

DEMOCRATIC SPLIT: HIGHEST PERCENTAGE SINCE 1960

Democrats in Congress divided along North-South lines more often during 1971 than in any year since Congressional Quarterly started this voting study in 1957. The percentage of splits was the highest since 1960.

A North-South Democratic split occurred on 279 recorded votes, or 38 percent of the record 743 roll-call and recorded teller votes taken during 1971. This compared to 119 splits out of 300 votes (40 percent) in 1960, the last year of the Eisenhower Administration.

A split is defined as a recorded vote on which a majority of voting southern Democrats took a position opposite to a majority of voting northern Democrats.

For the purposes of this study, the South includes Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. The North includes the remaining 37 states.

In the Senate during 1971, northern Democrats broke with their southern counterparts on 157 of 423 roll calls (37 percent). The regional breach developed on 122 of 320 House votes (38 percent).

The 1971 percentage of North-South splits reflected the highest degree of dissent among congressional Democrats in any year of the Nixon Administration.

The 1971 Democratic disunity was intensified by such controversial issues as the military draft bill and its many amendments, defense procurement authorization, defense appropriations and foreign aid authorization. On the domestic front, northern and southern Democrats often were at odds on such issues as equal employment opportunities, economic opportunities, higher education, emergency school aid and school prayer.

Until 1971, the highest percentages of splits since 1960 were in 1969 (36 percent) and 1965 (35 percent).

On 219 of the 279 North-South split votes, a majority of Republicans joined a majority of southern Democrats to form a conservative coalition. This occurred 120 times out of 157 splits in the Senate. In the House, it happened on 99 out of 122 roll-call votes.

But of the 60 votes on which the Democratic schism was not affected by conservative Republican support, southern Democrats were defeated by their northern colleagues 50 times. The northern view prevailed over the southern position on all 23 splits in the House. On such North-South split votes in the Senate, southern Democrats were successful on only 10 out of 37 votes.

Senate Splits

Senate Democrats divided along regional lines on slightly fewer votes than they did in 1970, when there were 163 splits on 418 roll calls, or 39 percent.

While civil rights and voting rights questions were the most divisive during 1970, the 1971 issues which provoked the most disunity were the draft, defense spend-

1971 North-South Votes

The Democratic party split along regional lines on all the conservative coalition votes—120 in the Senate and 99 in the House—and, in addition, on 37 other Senate and 23 other House roll-call and recorded teller votes. These additional votes are listed below by CQ roll-call number and may be found in issues of the 1971 Weekly Report. Conservative coalition vote numbers are contained in the conservative coalition study. (p. 74)

Senate Votes (37)

4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 15, 16, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 58, 59, 72, 87, 88, 126, 130, 166, 180, 194, 235, 238, 239, 248, 254, 271, 273, 275, 292, 318, 362, 422, 423.

House Votes (23)

33, 53, 63, 78, 99, 100, 101, 105, 122, 123, 128, 163, 166, 170, 171, 175, 176, 178, 186, 233, 273, 299, 319.

ing and foreign aid. Of the 157 North-South splits in the Senate, the southerners won 113 times.

Democratic Senators from the North and South took opposite sides on 31 votes on the military draft bill (HR 6531). Among these were votes on the Mansfield amendment barring funds for support of U.S. forces in Europe, the Hatfield-McGovern amendment cutting off funds for U.S. military activities in Indochina and adoption of the conference report extending the draft to June 30, 1973.

The North-South split also developed on 14 votes on the defense procurement authorization bill (HR 8687), including votes on the Nelson amendment withholding funds for the Navy's Project Sanguine, the McGee amendment upholding restrictions on Rhodesian chromium imports and the Humphrey amendment placing certain atomic weapons funds in escrow.

On domestic issues, the North-South split occurred on 17 votes on the Revenue Act of 1971 (HR 10947), six votes on the Economic Stabilization Act extension (S 2891) and seven votes on the Emergency School Aid and Quality Integrated Education Act (S 1557).

