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- (C) CONSERVATIVE
- (I) INDEPENDENT

- 5. <u>CONSUMER ADVOCACY</u> Ribicoff (D-Conn.) motion to invoke cloture (cut off debate) on the Agency for Consumer Advocacy bill. Sixty votes are required to invoke cloture. Motion adopted 71-27, May 13. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 6. <u>VOTING RIGHTS</u> Mansfield (D-Mont.) motion to invoke cloture (cut off debate) on 10-year extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, extending protection to language minorities. Sixty votes are required to invoke cloture. Motion adopted 72-20, July 23. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 7. <u>REDLINING</u> Garn (R-Utah) amendment to limit a requirement of disclosure of exclusionary mortgage lending pattens (redlining) to 27 cities selected by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board for a three-year demonstration survey. Amendment rejected 40-41, Sept. 4. A vote against is +, a vote for -.
- 8. <u>SCHOOL</u> <u>BUSSING</u> Biden (D-Del.) amendment to provide that no Labor-HEW funds could be used to require school districts to assign teachers or students to schools or classes on the basis of race, except under federal court order. Amendment adopted 50-43, Sept. 17. A vote against is +, a vote for -.
- 9. <u>OIL CORPORATION DIVESTITURE</u> Mansfield (D-Mont.)-Hart (D-Mich) amendment to require major oil producers to divest themselves of their petroleum refining, transportation and marketing interests within five years. Amendment rejected 40-49, Oct. 22. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 10. <u>OPEN FEDERAL AGENCY MEETINGS</u> Javits (R-N.Y.) amendment to exempt the Federal Reserve from open operations required under the Sunshine in Government bill. Amendment rejected 36-57, Nov. 6. A vote against is +, a vote for -.
- 11. COMMON-SITE PICKETING Kennedy (D-Mass.) motion to invoke cloture (cut off debate) on bill to allow labor unions to picket contractors and subcontractors engaged on the same construction job at a common site. Sixty votes are required to invoke cloture. Motion adopted 62-37, Nov. 18. A vote for is +, a vote against -.

FOREIGN & MILITARY POLICY

- 12. <u>SPENDING</u> Symington (D-Mo.) amendment to delete \$1.2 billion from the \$25 billion fiscal '76 authorization bill. Amendment rejected 36-59, June 4. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 13. COUNTERFORCE McIntyre (D-N.H.) amendment to delete \$109.7 million in fiscal '76 funds plus \$33.7 million in transition funds from Defense Procurement Authorizations—money for research and development of five counterforce programs. Amendment rejected 42-52, June 4. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 14. DIEGO GARCIA Resolution to prohibit DOD construction of naval and air support facilities on an island in the Indian Ocean. Resolution rejected 43-53, July 28. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 15. <u>SPENDING</u> Conference report on bill to authorize \$31.12 billion for weapons procurement in fiscal '76 and three-month transition period. Conference report rejected 42-48, Aug. 1. A vote against is +, a vote for -
- 16. ECONOMIC AID TO POOR COUNTRIES Hatfield (R-Ore.) amendment to require that 80 percent of Food for Peace commodities sold abroad be allocated to countries with a per capita gross national product of \$250 or less. Amendment adopted 52-39, Nov. 4. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 17. <u>ABM</u> Kennedy (D-Mass.) amendment to require dismantling of the Safeguard ABM site in North Dakota. Amendment rejected 47-50, Nov. 18. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 18. <u>SPENDING</u> Eagleton (D-Mo.) amendment to reduce the \$90.7 billion appropriation to a new ceiling of \$90.2 billion. Amendment rejected 38-55, Nov. 18. A vote for is +, a vote against -.

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26. 27.	Gilman McHUGH	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	63
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29.	PATTISON	-	+	+	+	+		+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	89
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11.	FLOOD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	_	_	-	_	_	A	+	_	_	58
12.	MURTHA	A	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	A	A	-	-	-	-	42
13.	Coughlin	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	53
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prohibits additional funds for covert activities in Angola. The House has not at this writing acted on this issue, and it is not

clear what will be the fate of legislation to prevent aid for Zaire from being diverted to the Angolan civil war.

