

## DEMOCRATIC SPLIT: A NEAR-RECORD PERFORMANCE

Democrats in Congress divided along North-South lines in 1972 as often as they did in 1971, equaling the near-record high for any year since Congressional Quarterly started this voting study in 1957. The 1972 percentage of North-South Democratic splits was, like the 1971 percentage, the highest since 1960.

A split occurred on 330 recorded votes, or 38 percent, of the record 861 roll-call and recorded teller votes taken during 1972, the same percentage as in 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 1972, northern Democrats broke with their southern counterparts on 215 of 532 roll calls (40 percent). The regional breach developed on 115 of 329 House votes (35 percent).

The 1972 percentage of North-South splits combined with the 1971 percentage reflects the highest point of dissent among congressional Democrats during the Nixon administration.

The 1972 Democratic disunity was intensified by such controversial issues as school busing, equal employment opportunity, foreign aid appropriations, welfare, consumer protection, the minimum wage and revenue sharing.

Until 1972 and the identical percentage in 1971, the highest percentages of splits since 1960 were in 1969 (36 percent) and 1965 (35 percent).

On 234 of the 330 North-South split votes, a majority of Republicans joined a majority of southern Democrats to form a conservative coalition. This occurred 152 times out of 215 splits in the Senate. In the House it happened on 82 of 115 split votes.

But of the 96 votes on which the Democratic schism was not affected by conservative Republican support, southern Democrats were defeated by their northern colleagues 85 times. The northern view prevailed over the southern position on 31 of 33 splits in the House. Of the North-South split votes in the Senate, the northern Democrats won all but 9 of 63 split votes.

### Senate Splits

Senate Democrats divided along regional lines on more votes than they did in 1971, when there were 157 splits on 423 roll calls, or 37 percent. While draft, defense spending and foreign aid questions were the most divisive during 1971, the 1972 issues which provoked the most disunity were equal employment opportunity, school busing,

### 1972 North-South Split Votes

The Democratic Party split along regional lines on all the conservative coalition votes—152 in the Senate and 82 in the House—and, in addition, on 63 other Senate and 33 other House recorded votes. These additional votes are listed below by CQ vote number and may be found in issues of the 1972 Weekly Report. Conservative coalition vote numbers are contained in the conservative coalition study. (p. 65)

#### Senate Votes (63)

9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 30, 33, 36, 38, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 60, 61, 63, 66, 68, 70, 71, 86, 98, 115, 165, 189, 256, 268, 273, 324, 343, 353, 354, 369, 370, 371, 372, 382, 411, 426, 428, 432, 434, 448, 449, 463, 480, 486, 496, 497, 499, 506, 508.

#### House Votes (33)

1, 3, 10, 15, 30, 31, 40, 60, 61, 62, 70, 82, 131, 145, 146, 147, 161, 164, 166, 167, 170, 191, 214, 225, 232, 243, 251, 253, 271, 278, 308, 320, 323.

revenue sharing and welfare. Of the 215 North-South splits in the Senate, the southerners won 105 times.

Democratic senators from the North and South took opposite sides on 20 votes on the equal employment opportunity enforcement bills (S 2515). Among these were a vote rejecting an amendment to forbid the federal government from requiring racial or sexual employment quotas, three cloture votes and the vote on final passage of S 2515, giving the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission court enforcement powers against discriminatory employers.

The North-South split also developed on nine votes on the Omnibus Education Amendments of 1972 (S 659). Among these votes were the adoption of two amendments barring use of federal education funds for busing to overcome racial imbalance and the tabling of a motion to recommit the conference report on S 659 with instructions to strengthen anti-busing provisions.

On other domestic issues, the North-South split occurred on five votes on general revenue sharing (HR 14370), four votes on the welfare-social security bill (HR 1) and two votes each on the Consumer Protection Organization Act (S 3970) and the minimum wage bill (S 1861).

### House Divisions

Regional lines within the Democratic Party in the House were less apparent in 1972 than in 1971. In 1971 Democrats from the North and West disagreed with those from the South on 122 (38 percent) of the year's 320 roll-

call votes. In 1972 the House split was 115 (35 percent) of 329 roll calls. The southern view prevailed on 67 of the 115 split votes during 1972.

There were no more than three split votes on any one measure in the House during 1972. Garnering three votes each were revenue sharing with the states (HR 14370) and water pollution control (HR 11896). There were two split votes each on foreign aid appropriations for 1972 (HR 12067) and for 1973 (HR 16705 and H J Res 1331).