House Divisions

Regional lines within the Democratic party in the House were much more apparent in 1971 than in 1970. In 1970, Democrats from the North and West disagreed with those from the South on only 70 (26 percent) of the year's 266 roll-call votes. The 1971 House figure of 38 percent

was primarily responsible for keeping the split percentage for the entire Congress high. The southern view prevailed on 78 of the 122 split votes during 1971.

However, in 1971 for the first time the totals include recorded teller votes, of which there were 108 in the House. On 55 of these votes there was a North-South Democratic split, which greatly increased the House figure.

As in the Senate, Democratic Representatives often split along North-South lines over military draft and defense matters. The draft extension bill (HR 6531) provoked eight splits in the House, including votes on the Whalen amendment extending the draft for one year instead of two, the Carney amendment to extend the draft only 18 months and adoption of the conference report with a sense of Congress provision calling for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Indochina but setting no specific deadline.

Among domestic issues resulting in North-South House splits were the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971 (HR 10351), which caused seven splits; the Higher Education Act of 1971 (HR 7248), which provoked 10 splits; and the District of Columbia Revenue Act (HR 11341) and D.C. fiscal 1972 appropriations bill (HR 11932), which together led to five splits.

The table below shows 1971 North-South splits:

	Total Roll Calls	North-South Democratic Splits	Percentage of Splits
Both Chambers	743	279	38%
Senate	423	157	37
House	320	122	38

The table below compares the number and percentage of 1971 voting splits in both chambers with the figures for the previous 14 years:

	Total Roll Calls	North-South Democratic Splits	Percentage of Splits
1971	743	279	38%
1970	684	233	34
1969	422	153	36
1968	514	173	34
1967	560	148	26
1966	428	124	29
1965	459	160	35
1964	308*	75	24
1963	348	84	24
1962	348	74	21
1961	320	107	33
1960	300	119	40
1959	302	83	27
1958	293	84	29
1957	207	64	31

* 110 civil rights votes were omitted from the session's total of 418 for this study.

Individual Positions

In the Senate, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D Mont.) voted with the majority of southerners on only 17 percent of the roll calls in 1971, compared to 16 percent in 1970. In contrast, Majority Whip Robert C. Byrd

(D W.Va.) supported the southern position 62 percent of the time, a considerable increase from his 45 percent support score in 1970.

Among the House leadership, Speaker Carl Albert (D Okla.) voted with his fellow southerners on 39 percent of the split votes, compared to 26 percent in 1970. Albert's score is based on a total of only 59 of the 122 North-South split votes, however.

House Majority Leader Hale Boggs (D La.) backed the southern position on 31 percent of the recorded votes in 1971, compared to 29 percent in 1970.

The lists below show those Senators and Representatives who supported the southern position the most and the least during 1971:

SENATE

Most "Southern" Southerners. The southern Democratic Senators who voted most frequently with the majority of southerners on the 157 party-splitting roll calls in 1971 were James B. Allen* (Ala.), 92 percent; John Stennis* (Miss.), 89; Harry F. Byrd Jr. (Va.), 87 (Byrd was elected as an independent); Herman E. Talmadge* (Ga.), 86; James O. Eastland (Miss.), 85; Sam J. Ervin Jr.* (N.C.), 84.

Least "Southern" Southerners. The southern Democratic Senators who voted most frequently against the majority of southerners in 1971 were J. W. Fulbright* (Ark.), 64 percent; Fred R. Harris* (Okla.), 39; Lawton Chiles (Fla.), 33; William B. Spong Jr.* (Va.), 30.

Most "Southern" Northerners. The northern Democratic Senators who most frequently voted with the majority of southerners were Alan Bible* (Nev.), 75 percent; Howard W. Cannon* (Nev.), 69; Robert C. Byrd* (W.Va.), 62; Clinton P. Anderson* (N.M.), 49; Jennings Randolph* (W.Va.), 47; Thomas J. McIntyre* (N.H.), 39.