SOME IMPORTANT SUCCESSES...

On the domestic front, Congress held the line on some important battles and made some progress on other long-term legislative endeavors. Some of the most noteworthy legislation included:

Voting Rights--Congress extended the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which has greatly increased black registration and black officeholders in the South and expanded coverage to include specific language minorities, most notably those of Hispanic descent and native Americans.

Women's Rights--The House changed its mind and supported Senate deletion of language from the education appropriations bill which would have prohibited HEW from requiring schools to integrate their physical education classes (in some cases), and social, service and honorary fraternities by sex.

Oil Depletion Allowance--The March tax cut included provision to eliminate the 22 percent oil and gas depletion allowance and reduce other oil and gas production tax deductions.

Food Stamps—The Congress rejected two ill-conceived Administration sponsored attempts to drastically alter the program. However, in recent months, basically unfounded propaganda attacks have been successfully mounted and the Administration will shortly introduce a much more sophisticated program that may well gain broad support.

...BUT CONGRESS FAILS TO DEAL WITH MAJOR SOCIAL ISSUES

Last year we noted that Congress failed to deal with the two most pressing problems facing the country--continued high levels of unemployment and the absence of a comprehensive, meaningful energy plan. Although the March tax cuts were welcome as a temporary stimulus, it is unfortunate that Congress had to give way to the Administration's belief that the economic stimulus comes from private activity, rather than from more comprehensive social programs.

The modified emergency jobs and housing bills finally passed by Congress and approved by the President (both were much closer to the Administration's original proposals) offer some relief. The extension of benefit weeks for unemployment compensation geared to state unemployment levels offered more relief. But where are the plans for truly fighting the recession and bringing unemployment down to tolerable levels?

Congress did, in the final hours of the first session, pass an omnibus energy conservation bill. The major provision extended price controls for domestic oil, adopted a measure to encourage conversion to coal use and had a variety of programs to improve fuel efficiency, especially in autos.

But the major issue is still being avoided—the excessive reliance of the American people on cars, especially big cars, as the major mode of transportation. The fuel efficiency provisions deal bureaucratically with the problem when what needs to be done is to change the American people's buying habits and thereby force the auto industry to retool to build small, energy—conserving cars.

And of course, for the second year in a row, the President has worked his will on Congress and there is no strip mining bill to protect the environment.

The catalogue of Congress' domestic failures goes on and on. Major pieces of legislation left incomplete include:

- 1. Serious tax reform—an inadequate measure, already passed by the House, now faces difficult going in Sen. Russell Long's (D-La.) Finance Committee.
- 2. Comprehensive national health insurance.
 - 3. No-fault auto insurance.
 - 4. Consumer protection agency.
- 5. Basic economic restructuring—the Senate came close and had a good debate on divesting the oil industry of many of its properties.
- 6. Congressional reforms--badly needed reforms of House committee jurisdiction are required if good legislation is to have a meaningful hearing.
 - 7. Comprehensive child care.
 - 8. Adequate mass transit.
- 9. Use of budget process to change fiscal priorities.

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	4.	ZABLOCKI	+	+	+	+	+	_	+	+	_	+	+	-	_	_	_	+	+	_	_	1
	5.	REUSS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	_	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	1
	6.	Steiger	+	_	_	_	_	A	-	_	+	_	_	_	_	+	_	+	+	_	_	I
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HOUSE ISSUES

