	57	12 McClory	53	44	64	25					
4 Leggett	9	73	12	72	6 Meskill	76	18	65	30	18 Michel	80	11	72	12					
15 McFall	31	67	11	84	4 Weicker	49	42	—	—	19 Railsback	40	42	57	37					
8 Miller	27	58	3	61	DELAWARE					15 Reid	89	2	94	3					
3 Moss	11	64	4	76	AL Roth	73	24	79	14	22 Springer	71	24	73	22					
16 Sisk	42	40	17	69	FLORIDA					Chicago-Cook Co.									
38 Tunney	2	56	10	63	3 Bennett	82	18	82	18	7 Annunzio	20	67	5	79					
37 Van Deerlin	20	73	11	76	4 Chappell	91	0	—	—	1 Dawson	7	27	4	62					
14 Waldie	9	84	15	73	12 Fascell	16	47	30	62	5 Kluczynski	27	56	12	71					
1 Clausen	87	9	72	10	2 Fuqua	80	4	79	10	2 Mikva	7	89	—	—					
10 Gubser	67	18	68	20	6 Gibbons	29	53	30	61	3 Murphy	31	64	10	84					
11 McCloskey	22	69	43*	49*	7 Haley	96	0	97	1	11 Pucinski	29	47	19	64					
6 Mailliard	36	33	45	41	11 Pepper	22	53	17	62	6 Vacancy	—	—	—	—					
18 Mathias	47	22	55	19	9 Rogers	87	11	90	6	8 Rostenkowski	18	53	8	72					
33 Pettis	87	9	76	13	1 Sikes	80	9	71	10	9 Yates	9	89	6	90					
12 Talcott	71	13	85	6	10 Burke	89	2	87	2	10 Collier	78	7	79	11					
13 Teague	73	18	70	26	8 Cramer	76	11	86	3	13 Crane	100†	0†	—	—					
35 Utt	64	0	60	3	5 Frey	91	0	—	—	4 Derwinski	71	20	73	13					
36 Wilson	67	22	70	10															

Democrats in this type; Republicans in italics

VOTING STUDIES

Conservative Coalition - 8

	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
6 Watts	73	24	64	13	2 Symington	20	78	—	—	11 Taylor	87	7	91	5	1 Rivers	58	18	70	9
5 Carter	82	13	77	10	7 Hall	82	4	90	2	10 Broyhill	84	13	94	2	2 Watson	84	0	90	2
3 Cowger	67	13	62	10	MONTANA					9 Jonas	96	2	93	1	SOUTH DAKOTA				
4 Snyder	82	4	86	2	2 Melcher	22†	75†	—	—	5 Mizell	89	2	—	—	2 Berry	69	2	70	4
LOUISIANA					1 Olsen	22	76	13	68	8 Ruth	100	0	—	—	1 Reifel	47	18	77	17
2 Boggs	42	42	21	64	NEBRASKA					NORTH DAKOTA					TENNESSEE				
3 Coffery	91	7	—	—	2 Cunningham	58	11	71	13	1 Andrews	56	24	70	19	6 Anderson	47	31	26	52
7 Edwards	62	13	60	21	1 Denney	78	0	88	7	2 Kleppe	91	2	81	7	7 Blanton	76	11	61	22
1 Hebert	49	7	44	7	3 Martin	76	4	80	4	OHIO					4 Ewins	44	18	32	26
8 Long	62	11	62	4	NEVADA					9 Ashley	11	76	6	73	5 Fulton	22	40	33	49
5 Passman	87	11	77	7	AL Baring	80	4	79	5	18 Hays	31	47	24	49	8 Jones	49†	19†	—	—
6 Rarick	84	11	60	0	NEW HAMPSHIRE					19 Kirwan	4	9	16	62	3 Brock	56	18	79	6