HOUSE

Most "Southern" Southerners. The southern Democratic Representatives who voted most frequently with the majority of southerners on the 122 party-splitting roll calls in 1971 were W. C. (Dan) Daniel* (Va.), 95 percent; David E. Satterfield III (Va.), 94; David N. Henderson* (N.C.), 90; Thomas G. Abernethy (Miss.), 89; Charles H. Griffin* (Miss.), 89; O. C. Fisher (Texas), 89; James A. Haley (Fla.), 88; Joe D. Waggoner Jr. (La.), 88; William M. Colmer* (Miss.), 87; Omar Bureson* (Texas), 87.

Least "Southern" Southerners. The southern Democratic Representatives who voted most frequently against a majority of their southern colleagues in 1971 were Bob Eckhardt* (Texas), 82 percent; Dante B. Fascell* (Fla.), 76; Sam M. Gibbons* (Fla.), 70; Romano L. Mazzoli (Ky.), 70; Henry B. Gonzalez* (Texas), 64; Carl D. Perkins* (Ky.), 63; Richard Fulton (Tenn.), 63; David Pryor* (Ark.), 61; Hale Boggs* (La.), 61.

Most "Southern" Northerners. The northern Democratic Representatives who voted most frequently with the majority of southerners were W. R. Hull Jr.* (Mo.), 85 percent; Goodloe E. Byron (Md.), 73; Richard H. Ichord* (Mo.), 73; Walter S. Baring* (Nev.), 68; William J. Randall* (Mo.), 66; James J. Delaney (N.Y.), 64; John M. Slack* (W.Va.), 61.

* Indicates member was in same category in 1970.

Stands of Individual Democrats

The charts below and on the following page show how often individual Democrats voted with the southern and northern positions on party-splitting issues. The first two columns are based on the 157 Senate roll calls and the 122 House record votes on which the majority of voting southern Democrats opposed the stand taken by the majority of voting northern Democrats in 1971. The last two columns show the votes of Democrats on 260 Senate roll calls and 126 House roll calls in the 91st Congress.

• **COLUMN 1** gives the percentage of recorded votes on which the member voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the majority of voting southern Democrats in 1971.

• **COLUMN 2** gives the percentage of recorded votes on which the member voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the majority of voting northern Democrats in 1971.

• **COLUMN 3** gives the percentage of recorded votes on which the member voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the majority of voting southern Democrats in the 91st Congress.

• **COLUMN 4** gives the percentage of recorded votes on which the member voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the majority of voting northern Democrats in the 91st Congress.

Failure to vote kept the figure for most Senators and Representatives below the maximum possible.

—Key—

- † Not eligible for all roll calls in 1971.
- * Not eligible for all roll calls in the 91st Congress.
- Not a member of the 91st Congress.
- Speaker Albert votes only on recorded teller votes.

Southern Democratic Senators' Scores

ALABAMA		FLORIDA		MISSISSIPPI		SOUTH CAROLINA	
Allen	92 6 87 7	Chiles	47 33 — —	Eastland	85 3 73 4	Hollings	58 24 59 25
Sparkman	69 12 61 12			Stennis	89 2 86 5		
ARKANSAS		GEORGIA		NORTH CAROLINA		TEXAS	
Fulbright	20 64 29 46	Gambrell	76 12 — —	Ervin	84 8 88 6	Bentsen	64 25 — —
McClellan	79 13 79 7	Talmadge	86 8 88 5	Jordan	69 15 71 10		
		LOUISIANA		OKLAHOMA		VIRGINIA	
		Ellender	77 10 80 12	Harris	4 39 7 73	Byrd ¹	87 8 81 12
		Long	68 12 65 12			Spong	64 30 58 39