DOMESTIC POLICY

- 1. <u>OIL DEPLETION</u> Wilson (D-Texas) amendment to the Green (D-Pa.) amendment, (which attached abolition of the depletion allowance to the Tax Reduction Act) to exempt the first 3000 barrels of oil and/or 18 million cubic feet of natural gas produced each day by an independent firm. Amendment rejected 197-216, Feb. 27. A vote against is +, a vote for -.
- 2. SOCIAL SECURITY O'Neill (D-Mass.) amendment to place the House on record as favoring lifting cost-of-living increase limits on Social Security benefits and other income support programs. Amendment adopted 234-171, May 1. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 3. <u>VOTING RIGHTS</u> Wiggins (R-Calif.) amendment to apply Voting Rights Act coverage only on the basis of percentage of population voting and ignore areas with tradition of restrictive suffrage. Amendment rejected 134-269, June 3. A vote against is +, a vote for -.
- 4. <u>EMERGENCY JOBS VETO OVERRIDE</u> Attempt to override the President's veto of a \$5.3 billion job creation program: a two-thirds majority (282 in this case) is required. Veto sustained 277-145, June 4. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 5. <u>STRIP MINING</u> Attempt to override the President's veto of minimum federal standards for regulation of surface mining and reclamation of strip-mined lands; a two-thirds majority (281 in this case) is required. Veto sustained, 278-143, June 10. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 6. <u>WOMEN'S RIGHTS</u> Flood (D-Pa.) motion to concur with Senate deletion of a House-passed amendment to prohibit HEW from requiring schools to integrate classes, professional and honorary organizations by sex. Motion adopted 215-178, July 18. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 7. <u>OIL PRICE DECONTROL</u> Resolution to disapprove President Ford's plan for gradual decontrol of domestic oil prices. Resolution adopted 228-189, July 30. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 8. <u>CONSUMER PROTECTION</u> Bill to create an independent Agency for Consumer Protection to co-ordinate federal consumer protection and represent consumer interests before federal agencies and courts. Bill passed 208-199, Nov. 6. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 9. <u>FOOD STAMPS</u> Findley (R-III.) amendment to restrict eligibility for food stamps to families whose income is within the poverty level as set by the Office of Management and Budget. Amendment rejected 159-230, Nov. 13. A vote against is +, a vote for -.

10. NEW YORK CITY Bill to authorize federal loans to help New York City meet seasonal cash needs. Bill passed 213-203, Dec. 2. A vote for is +, a vote against -.

- 13 -

- 11. TAX REFORM Mikva (D-II1.) amendment to apply a limitation on artificial losses to real estate on a property-by-property basis, further tightening this tax shelter loophole. Amendment rejected 192-226, Dec. 4. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 12. <u>NUCLEAR DISASTER INSURANCE</u> Bingham (D-N.Y.) amendment to eliminate a \$560 million limit on the liability of the nuclear power industry for damages resulting from a nuclear accident. Amendment rejected 176-217, Dec. 8. A vote for is +, a vote against -.

FOREIGN & MILITARY POLICY

- 13. <u>B.1 BOMBER</u> Aspin (D-Wis.) amendment to delete from the DOD authorization the \$1.89 billion allocated for the B.1 Bomber. Amendment rejected 164-227, May 19. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 14. <u>COUNTERFORCE</u> Leggett (D-Calif.) amendment to DOD procurement authorization to prohibit flight testing of the maneuverable re-entry vehicle (MaRV). Amendment rejected 124-276, May 20. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 15. <u>SPENDING</u> Aspin (D-Wis.) amendment to reduce from \$26.54 billion to \$24.65 billion the Armed Services Committee approved authorization for procurement and development of a new weapons system. Amendment rejected 183-216, May 20. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 16. <u>BINARY NERVE GAS</u> Hicks (D-Wash.) amendment to cut \$562,000 from the Military Construction authorization bill for facilities to produce binary nerve gas munitions. Amendment adopted 219-185, July 28. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 17. ECONOMIC AID Bill to authorize \$2.9 billion for foreign economic and development assistance for fiscal 1976 and 1977.
 Bill passed 244-155, Sept. 10. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 18. <u>RHODESIAN CHROME</u> Bill to bring the U.S. into compliance with the UN-sponsored economic boycott of Rhodesia, thus halting importation of Rhodesian chrome. Bill rejected 187-209, Sept. 25. A vote for is +, a vote against -.
- 19. <u>CIA FUNDING</u> Giaimo (D-Conn.) amendment to require disclosure of CIA funds contained in an Air Force account for Defense Appropriations for FY 76. Amendment rejected 147-267, Oct. 1. A vote for is +, a vote against -.

- 2 -

the new chair of the Armed Services Committee, is no liberal on the defense budget, but at least comment has been favorable on his fairness and responsiveness to his colleagues' needs.