Split votes also occurred on the extension of the lives of the Civil Rights Commission (HR 12652) and the Office of Economic Opportunity (HR 12350), extended jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board (HR 11357), general revenue sharing (HR 14370) and a crop subsidy amendment to HR 15690.

The table below shows 1972 North-South splits:

	Total Recorded Votes	North-South Democratic Splits	Percentage of Splits
Both Chambers	861	330	38%
Senate	532	215	40%
House	329	115	35%

The table below compares the number and percentage of 1972 voting splits in both chambers with the figures for the previous 15 years:

	Total Recorded Votes	North-Democratic Splits	Percentage of Splits
1972	861	330	38%
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 118 for this study.

### Individual Positions

In the Senate, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D Mont.) voted with the majority of southerners on 11 percent of the roll calls in 1972, compared to 17 percent in 1971. Majority Whip Robert C. Byrd (D W. Va.) supported the southern position 51 percent of the time, compared with 62 percent in 1971.

Among the House leadership, Speaker Carl Albert (D Okla.) voted with his fellow southerners on 18 percent of the split votes, a considerable decrease from his 39 percent in 1971. Albert's score, however, is based on a total of only 62 of the 115 House North-South split votes.

House Majority Leader Hale Boggs (D La.) backed the southern position on 18 percent of the recorded votes in 1972, compared to 31 percent in 1971.

The lists below show those senators and representatives who supported the southern position the most and the least during 1972:

### SENATE

**Most "Southern" Southerners.** The southern Democratic senators who voted most frequently with the majority of southerners on the 215 party-splitting votes in 1972 were John C. Stennis\* (Miss.), 93 percent; Harry F. Byrd Jr. (Va.), 92; James B. Allen\* (Ala.), 90; Herman E. Talmadge\* (Ga.), 88; Sam J. Ervin Jr.\* (N.C.), 87.

**Least "Southern" Southerners.** The southern Democratic senators who voted most frequently against the majority of southerners in 1972 were J. W. Fulbright\* (Ark.), 47 percent; Fred R. Harris\* (Okla.), 46; Lawton Chiles\* (Fla.), 42; Ernest F. Hollings\* (S.C.) 40; Lloyd Bentsen (Texas), 37.

**Most "Southern" Northerners.** The northern Democratic senators who voted most frequently with the majority of southerners were: Alan Bible\* (Nev.), 53 percent; Robert C. Byrd\* (W. Va.), 51; Howard W. Cannon\* (Nev.), 40; Jennings Randolph\* (W Va.), 34; Clinton P. Anderson\* (N.M.), 33.

### HOUSE

**Most "Southern" Southerners.** The southern Democratic representatives who voted most frequently with the majority of southerners on the 115 party-splitting votes in 1972 were Omar Burleson\* (Texas), 90 percent; W. C. (Dan) Daniel\* (Va.), 90; G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery (Miss.), 89; O. C. Fisher\* (Texas), 88; Jamie L. Whitten (Miss.), 87; David E. Satterfield III\* (Va.), 87; Dawson Mathis (Ga.), 85.

**Least "Southern" Southerners.** The southern Democratic representatives who voted most frequently against a majority of their southern colleagues in 1972 were Bob Eckhardt\* (Texas), 77 percent; Dante B. Fascell\* (Fla.), 74; Romano L. Mazzoli\* (Ky.), 73; Carl D. Perkins\* (Ky.), 67; Henry B. Gonzalez\* (Texas), 66; Claude Pepper (Fla.), 57; Richardson Preyer (N.C.), 51.

**Most "Southern" Northerners.** The northern Democratic representatives who voted most frequently with the majority of southerners were Goodloe E. Byron\* (Md.), 73 percent; William J. Randall\* (Mo.), 70; Richard H. Ichord\* (Mo.), 66; Harold Runnels (N.M.), 62; W. R. Hull Jr.\* (Mo.), 61; Wayne N. Aspinall (Colo.), 56; Bill D. Burlison (Mo.), 56.

\* Indicates member was in same category in 1971.

## 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 215 Senate roll calls and the 115 House record votes on which the majority of voting southern Democrats opposed the stand taken by the majority of voting northern Democrats in 1972. The last two columns show the votes of Democrats on 372 Senate roll calls and 237 House roll calls in the 92nd 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 1972.

• **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 1972.