1. Byrd (Va.) elected as an independent.

Southern Democratic Representatives' Scores

ALABAMA		7 Davis	57 25 70 14	NORTH CAROLINA		TEXAS	
3 Andrews ¹	77 7 76 6	8 Stuckey	52 14 76 7	1 Jones	78 14 90 6	1 Patman	35 25 39 35
4 Nichols	84 3 69 6	9 Landrum	43 16 67 5	2 Fountain	86 8 91*4*	2 Dowdy	48† 3†63 5
5 Flowers	85 7 81 7	10 Stephens	63 16 62 10	3 Henderson	90 7 87 3	4 Roberts	74 8 80 8
7 Bevell	72 15 74 17			4 Galifianakis	52 39 69 29	5 Cabell	70 11 71 9
8 Jones	55 28 52 35	KENTUCKY		6 Preyer	39 59 45 43	6 Teague	54 11 56 11
		1 Stubblefield	66 24 69 18	7 Lennon	86 3 83 2	8 Eckhardt	7†82† 7 79
ARKANSAS		2 Natcher	68 32 71 29	11 Taylor	63 21 81 15	9 Brooks	50 38 30 44
1 Alexander	27 37 60 26	3 Mazzoli	29 70 — —			10 Pickle	57 32 60 35
2 Mills	39 27 60 21	6 Curlin ²	18†27† — —	OKLAHOMA		11 Poage	65 12 72 10
4 Pryor	20 61 43 45	7 Perkins	37 63 37 63	2 Edmondson	46 33 41 38	12 Wright	43 29 34 48
				3 Albert	39*51*34 59	13 Purcell	59 11 59 12
FLORIDA		LOUISIANA		4 Steed	62 25 60 29	14 Young	61 32 49 33
1 Sikes	70 7 78 4	1 Hebert	51 5 47 8	5 Jarman	74 7 72 14	15 de la Garza	53 38 47 31
2 Fuqua	70 20 84 8	2 Boggs	31 61 33 56			16 White	70 25 56 38
3 Bennett	60 40 68 32	3 Caffery	77 16 72 10	SOUTH CAROLINA		17 Burleson	87 7 89 2
4 Chappell	78 7 83 5	4 Waggonner	88 3 83 3	1 Davis ³	71†22† — —	19 Mahon	83 16 79 17
6 Gibbons	25 70 25 56	5 Passman	79 10 75 10	3 Dorn	67 15 81 8	20 Gonzalez	35 64 27 73
7 Haley	88 8 86 3	6 Rarick	86 11 75 8	4 Mann	79 10 69 13	21 Fisher	89 3 79 6
9 Rogers	72 28 79 19	7 Edwards	0 0 44 13	5 Gettys	76 7 63 6	22 Casey	78 15 71 17
11 Pepper	30 58 21 49	8 Long	19 0 56 7	6 McMillan	73 8 64 1	23 Kazen	57 40 56 43
12 Fascell	18 76 15 54						
GEORGIA		MISSISSIPPI		TENNESSEE		VIRGINIA	
1 Hagan	80 6 82 5	1 Abernethy	89 2 79 2	4 Evins	41 16 44 17	1 Downing	86 10 82 10
2 Mathis	83 9 — —	2 Whitten	75 8 79 4	5 Fulton	19 63 23 38	3 Satterfield	94 6 90 6
3 Brinkley	81 16 97 3	3 Griffin	89 4 81 8	6 Anderson	16 52 39 30	4 Abbitt	80 2 62 2
6 Flynt	66 6 75 4	4 Montgomery	81 2 79 2	7 Blanton	45 22 66 20	5 Daniel	95 4 94* 2*
		5 Colmer	87 5 81 2	8 Jones	55 16 59*15*		

1. Rep. George W. Andrews (D Ala.) died Dec. 26, 1971.
 2. Rep. John C. Watts (D Ky.) died Sept. 24, 1971. His scores for 1971 were 54 percent support for the coalition and 26 percent opposition. Rep. William P. Curlin was sworn in Dec. 6, 1971, to replace Watts.

3. Rep. Mendel J. Davis (D S.C.) was sworn in April 29, 1971, to replace Rep. L. Mendel Rivers (D), deceased. Rivers was not eligible for any votes in 1971.