NOTE: In February 1975, the Senate acted to ease shutting off debate. Now three-fifths of the Senate membership (60 votes) will achieve cloture, as opposed to the old rule of two-thirds of those voting. The revised cloture finally enabled the approval of a move to end the oil depletion allowance.

The stellar hour of the freshmen came in March when they moved to prevent compromise on emergency military aid to South Vietnam and Cambodia. In 1974, the Administration was so weakened by Watergate and then thrown into disarray by President Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon that it had been unable to oppose Congressional efforts to cut off military aid to Cambodia and South Vietnam.

In late December 1974, Henry Kissinger and Ford mounted their counterattack. The "domino theory," "the bloodbath theory," "the primacy of moral commitments" and "losing face before the rest of the world" were once again the slogans of the day. Five hundred and twenty-two million dollars emergency supplemental military aid was demanded and the Administration quickly found those who would offer lesser sums as a "compromise."

But the freshmen would have none of it. A group of House Democrats led by Rep. Bob Carr (Mich.), Toby Moffett (Conn.), Tom Harkin (Iowa) and Ned Pattison (N.Y.), along with Bella Abzug (N.Y.), in early March convened a special Democratic Caucus to take a firm position against further aid to Cambodia or Vietnam. Though opposed by some senior liberal reformers on procedural grounds, the Carr Resolution was introduced and adopted overwhelmingly 189-49 on March 12, 1975. The Senate Caucus adopted a similar resolution later that week. Other efforts for compromise followed, but the pace of events and the decisive positions taken by the caucuses effectively sealed this long and bitter chapter in American

It is possible the freshman presence was also responsible for Congress insisting that the economic crisis be diagnosed as a problem of recession rather than inflation. The \$22.8 billion tax cut in March—the largest in history—clearly reflected this sentiment.

On the war, on more open and democratic procedures in Congress, and on the immediate crisis of the economy, the freshmen faithfully reflected the will of the people. But the 95 new Representatives are not strong enough to move Congress from passivity to creative leadership in the face of a recalcitrant Executive. To bring about action on crucial public issues, the freshmen need to be joined by greater numbers in Congress and by a progres-

sive President.

MILITARY CHALLENGES FAIL

The collapse in Vietnam and Cambodia came faster than many had expected. Congress, which had rightly ended U.S. military involvement in Indochina, had to watch from the sidelines, along with the Administration, developments neither could control. In the debate over Vietnam evacuation, the emerging split within the anti-war and overlapping reform coalitions broke out into the open. Senior anti-war Representatives spoke sharply to the younger Members about the latter's mistrust of sanctioning Presidential deployment of troops to participate in the evacuation.

Shortly thereafter, President Ford used the Mayaquez incident to project American power in Asia. Senators and Representatives who had so recently before been Administration critics, fell over themselves to embrace Presidential gunboat diplomacy. Polls showed 60 percent approval for Ford's actions and Congresspersons were fearful of being labeled "isolationists." In the subsequent debate over the DOD authorization bill, the once heralded anti-Pentagon coalition collapsed. No serious challenges to the military budget were successful. Rep. Les Aspin's (D-Wis.) modest amendments to delete procurement funds for the B-1 Bomber and to reduce overall spending \$1.9 billion were easily defeated. Sen. Thomas McIntyre's (D-N.H.) proposal to delete funds for various counterforce programs suffered a similar fate.

In October and November, both the House and Senate made significant reductions and eliminations of military programs. Unfortunately, there was little coordination of effort between them, and the conferees had an easy time of restoring certain treasured Pentagon programs. Severe cuts of the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) and the Air Launched Cruise Missile by the House were both restored by the conference. The Senate had required a delay of the construction of the Diego Garcia naval base pending Soviet-U.S. negotiations until April 1976. Surprisingly, it survived. The initiative to cut the military budget has been restored since the Mayaguez doldrums and this year should auger better.

BUDGET PROCESS STILL STRUGGLING

Parallel to these failures in foreign policy, Congress struggled to implement the new Congressional budget process. In theory, the budget process is intended to compel Congress to view the budget as a whole--particularly in relation to the overall health of the economy--and to set national priorities among the different categories of governmental spending. In practice, however, the

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