• **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 92nd 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 92nd Congress.

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

—Key—

† Not eligible for all roll calls in 1972.

\* Not eligible for all roll calls in the 92nd Congress.

• Speaker Albert votes only on recorded teller votes.

## Southern Democratic Senators' Scores

<b>ALABAMA</b>		<b>GEORGIA</b>		Stennis	92	1	91	2	<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>						
Allen	90	6	91	8	Gambrell	53	7	63	9	Hollings	50	40	53	33	
Sparkman	61	8	65	10	Talmadge	88	8	87	8	<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>					
<b>ARKANSAS</b>		<b>LOUISIANA</b>		Ervin	87	6	86	6	Ervin	87	6	86	6	<b>TEXAS</b>	
Fulbright	35	47	29	54	Jordan	65	2	67	8	Bentsen	52	37	57	32	
McClellan	65	10	71	11	Edwards 1	57†	8†	57* 8*	<b>VIRGINIA</b>						
<b>FLORIDA</b>		<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>		Long	72	14	70	13	Byrd 2	92	7	90	7		
Chiles	47	42	47	38	Eastland	73	2	78	2	Spong	54	30	58	30	

1 Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D La.) died July 27, 1972. His scores for 1972 were 65 percent with the South and 6 percent with the North. Sen. Elaine Edwards (D) sworn in Aug. 7, 1972, to replace Ellender.

2 Byrd elected as independent.

## Southern Democratic Representatives' Scores

<b>ALABAMA</b>		7 Davis	65	15	61	20	<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>		<b>TEXAS</b>									
3 Andrews 1	82†	9†	82*	9*	8 Stuckey	59	21	56	17	1 Patman	37	27	36	26				
4 Nichols	52	9	69	6	9 Landrum	59	10	51	13	2 Dowdy	12	1	31*	2*				
5 Flowers	73	11	79	9	10 Stephens	69	15	66	16	4 Roberts	80	12	77	10				
7 Beville	57	24	65	19	<b>KENTUCKY</b>					5 Cabell	74	11	72	11				
8 Jones	51	36	53	32	1 Stubblefield	56	17	61	21	6 Teague	61	13	57	12				
<b>ARKANSAS</b>		2 Natcher	67	33	68	32	<b>LOUISIANA</b>			8 Eckhardt	15	77	11*	80*				
1 Alexander	51	28	39	32	3 Mazzoli	25	73	27	71	9 Brooks	46	44	48	41				
2 Mills	43	29	41	28	6 Curlin	47	31	44* 31*	<b>OKLAHOMA</b>									
4 Pryor	16	28	18	45	7 Perkins	30	67	33	65	2 Edmondson	31	16	39	24				
<b>FLORIDA</b>		<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>		1 Hebert	26	7	39	6	3 Albert	18*	24*	28*	37*	10 Pickle	57	40	57	36
1 Sikes	77	11	73	9	2 Boggs	18	50	25	56	11 Poage	71	18	68	15				
2 Fuqua	68	14	69	17	3 Caffery	43	17	60	16	12 Wright	47	39	45	34				
3 Bennett	75	25	67	33	4 Waggonner	82	10	85	6	13 Purcell	60	16	59	14				
4 Chappell	83	6	81	6	5 Passman	57	11	68	11	14 Young	62	33	62	32				
6 Gibbons	41	43	33	57	6 Rarick	70	12	78	11	15 de la Garza								
7 Haley	82	9	85	8	7 Breaux 2	67†	33†	67* 33*	<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>									
9 Rogers	67	26	70	27	8 Long	37	11	27	5	16 White	60	36	65	30				
11 Pepper	20	57	25	57	<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>					17 Burleson	90	5	89	6				
12 Fascell	20	74	19	75	1 Abernethy	43	2	67	2	19 Mahon	82	17	82	17				
<b>GEORGIA</b>		2 Whitten	87	10	81	9	<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>			20 Gonzalez	34	66	35	65				
1 Hagan	39	4	60	5	3 Griffin	79	8	84	6	21 Fisher	88	3	89	3				
2 Mathis	85	14	84	11	4 Montgomery	89	6	85	4	22 Casey	80	18	79	16				
3 Brinkley	83	17	82	16	5 Colmer	78	6	83	5	23 Kazen	57	34	57	37				
6 Flynt	70	6	68	6	<b>TENNESSEE</b>					<b>VIRGINIA</b>								
		4 Ewins	36	26	38	21	<b>OKLAHOMA</b>			1 Downing	84	10	85	10				
		5 Fulton	17	49	18	56	2 Edmondson	20	37	18	45	3 Satterfield	87	8	91	7		
		6 Anderson	20	17	33	20	7 Blanton	20	17	33	20	4 Abbott	78	9	79	5		
		8 Jones	66	11	60	14	<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>			5 Daniel	90	10	93	7				