4 Waggoner	96	4	82	8	2 Cleveland	67	27	65	31	21 Stokes	7	84	—	—	2 Duncan	96	4	92	8
MAINE					1 Wyman	93	7	81	19	22 Vanik	9	91	13	74	9 Kuykendall	76	2	85	2
2 Hathaway	2	96	4	95	NEW JERSEY					17 Ashbrook	69	11	85	3	1 Quillen	84	7	86	4
1 Kyros	13	80	17	78	14 Daniels	16	76	6	64	14 Ayres	60	29	57	29	TEXAS				
MARYLAND					13 Gallagher	4	69	0	77	14 Ayres	60	29	57	29	9 Brooks	20	56	22	70
4 Fallon	31	47	27	52	9 Helstoski	4	93	1	91	8 Betts	89	4	94	2	17 Burleson	93	2	87	8
7 Friedel	20	78	10	83	3 Howard	4	84	5	80	16 Bow	76	7	64	6	5 Cabell	80	2	77	16
3 Garmatz	40	56	22	68	11 Minish	7	93	10	82	7 Brown	78	13	85	4	22 Casey	82	7	70	19
2 Long	27	60	22	66	15 Patten	20	78	7	93	2 Clancy	84	9	84	4	15 de la Garza	51	38	52	35
6 Beall	64	36	—	—	10 Rodino	7	84	6	86	12 Devine	82	0	90	3	2 Dowdy	84	9	87	2
8 Gude	16	80	27	70	8 Roe	19†	81†	—	—	6 Harsha	82	13	78	10	8 Eckhardt	9	78	2	91
5 Hogan	69	29	—	—	4 Thompson	2	78	2	73	5 Latta	84	11	81	8	21 Fisher	84	7	82	5
1 Morton	60	20	60	30	6 Cahill	27	22	42	46	24 Lukens	67	9	70	8	20 Gonzalez	22	78	6	94
MASSACHUSETTS					12 Dwyer	40	40	41	45	4 McCulloch	56	36	64	18	23 Kazen	58	42	29	65
2 Boland	11	89	4	83	5 Frelinghuysen	40	51	48	41	10 Miller	96	4	92	8	19 Mahon	76	22	65	34
11 Burke	27	73	6	94	1 Hunt	89	7	90	4	23 Minshall	78	9	70	12	1 Patman	33	44	26	52
4 Donohue	24	71	6	83	2 Sandman	56	22	70	19	13 Mosher	27	49	45	42	10 Pickle	62	31	43	39
6 Harrington	0†	88†	—	—	7 Widnall	62	24	45	47	11 Stanton	60	38	58	39	11 Poage	73	9	78	10
7 Macdonald	2	80	8	61	NEW MEXICO					1 Taft	34†	41†	51*	35*	13 Purcell	64	13	54	19
9 McCormack					2 Foreman	91	2	—	—	3 Whalen	13	84	27	71	4 Roberts	78	7	73	14
8 O'Neill	13	84	4	86	1 Lujan	67	11	—	—	15 Wylie	89	4	89	9	6 Teague	56	18	52	15
3 Philbin	33	60	7	82	NEW YORK					OKLAHOMA					16 White	67	31	70	28
1 Conte	18	80	29	61	41 Dulski	20	69	10	84	3 Albert	36	51	22	76	12 Wright	38	53	32	47
10 Heckler	22	67	31	51	34 Hanley	20	78	17	78	2 Edmondson	47	40	37	56	14 Young	49	38	25	59
12 Keith	51	47	60	34	5 Lowenstein	4	82	—	—	5 Jarman	76	9	91	5	7 Bush	78	13	83	10
5 Morse	9	76	20	67	39 McCarthy	0	82	10	80	4 Steed	64	18	52	40	3 Collins	82	9	80*	0*
MICHIGAN					25 Ottinger	2	93	10	87	1 Belcher	89	2	89	3	18 Price	91	0	97	1