Northern Democratic Senators' Scores

ALASKA Gravel	9 67 9 47	IOWA Hughes	5 86 5 82	NEVADA Bible Cannon	75 18 63 28 69 22 40 30	SOUTH DAKOTA McGovern	1 50 4 86
CALIFORNIA Cranston Tunney	6 87 13 74 16 71 — —	MAINE Muskie	6 55 6 76	NEW HAMPSHIRE McIntyre	39 50 30 62	UTAH Moss	20 62 8 62
CONNECTICUT Ribicoff	11 70 9 77	MASSACHUSETTS Kennedy	11 70 3*75*	NEW JERSEY Williams	10 80 5 78	WASHINGTON Jackson Magnuson	22 37 18 68 31 55 16 63
HAWAII Inouye	16 58 11 64	MICHIGAN Hart	3 87 3 87	NEW MEXICO Anderson Montoya	49 33 31 36 37 43 21 51	WEST VIRGINIA Byrd Randolph	62 31 52 40 47 43 35 58
IDAHO Church	13 68 13 66	MINNESOTA Humphrey Mondale	8 72 — — 3 85 3 88	NORTH DAKOTA Burdick	24 68 22 67	WISCONSIN Nelson Proxmire	4 89 4 83 8 92 17 83
ILLINOIS Stevenson	11 75 0*74*	MISSOURI Eagleton Symington	19 62 10 77 25 69 13 53	RHODE ISLAND Pastore Pell	27 59 16 66 15 74 9 75	WYOMING McGee	37 45 22 52
INDIANA Bayh Hartke	3 62 5 65 4 59 9 63	MONTANA Mansfield Metcalf	17 67 26 62 14 61 14 60				