1 Rep Elizabeth Andrews (D Ala.) sworn in April 10, 1972, to replace Rep. George W. Andrews (D), deceased.

2 Rep. Edwin W. Edwards (D La.) resigned May 9, 1972. His scores for 1972 were 0 percent with the South and 0 percent with the North. Rep. John B. Breaux (D) sworn in Oct. 12, 1972, to replace Edwards.

### Northern Democratic Senators' Scores

<b>ALASKA</b> Gravel	6 59 7 62	<b>IOWA</b> Hughes	5 81 5 83	<b>NEVADA</b> Bible Cannon	53 42 62 32 40 36 52 30	<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b> McGovern	1 25 1 36
<b>CALIFORNIA</b> Cranston Tunney	7 87 7 87 7 82 10 77	<b>MAINE</b> Muskie	3 53 4 54	<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b> McIntyre	14 43 25 46	<b>UTAH</b> Moss	8 73 13 69
<b>CONNECTICUT</b> Ribicoff	7 73 9 72	<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b> Kennedy	4 79 7 75	<b>NEW JERSEY</b> Williams	4 85 6 83	<b>WASHINGTON</b> Jackson Magnuson	28 39 26 38 18 61 23 58
<b>HAWAII</b> Inouye	9 76 12 68	<b>MICHIGAN</b> Hart	5 88 4 87	<b>NEW MEXICO</b> Anderson Montoya	33 35 40 34 23 67 29 57	<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b> Byrd Randolph	51 47 56 40 34 55 40 50
<b>IDAHO</b> Church	11 74 12 72	<b>MINNESOTA</b> Humphrey Mondale	5 53 6 61 3 89 3 88	<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b> Burdick	15 81 19 76	<b>WISCONSIN</b> Nelson Proxmire	10 90 8 90 24 76 17 83
<b>ILLINOIS</b> Stevenson	6 83 8 80	<b>MISSOURI</b> Eagleton Symington	9 70 13 66 19 80 21 75	<b>RHODE ISLAND</b> Pastore Pell	15 77 20 69 4 61 9 67	<b>WYOMING</b> McGee	19 34 27 38
<b>INDIANA</b> Bayh Hartke	6 75 5 70 11 60 8 59	<b>MONTANA</b> Mansfield Metcalf	11 74 13 71 7 53 10 57				