12 O'Hara	9	82	0	94	1 Pike	22	76	33	62	6 Camp	87	0	—	—	UTAH				
18 Broomfield	62	33	41	21	35 Stratton	44	53	35	43	OREGON					1 Burton	47	16	75	9
3 Brown	47	44	67	26	3 Wolff	11	78	12	70	3 Green	38	40	22	58	2 Lloyd	71	20	71	15
10 Cederberg	71	18	83	7	29 Button	16	78	19	55	2 Ullman	42	53	33	50	VERMONT				
6 Chamberlain	78	16	90	6	37 Conable	56	31	56	35	4 Dellenback	51	42	53	39	AL Stafford	44	53	49	48
2 Esch	31	49	52	41	28 Fish	44	47	—	—	1 Wyatt	64	31	65	20	VIRGINIA				
5 Ford	61	34	67	21	2 Grover	76	16	70	26	PENNSYLVANIA					4 Abbott	62	2	77	1
8 Harvey	49	42	57	31	38 Hastings	67	11	—	—	25 Clark	29	51	23	58	5 Daniel	96	2	—	—
4 Hutchinson	76	13	93	5	36 Horton	20	80	30	63	21 Dent	24	56	10	68	1 Downing	91	2	79	17
19 McDonald	56	33	72	18	30 King	87	0	91	3	11 Flood	31	64	21	70	7 Marsh	98	2	96	4
7 Riegle	22	62	58	37	31 McEwen	76	18	66	18	20 Gaydos	33	62	—	—	3 Satterfield	98	0	93	2
11 Ruppe	33	53	51	36	27 McKneally	67	24	—	—	14 Moorhead	4	82	5	78	10 Broyhill	89	11	89	7
9 Vander Jagt	49	38	70	21	32 Pirnie	56	36	56	37	26 Morgan	24	71	13	74	6 Poff	96	4	94	4
Detroit-Wayne Co.					26 Reid	0	87	6	86	15 Rooney	29	51	19	69	8 Scott	91	2	87	3
1 Conyers	4	69	3	66	33 Robison	42	56	57	38	24 Vigorito	27	69	26	70	9 Wampler	91	4	80	12
13 Diggs	0	80	2	64	40 Smith	51	40	54	37	6 Yatron	22	73	—	—	2 Whitehurst	96	2	—	—
16 Dingell	20	73	11	76	4 Wydler	56	33	50	38	8 Biester	33	64	55	41	WASHINGTON				
15 Ford	4	84	0	89	New York City					18 Corbett	64	36	49	41	7 Adams	11	80	2	82
17 Griffiths	18	60	7	76	7 Addabbo	16	78	10	80	13 Coughlin	33	62	—	—	5 Foley	20	69	17	80
14 Nedzi	13	82	4	90	24 Biaggi	31	67	—	—	16 Eshleman	89	4	84	9	3 Hansen	13	64	9	75
MINNESOTA					23 Bingham	0	93	1	79	27 Fulton	40	60	45	52	6 Hicks	16	82	10	83
8 Blatnik	9	67	6	80	11 Brasco	0	78	4	87	19 Goodling	87	2	94	2	2 Meads	13	80	10	84
5 Fraser	2	96	4	90	15 Carey	0	62	6	68	23 Johnson	82	11	82	10	4 May	62	13	78	11
4 Karth	13	84	11	78	10 Celler	11	64	4	65	10 McDade	42	56	44	53	1 Pelly	51	22	58*	35*
7 Langen	93	0	96	2	12 Chisholm	11	67	—	—	22 Saylor	60	20	63	25	WEST VIRGINIA				
3 MacGregor	51	31	50	37	9 Delaney	31	42	29	67	17 Schneebeli	62	27	79	19	4 Hechler	16	84	15	85
2 Nelsen	76	16	79	11	19 Farbstein	0	91	3	81	9 Watkins	62	4	81	1	5 Kee	53	47	28	60
1 Quie	58	38	58	36															