Northern Democratic Representatives' Scores

ALASKA AL Begich	9 91 — —	3 Brademas 4 Roush 9 Hamilton 11 Jacobs	7 93 2 90 19 76 — — 16 80 17 81 11 85 14 82	9 Hungate 10 Burlison	41 52 31 52 49 46 54 36	21 Stokes 22 Vanik	4 83 6 83 7 90 10 88
ARIZONA 2 Udall	7 77 11 81	IOWA 2 Culver 5 Smith	5 84 6 83 30 62 31 58	MONTANA 2 Melcher	18 75 27*67*	OREGON 2 Ullman 3 Green	31 57 38 52 35 49 40 38
CALIFORNIA 2 Johnson 3 Moss 4 Leggett 5 Burton 7 Dellums 8 Miller 9 Edwards 14 Waldie 15 McFall 16 Sisk 17 Anderson 19 Holifield 21 Hawkins 22 Corman 26 Rees 29 Danielson 30 Roybal 31 Wilson 34 Hanna 37 Van Deerlin	48 45 23 71 7 74 8 61 17 72 9 64 2 89 10 76 7 82 — — 36 42 17 52 6 91 2 68 7 79 10 73 43 48 30 64 35 42 33 52 14 81 10 84 37 51 17 64 8 73 6 71 14 70 10 76 4 75 6 75 16 77 — — 2 86 3 82 24 42 18 49 17 45 18*56* 13 73 14 77	KANSAS 2 Roy	15 77 — —	NEVADA AL Baring	68 7 60 7	PENNSYLVANIA 1 Barrett 2 Nix 3 Byrne 4 Eilberg 5 Green 6 Yatron 11 Flood 14 Moorhead 15 Rooney 20 Gaydos 21 Dent 24 Vigorito 25 Clark 26 Morgan	16 51 9 67 18 74 6 82 26 58 10 78 13 74 9 76 2 80 3 87 19 68 20 71 53 46 31 62 11 79 6 75 27 63 20 68 24 66 24 63 17 39 21 45 30 58 25 69 39 23 31 48 42 46 17 77
COLORADO 3 Evans 4 Aspinall	20 72 18 67 60 30 33 29	MAINE 1 Kyros 2 Hathaway	14 82 15 78 9 86 10 88	NEW JERSEY 3 Howard 4 Thompson 8 Roe 9 Helstoski 10 Rodino 11 Minish 13 Gallagher 14 Daniels 15 Patten	5 83 10 80 7 82 2 73 25 72 20*64* 3 90 3 89 5 81 6 87 8 89 8 92 18 67 4 65 25 70 13 76 30 69 17 77	RHODE ISLAND 1 St Germain 2 Tiernan	16 77 7 70 11 70 8 83
CONNECTICUT 1 Cotter 3 Giaimo 5 Monagan 6 Grasso	23 65 — — 39 48 21 60 34 63 18 64 14 66 — —	MARYLAND 2 Long 3 Garmatz 4 Sarbanes 6 Byron 7 Mitchell	26 69 29 60 45 38 37 56 8 84 — — 73 26 — — 3 89 — —	NEW MEXICO 2 Rannels	47 12 — —	SOUTH DAKOTA 1 Denholm 2 Abourezk	25 64 — — 7 84 — —
HAWAII 1 Matsunaga 2 Mink	16 80 11 83 8 84 7 90	MASSACHUSETTS 2 Boland 3 Drinan 4 Donohue 6 Harrington 7 Macdonald 8 O'Neill 9 Hicks 11 Burke	20 75 16 78* 2 93 — — 7 61 15 79 4 89 3*81* 23 62 7 73 18 76 10 76 25 70 — — 18 82 21 79	NEW YORK 1 Pike 3 Wolff 7 Addabbo 8 Rosenthal 9 Delaney 10 Celler 11 Brasco 12 Chisholm 13 Podell 14 Rooney 15 Carey 16 Murphy 17 Koch 18 Rangel 19 Abzug 20 Ryan 21 Badillo 22 Scheuer 23 Bingham 24 Biaggi 27 Dow 29 Stratton 35 Hanley 41 Dulski	36 63 21 76 8 88 8 75 15 77 13 80 2 95 4 84 64 26 34 38 7 ^{165†} 9 61 11 79 6 74 8 75 6 56 3 85 8 75 50 48 29 55 5 82 4 64 34 39 22*55* 2 86 4 92 4 78 — — 3 94 — — 2 97 6 90 4 83 — — 6 85 2 72 2 98 0 90 30 57 26 64 5 90 — — 45 47 33 50 25 71 17 67 30 57 13 67	UTAH 1 McKay	39 55 — —
ILLINOIS 1 Metcalfe 2 Mikva 3 Murphy 5 Kluczynski 6 Collins 7 Annunzio 8 Rostenkowski 9 Yates 11 Pucinski 21 Gray 23 Shipley 24 Price	6 63 — — 3 85 5 84 26 63 25 62 31 43 26 54 9 70 16*36* 30 62 23 66 27 57 22 47 3 96 6 89 23 69 26 63 37 48 31 49 37 52 40 42 34 60 25 71	MICHIGAN 1 Conyers 12 O'Hara 13 Diggs 14 Nedzi 15 Ford 16 Dingell 17 Griffiths	7 64 6 61 17 77 8 87 5 36 2 63 16 80 10 75 9 75 5 78 23 70 15 66 27 41 14 54	NEW MEXICO 2 Rannels	47 12 — —	WASHINGTON 2 Meeds 3 Hansen 4 McCormack 5 Foley 6 Hicks 7 Adams	16 80 15 76 32 44 13 58 16 76 — — 20 73 21 69 34 61 16 75 11 74 9 82
INDIANA 1 Madden	8 79 14 78	MINNESOTA 4 Karth 5 Fraser 7 Bergland 8 Blatnik	8 82 11 79 5 92 2 91 14 85 — — 11 55 11 59	NORTH DAKOTA 2 Link	10 81 — —	WEST VIRGINIA 1 Mollohan 2 Staggers 3 Slack 4 Hechler 5 Kee	44 37 32 47 44 34 33 52 61 30 60 36 10 89 17 83 43 27 44 42
		MISSOURI 1 Clay 2 Symington 3 Sullivan 4 Randall 5 Bolling 6 Hull 8 Ichord	3 57 2 70 13 75 17 70 28 53 18 56 66 25 67 25 20 70 8 62 85 11 73* 7* 73 12 71 19	OHIO 9 Ashley 14 Seiberling 18 Hays 19 Carney 20 Stanton	19 57 10 75 7 91 — — 47 39 31 44 19 68 12*72* 24 70 — —	WISCONSIN 1 Aspin 2 Kastenmeier 4 Zablocki 5 Reuss 7 Obey	4 85 — — 4 92 10 85 48 51 33 65 5 90 6 87 6 90 20*77*
						WYOMING AL Roncalio	16 80 — —