### Northern Democratic Representatives' Scores

<b>ALASKA</b> Al Begich	17 79 13 85	3 Brademas	8 85 7 89	9 Hungate	31 53 36 52	21 Stokes	6 71 5 77
<b>ARIZONA</b> 2 Udall	9 80 8 78	4 Roush	34 58 26 68	10 Burlison	56 41 52 43	22 Vanik	10 87 8 89
<b>CALIFORNIA</b> 2 Johnson 3 Moss 4 Leggett 5 Burton 7 Dellums 8 Miller 9 Edwards 14 Waldie 15 McFall 16 Sisk 17 Anderson 19 Hollifield 21 Hawkins 22 Corman 26 Rees 29 Danielson 30 Roybal 31 Wilson 34 Hanna 37 Van Deerlin	42 58 45 51 12 66 10 70 17 66 17 69 13 82 8 85 7 84 7 83 17 35 27 38 8 86 7 89 7 68 7 73 37 61 41 54 40 43 38 43 12 74 13 78 20 57 29 54 3 58 6 66 13 64 14 68 14 79 9 77 20 70 18 73 13 81 8 84 33 49 28 45 16 63 16 54 17 67 15 70	9 Hamilton 11 Jacobs	27 70 21 76 26 70 18 78	<b>MONTANA</b> 2 Melcher	23 62 20 69	<b>OREGON</b> 2 Ullman 3 Green	28 53 30 55 45 25 40 38
<b>COLORADO</b> 3 Evans 4 Aspinall	21 52 21 62 56 30 58 30	<b>IOWA</b> 2 Culver 5 Smith	10 77 7 80 32 56 31 59	<b>NEVADA</b> AL Baring	42 7 55 7	<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b> 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	17 74 16 62 18 73 18 73 19 54 23 56 19 76 16 75 3 89 3 84 30 55 24 62 35 59 44 52 9 81 10 80 24 69 26 66 31 58 27 62 27 57 22 48 36 55 33 57 23 37 31 30 23 74 33 59
<b>CONNECTICUT</b> 1 Cotter 3 Giaimo 5 Monagan 6 Grasso	22 69 22 67 32 49 35 49 37 50 35 57 23 71 18 69	<b>KANSAS</b> 2 Roy	50 43 32 61	<b>NEW JERSEY</b> 3 Howard 4 Thompson 8 Roe 9 Helstoski 10 Rodino 11 Minish 13 Gallagher 14 Daniels 15 Patten	10 83 7 83 9 67 8 75 24 73 24 73 5 90 4 90 3 91 4 86 13 85 11 87 0 17 9 43 17 70 21 70 28 70 29 70	<b>RHODE ISLAND</b> 1 St Germain 2 Tiernan	18 73 17 75 10 74 10 72
<b>HAWAII</b> 1 Matsunaga 2 Mink	18 67 17 73 4 88 6 86	<b>MAINE</b> 1 Kyros 2 Hathaway	8 71 11 77 11 82 10 84	<b>NEW MEXICO</b> 2 Runnels	62 23 54 17	<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b> 1 Denholm 2 Abourezk	47 39 35 52 17 54 12 70
<b>ILLINOIS</b> 1 Metcalfe 2 Mikva 3 Murphy 5 Kluczynski 6 Collins 7 Annunzio 8 Rostenkowski 9 Yates 11 Pucinski 21 Gray 23 Shipley 24 Price	5 51 5 57 12 70 8 78 18 69 22 66 23 50 27 47 11 73 10 72 23 60 27 61 18 64 23 61 5 87 4 92 14 50 19 60 28 51 32 50 47 37 42 45 14 85 24 72	<b>MARYLAND</b> 2 Long 3 Garmatz 4 Sarbanes 6 Byron 7 Mitchell	32 61 29 65 36 47 41 42 11 85 10 84 73 20 73 23 7 83 5 86	<b>NEW YORK</b> 1 Pike 3 Wolff 7 Adabbo 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 Daw 29 Stratton 35 Hanley 41 Dulski	42 56 39 59 12 75 10 81 10 83 13 80 4 93 3 94 43 43 54 34 9 68 8 66 10 78 11 78 3 57 6 66 8 81 5 83 21 29 36 39 11 67 8 75 23 48 28 43 3 92 3 89 6 84 5 81 3 92 3 93 3† 71† 3* 86* 4 85 4 84 3 77 5 81 5 80 4 89 29 58 29 58 6 80 5 85 40 57 43 52 30 63 27 68 39 52 34 55	<b>UTAH</b> 1 McKay	39 47 39 51
<b>INDIANA</b> 1 Madden	8 85 8 82	<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b> 2 Boland 3 Drinan 4 Donohue 6 Harrington 7 MacDonald 8 O'Neill 9 Hicks 11 Burke	15 78 17 76 3 96 3 95 7 89 7 74 3 92 4 91 10 57 16 59 10 80 14 78 23 77 24 73 9 91 14 86	<b>WASHINGTON</b> 2 Meeds 3 Hansen 4 McCormack 5 Foley 6 Hicks 7 Adams	19 74 17 77 20 43 26 44 27 42 21 59 22 74 21 73 28 70 31 65 11 86 11 80	<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b> 1 Mollohan 2 Staggers 3 Slack 4 Hechler 5 Kee	28 38 36 38 35 50 40 42 54 38 57 34 17 83 14 86 30 37 37 32
		<b>MICHIGAN</b> 1 Conyers 12 O'Hara 13 Diggs 14 Nedzi 15 Ford 16 Dingell 17 Griffiths	10 79 8 71 21 69 19 73 5 65 5 50 17 76 16 78 12 66 11 71 17 65 20 68 20 53 24 47	<b>WISCONSIN</b> 1 Aspin 2 Kastenmeier 4 Zablocki 5 Reuss 7 Obey	14 78 9 82 15 83 9 87 33 66 41 58 11 88 8 89 16 79 11 85	<b>WYOMING</b> AL Rancalio	30 54 23 68

1 Rep. William F. Ryan (D.N.Y.) died Sept. 17, 1972.